

# **The London Mechanics' Institution**

## **Social and cultural foundations**

**1823-1830**

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I, Helen Flexner, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

## **Abstract:**

This study of the founding in 1823 of the London Mechanics' Institution examines its constituency, catchment, and mandate to teach working men science and technology. To explain the Institution's distinctive character, it is necessary to move beyond the flourishing patent/invention journalism, which provides one explanatory context, to the cheap literature disputes, debating society connotations, and Francis Place's network. These radical associations show why George Birkbeck was quickly designated the 'founder', even though he was unknown to J. C. Robertson and Thomas Hodgskin when they proposed such an institute in the *Mechanics' Magazine*. Birkbeck's social standing would allay Establishment fears. An older historiography stressing middle-class social control is tested by analysing contemporary journals, newspapers and manuscripts. The first two volumes of manuscript Members' Registers (1824-29), recording 8,343 names with occupations and addresses, have been transcribed and appended. These allow a comparison of members' occupations with London trades generally and highlight diverse occupations within families. They also reveal family relationships between clerks and mechanics – important because clerks have been cited as a sign of middle-class invasion. Indeed the lack of any gross change in class composition suggests that there was no working-class exodus in these pre-Reform years. By statute two-thirds of the committee had to be working class. The encouragement of invention and student autonomy through mutual instruction classes, introduced by the Pestalozzian Charles Lane, points to a more humanitarian ethos, as do the lectures which (contra the learned societies) often presented science as negotiable rather than given. Iconic radical members are highlighted: Henry Hetherington (on the committee regularly from 1825-1830), William Lovett, James Watson, G. G. Ward, and P. O. Skene. Finally, the thesis analyses the committee's relationships with controversial outsiders who rented the theatre, including Robert Owen, Eliza Macauley, William Cobbett, the Radical Reform Association, and the London Co-operative Society.

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## Abbreviations

### Manuscripts

Place, EH	Francis Place, 'Early history of the London Mechanics' Institution', British Library, Francis Place Papers, Additional ms 27,823, vol. 35, ff. 240-376
MBv1	ms 'L. M. I. Minute Book vol. 1', September 1823 – 5 June 1826
MBv2	ms 'L. M. I. Minute Book vol. 2', 12 June 1826 – 24 August 1829
MBv3	ms 'L. M. I. Minute Book vol. 3', 31 August 1829 – 23 April 1832
MRv1	ms 'L. M. I. Members' Register', vol. 1, December 1824 – December 1826
MRv1, #	Membership number in the volume pinpoints each member
MRv2	ms 'L. M. I. Members' Register', vol. 2, December 1826 – December 1829
MRv2, #	Membership number in the volume pinpoints each member
MRv3	ms 'L. M. I. Members' Register', vol. 3, December 1829 – December 1833
QMv1	ms 'L. M. I. Minutes of Quarterly General Meetings', vol. 1, 1 March 1824 – 7 September 1831

### Journals

<i>CWR</i>	<i>Cobbett's Weekly Register</i>
<i>GMM</i>	<i>Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine</i>
<i>LJAS</i>	<i>London Journal of Arts and Sciences</i>
<i>LMR</i>	<i>London Mechanics' Register</i>
<i>MC</i>	<i>Mechanics' Chronicle</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Mechanics' Magazine</i>
<i>RAS</i>	<i>Register of the Arts and Sciences</i>
<i>TFP</i>	<i>Trades' Free Press</i>
<i>TN</i>	<i>Trades' Newspaper</i>
<i>WFP</i>	<i>Weekly Free Press</i>
ODNB	<i>Oxford dictionary of national biography</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

References in the notes do not include subtitles. Full details are given in the bibliography.



## Introduction

### Challenging the historiography

Mechanics' institutes were an early nineteenth-century phenomenon. By 1851 they formed an important part of the 700 adult education institutions in England.<sup>1</sup> Often grouped together for historiographical purposes and often imagined as identikit bodies, these institutes have been subject to sweeping generalisations about their function and clientele. Designed to teach working men science and the technical arts, they have generally been dismissed as failing to appeal to their target audience. The accepted story is that the artisans who joined at the beginning left almost immediately. A variety of reasons has been given: from poverty (the men could not afford the subscription) to lack of education (they could not understand the lectures), from an unwillingness to rub shoulders with middle-class members to a rejection of what they saw as middle-class managers trying to exercise control over their activities. Many historians privilege this last reason to claim that mechanics' institutes were middle-class organisations designed specifically to coerce the working classes into changing their behaviour.

Little attempt has been made, however, to distinguish one institute from another. Here I single out the founding institute, the London Mechanics' Institution established in 1823. Only by looking at concrete instances can we escape generalisations and begin to understand the motives and actions of members and

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<sup>1</sup> J. W. Hudson, *The history of adult education* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851), p. vi.

managers. Focussing on London in the 1820s, I look at how the largely Whig and Radical founders came together to establish the Institution, how they appealed to working men to join, who these men were and what actually happened in the first seven years. I tabulate data in the appendices which show just how suspect the historiographical understanding has been. The LMI was a product of London. Its roots in the capital city and its ongoing relationship with the metropole influenced and moulded its development. We cannot understand the LMI without understanding its social and cultural context.

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In 1826, the republican activist and proudly working-class printer Richard Carlile toasted ‘The Mechanics’ Institute’ at a ceremonial birthday party for Thomas Paine held in a London tavern – an unlikely toast if the LMI was abhorred as a repressive institution. Even stranger, the next speaker ‘attributed the rise of such Institutions to the dissemination of Thomas Paine’s writings’. Paine’s revolutionary *Rights of man*, one of ‘the foundation texts of the English working-class movement’ (according to E. P. Thompson), had been proscribed by Pitt’s administration in 1793. When Carlile raised the toast at the City of London Tavern, he had only just been released after an astonishing six years in prison for publishing the *Age of reason* and other matter offensive to Lord Liverpool’s administration. James Watson, one of the working-class radicals who manned Carlile’s shop in his absence, was himself a member of the London Mechanics’ Institution. When he joined in September 1825, Watson gave his address as Carlile’s Fleet Street works. Together these volunteers printed and sold Carlile’s *Republican* and other ‘blasphemous and seditious’ literature.<sup>2</sup>

How could these men, radical working-class icons, have supported and praised an institution which many historians consider had already failed in its mission to appeal to the working classes? The influential educational historian Brian Simon, for instance, writing in 1960, separated the education of the working classes into different chapters depending on whether it was provided by the middle classes (where he placed

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<sup>2</sup> Toast: *Republican*, 13 (1826), pp. 133-4. E. P. Thompson, *The making of the English working class* (London: Gollancz, 1980 [1963]), p. 34. Imprisonment: Theophila Carlile Campbell, *The battle of the press* (London: A. & H. B. Bonner, 1899), pp. 31-34, 40, 107. Watson: MRv1, 2907. In the Members’ Registers (MRv1, MRv2, MRv3) members were usually identified by number so my standard referencing will indicate the membership number after the Register volume number.

mechanics' institutes) or by the working classes themselves. He considered that all mechanics' institutes were middle-class bastions founded to inculcate middle-class values to a working-class audience which quickly left in disgust. Carlile's toast makes no sense within this framework. Indeed, although Simon discussed the toasts at this very event to indicate radical influences, he omitted the references to the LMI and mechanics' institutes in general.<sup>3</sup>

Henry Hetherington provides an even more telling example of working-class loyalty to the LMI. Famous for editing and printing the *Poor Man's Guardian* with its condemnation of Church and State corruption, Hetherington was on the LMI management committee from March 1825 to February 1830. Iowerth Prothero, in his detailed and finely textured account of London artisans, pointed particularly to the importance of Hetherington's unstamped papers in working-class activism. Yet he too, no doubt not realising that Hetherington was on the LMI committee, accused middle-class LMI managers of alienating working men. The leading Chartist William Lovett had also been an enthusiastic member of the LMI.<sup>4</sup>

The fact that Watson, Hetherington, Lovett and many more working-class activists were inside the LMI – a fact unknown to historians – provides a lynchpin for the present analysis. Indeed the substance of much of it is based on a study of the membership which is now completely transcribed and included in the appendices.

The historiography of the LMI tells a story of an almost immediate middle-class usurpation of an initially working-class institute. What historians meant by middle class and working class within the context of mechanics' institutes was left largely unexplored. Founded in December 1823, the Institution was considered lost to the working classes well before the January 1826 Paine birthday party. Granted, the London Mechanics' Institution has received little attention from historians. Thomas Kelly's 1957 chapters on the Institution provide the most detailed account to date, but these were merely a part of his biography of George Birkbeck, LMI president from 1823 to 1841. Otherwise the LMI has received no more than a few pages in histories of

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<sup>3</sup> Brian Simon, *Studies in the history of education* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1960), pp. 153-9, 200.

<sup>4</sup> Hetherington elected: Mar. 1825, *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 296; Sep. 1826, *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 311; Mar. 1828, QMv1, f. 277; Sep. 1829, QMv1, f. 386. I. J. Prothero, *Artisans and politics in early nineteenth-century London* (Folkestone: Dawson, 1979), pp. 279-80. William Lovett, *Life and struggles*, 2 vols (New York: Knopf, 1920), vol. 1, p. 36.

education, or histories of the working classes, or histories of science – or, stranger still, even the accounts of the mechanics’ institute movement itself. Because no new research has been undertaken, historians have tended to recycle each others’ narratives. This has been going on for decades. Indeed, most accounts derive primarily from J. W. Hudson’s 1851 book on adult education, and from Francis Place’s first-hand manuscript account of the Institution’s founding. Little has been published on the LMI per se.<sup>5</sup>

Based on remarkably little evidence and that often from biased and geographically inappropriate sources, historians have successively constructed images of an institute riven by conflicts in its first year: conflicts between J. C. Robertson, editor of the *Mechanics’ Magazine* (*MM*) and arguably the LMI’s originator, and Francis Place, the radical and influential tailor early brought on board to help found the institution; between the middle class and the working class; between the committee and the members. Despite all the assumptions and lack of evidence, the narratives are uncannily consistent. What happened, according to ten different historians’ accounts, is as follows.

Once Robertson enlisted the help of Place in establishing the LMI, the ‘Institute gradually but inevitably passed out of the hands of the mechanics’ (Simon, 1974). Robertson, supporter of an institute run by and for the working class, was ‘unpleasant and quarrelsome’ (Kelly, 1957), ‘offensive’ (Miles, 1988), and the perpetrator of ‘ceaseless and systematic attacks’ which justified all Place’s ‘strictures’ (Godard, 1884). He was ‘defeated by the middle-class Radicals’ (Harrison, 1961). ‘George Birkbeck, Place, Brougham and others moulded the movement in such a way as to deprive it of working-class leadership’ (Silver, 1975). They envisaged ‘a large and prestigious establishment requiring the aid of wealthy sympathizers who would expect to play a major role in managing the institute’ (Morus, 1998). As the management came ‘too much under the control of the moneyed classes’ (Kelly), ‘many mechanics quickly withdrew’ (Prothero, 1979). ‘A considerable change in the class of persons subscribing to the Institution’ took place (Hudson, 1851). By ‘late 1824 ... the London Mechanics’

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<sup>5</sup> Hudson, *History*, pp. 49-53. Francis Place, ‘Early history of the London Mechanics’ Institution’, British Library, Francis Place Papers, Additional ms 27,823, vol. 35, ff. 240-376 (hereafter Place, EH). Gregory Claeys, ‘Political economy and popular education’, in Michael T. Davis (ed.), *Radicalism and revolution in Britain* (London: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 157-75, is more about attitudes to political economy than about the running of the Institution.

Institute could not boast of a majority working-class membership (Inkster, 1976).<sup>6</sup> This hermetically sealed, evidentially limited story became self-reinforcing, with successive accounts resting on prior ones.

These abstract notions of class are grounded in assertions about the LMI management's relationship with the members. Historians extrapolate to claim that a middle-class, paternalist management was responsible for 'working-class alienation'. But any generalisation about the LMI committee's being middle class is not only undercut by my study of the early management committees (discussed in chs 5, 6 and 8, and detailed in appendices C and D); even more obviously, it is exploded by the LMI's 'two-thirds rule': two-thirds of the committee *had* to be working class. Far too little attention has been paid to this rule. Some historians may be unaware of it; certainly few mention it. It may be easy to miss the rule in a study of Francis Place's influential manuscript account of the founding of the LMI (he did not appear to have been particularly keen on it).<sup>7</sup> But the rule received prime coverage in the manuscript 'L. M. I. Minute Book' volumes, the manuscript 'L. M. I. Minutes of Quarterly General Meetings', the *Mechanics' Magazine* (*MM*), the *Mechanics' Chronicle* (*MC*) and the *London Mechanics' Register* (*LMR*), as well as in *Trades' Newspaper* (*TN*) and *Trades' Free Press* (*TFP*).<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, even C. Delisle Burns, who considered the Minute Books 'by far the most interesting and important source', did not mention the two-thirds rule, although he did discuss the LMI's being 'democratic with suitable prudence. Working men were on its committee.' Kelly, who drew extensively on the Minutes, mentioned the rule in passing but did not consider how it was implemented or what it might have meant for the committee's actions. Rather he concluded that the 'moneyed classes' came to run the LMI. Miles noted the rule, but did not relate it to his comment that Place's allies drove the Institution forward. Although Prothero cited the

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<sup>6</sup>Simon, *Studies*, p. 154. Thomas Kelly, *George Birkbeck* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1957), p. 77. Dudley Miles, *Francis Place* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1988), p. 93. John George Godard, *George Birkbeck* (London: Bemrose & Sons, 1884), p. 52. J. F. C. Harrison, *Learning and living* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), p. 134 n.1. Harold Silver, *English education and the radicals* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), p. 40. Iwan Rhys Morus, *Frankenstein's children* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 72. Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 88. Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 198. Hudson, *History*, p. 52. Ian Inkster, 'The social context of an educational movement', *Oxford Review of Education*, 2 (1976), p. 286.

<sup>7</sup> Place, EH. The rule was not discussed in Place's commentary and only appears in the printed Rules which Place included in his appendices.

<sup>8</sup> For example: *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 436; *MC*, 1 (1824), p. 33; *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 13; *TN*, 3 Sep. 1826, p. 59; *TFP*, 9 Sep. 1827.

rule, he used Robertson's December 1824 *MM* attack to claim that the management committee had been co-opted. Prothero spoke of 'the remoteness of the managers from the artisans'.<sup>9</sup>

The other manuscript source of key importance (which historians have not analysed) is the 'L. M. I. Register of Members', giving name, occupation, address, and subscription payments. The first volume covers December 1824 – December 1826 and contains 4,295 entries. I have created a digitised database of the over 8,000 entries in the first two Registers (appendix A) which enables, for the first time, an analysis of the membership according to occupation and an assessment of whether the composition of the membership really did change. Far from what historians would have us believe, it remained fairly stable.

Combined with current accounts, particularly in the *MM*, *LMR*, *TN* and *TFP* covering the election of committee men, these manuscripts provide important information about how the LMI founders and members viewed the issue of class – information which has not been exploited by historians. Elections to the management committee were by category: the specific articulated divisions were between men 'of the working class' (the Institution's words) and men of higher rank who were called 'not of the working class'.<sup>10</sup> The term middle class was itself never used in this context. These categories which the founders found helpful conceal as much as they reveal. While they justify historians in speaking in terms of class, the novel phrasing warns of the need to reconstruct contemporary meanings. For an account to be meaningful, it must interpret these terms as they were used at the time.

Although LMI members seemed to use the distinction as though it were black and white, with men easy to categorise, the truth is that class must have been in some cases a matter of opinion. Noting the case of Francis Place's son who, though a man 'not of the working class' (as his father admitted), was elected in the 'working class' category, Robertson went on to question whether the committee had passed off other men as 'working class' who were not.<sup>11</sup> Later, the interactions between men's shifting

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<sup>9</sup> C. Delisle Burns, *A short history of Birkbeck College* (London: University of London Press, 1924), pp. 15-16, 35. Kelly, *Birkbeck*, pp. 86-88. Miles, *Place*, pp. 93-94. Prothero, *Artisans*, pp. 192, 198.

<sup>10</sup> The terms 'working class' and 'not of the working class' appear in quotation marks when they refer specifically to the LMI definitions.

<sup>11</sup> Place, EH, f. 284. *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 437.

position in society and their categorisation on the committee will be examined.

The distinction between working-class men and others is central to the LMI's management and functioning and to the historiographical interpretations. But the LMI designations had various meanings which eluded historians who had not studied the Institution in depth. My research is the first to identify individual committee-men and to attempt a detailed analysis of their activities on the provisional committee (which produced the Rules and Orders) and the early management committees. The two-thirds rule is examined, and allegiances are seen to shift issue by issue. I make no assumptions about how a man's 'class' would affect his opinion on issues of patronage and working-class independence. A 'working-class' man might have been in favour of donations from the wealthy and yet against integration with the middle classes. A 'not-of-the-working-class' man might have been against donations and still felt that the management committee should be run by men of experience and status, who could liaise with others in positions of power. The Institution was made up of individual men coming together from many different backgrounds with many different concerns. They agreed on some issues and disagreed on others. They negotiated compromises which in some cases were stretched to breaking point.

Because this thesis tells a nuanced story very different from the standard historiography, it is important to get a handle on how the conventional account developed. A fundamental problem for historians covering the LMI tangentially was that the primary LMI sources – the management Minutes, Registers of Members, and Quarterly Reports – had been scarcely analysed, the Registers not at all. Where a primary source was used it was invariably Place's (c. 15,000 word) manuscript account of the early years, begun three years after the first events he described, and occasionally some of Robertson's early *MM* criticisms. Because Robertson's articles are not part of a recognized archive and are interspersed throughout the pages of the weekly *MM*, his accounts are less well known. Indeed, his side of the story has not been pieced together before now.

Place's voluminous archive (covering the activities of reform movements for over thirty years) is, however, a prime source for social historians. Its 'very bulk and

variety ... seemed to encourage a trust in his judgement'.<sup>12</sup> But historians of the archive itself, rather than those plumbing it for information on specific events, warn of its 'highly partisan' nature. Thompson accused Place of seeing 'everyone except himself and a few Benthamites as fools who must be manipulated' – an indictment borne out by the tailor's treatment of Robertson.<sup>13</sup> Equally, Robertson's articles in the *MM* were surely biased. A study of the two men's versions side by side reveals the extent to which events at the LMI fuelled and intensified their enmity – with public attacks requiring defensive action and counter offence. Such a study highlights the bias in both men's writings and reveals the directions their exaggerations might have taken. It may be that the very fact that Place's account was their primary source encouraged historians to see the LMI as advocating middle-class values to the detriment of the working classes. Brian Simon was clear that Place 'used every means in his power in order to wrest control [of the LMI] from the workers themselves.'<sup>14</sup>

Two further factors are particularly important for understanding historians' conclusions about the LMI. Firstly, the evidence they were drawing on related mostly to the mechanics' institute movement nationally rather than to the *London Mechanics' Institution* itself. Secondly, the sources they relied on were primarily written after the 1832 Reform Act and reflected different political realities, particularly the more difficult relationship between the middle and working classes which that Act precipitated.

The first published accounts available to historians who were not going back to the original manuscript documents or trawling through the journals and newspapers of the time were published in 1839 (B. F. Duppa's *A manual for mechanics' institutes*), 1841 (Thomas Coates' *Report of the state of literary, scientific and mechanics' institutions*), 1851 (J. W. Hudson's *The history of adult education*) and 1853 (James Hole's *An essay on the history and management of literary, scientific, and mechanics' institutions*). The first two were commissioned by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) in an effort to extend and improve the mechanics' institutes of the time. They digested information from the limited number of the mechanics'

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<sup>12</sup> W. E. S. Thomas, 'Francis Place and working class history', *Historical Journal*, 5 (1962), p. 61.

<sup>13</sup> Thompson, *Making*, p. 530 ('partisan'), p. 688.

<sup>14</sup> Simon, *Studies*, p. 155.



institutes which replied to SDUK questionnaires. Hudson and Hole were based in the north of England; both were influential in the Yorkshire Union of mechanics' institutes. Hudson also had direct experience of mechanics' institutes in Manchester and Liverpool as well as those in Scotland.<sup>15</sup> Writing about the institutes around them at the time, these SDUK and Yorkshire-based men occasionally alluded to the histories of the institutes in order to bolster their conclusions for their own period. Later historians drawing on these accounts, although mindful of the seismic change pre- and post-Reform Act, were in danger of back-projecting later views into the 1820s.

The chances of blurring pre- and post- 1832 relationships were enhanced when later historians (in the 1960s and 1970s) covered the movement within a larger period and broader cultural framework. Unlike Duppa, Coates, Hudson and Hole, they were not particularly sympathetic to the SDUK or the mechanics' institute movement. Harold Silver and Simon, for instance, saw mechanics' institutes as inspired by utilitarians and Whigs who supported the 1834 Poor Law and opposed the Ten Hour Bill. Along with Prothero, they considered the advantages of the Owenite societies to the detriment of mechanics' institutes.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, there was a close relationship between the LMI managers and Robert Owen (the first outsider to rent the theatre in 1825), and the London Co-operative Society which held regular meetings at the LMI in 1829 and 1830.<sup>17</sup>

Silver joined Simon in dividing early nineteenth-century educational endeavours into two strands. Along with the SDUK and monitorial schools, mechanics' institutes were viewed dimly for placing efficiency and cost saving above the needs of the students. There was no possibility of the LMI's working-class impetus coming to the fore because the London institute had been placed (with all mechanics institutes) in the middle-class strand. How did these two factors develop to produce such a limited and limiting view of the LMI?

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<sup>15</sup> Hudson styled himself on the title page of *History of Adult Education* as 'Secretary of the Manchester Athenaeum. Founder of the Scottish and Northern unions of Literary and Mechanics' Institutions'.

<sup>16</sup> Silver, *Education*, pp. 80, 82-83, 98-99. Simon, *Studies*, p. 128. Prothero, *Artisans*: compare the section on mechanics' institutes (pp. 191-202) with the section on co-operation (pp. 239-67).

<sup>17</sup> Ch. 8 explores these connections.

## The LMI interpreted within the mechanic's institute movement

By the 1850s, mechanics' institutes operated within a loose federation. From Gateshead on Tyneside to Bridport on the south coast, from Louth in Ireland to Newport Pagnell, the circumstances varied dramatically. Some were founded by local lords of the manor and clergy, some by industrialists, some by the working classes themselves. How could the LMI, based in the capital city (with its Radical MPs and anti-government debating societies) be bracketed with a mechanics' institute in the Northumberland town of Alnwick?<sup>18</sup>

The problem is clear in Duppa's and Coates' SDUK books. Although both authors talked about the movement as a whole, they noted the limited number of responses they had received to circulars to amass their evidence.<sup>19</sup> Duppa used information from Manchester and the Edinburgh School of Arts to draw the conclusion that the 'mechanics and workmen' for whom the institutes were designed were outnumbered by 'others not contemplated in the original scheme'. In letters to Coates and Duppa, while Duppa's *Manual* was in preparation, Birkbeck expressed his irritation about the progress of the book. Not surprisingly, Birkbeck criticised the assumption that 'the evidence at Manchester supercedes all other information'.<sup>20</sup>

The link with Manchester would be a constant problem. Apparently better known and better understood by men like Hudson, this institute was run solely by the middle classes. No working men were on the management committee during our period. Hudson equated London directly with Manchester in a paragraph connecting management desire for better workmen with newspapers' being banned.<sup>21</sup> The historiographical connection between middle-class management and the banning of political discussion and newspapers will be examined later in this chapter. Suffice it to say now that Birkbeck recommended the inclusion of newspapers in 1829 whereas the

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<sup>18</sup> Thomas Coates, *Report of the state of literary, scientific and mechanics' institutions in England* (London: Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1841), pp.19-20. Even Robertson considered all the institutes together in *MM*, 28 (1838), pp. 102-106.

<sup>19</sup> Coates, *Report*, p. 20. [B. F. Duppa], *A manual for mechanics' institutes* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1839), pp. 1-2.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12. George Birkbeck to Thomas Coates, 15 Dec. 1837, and George Birkbeck to B. F. Duppa, 7 Apr. 1838, University College London, SDUK, Correspondence.

<sup>21</sup> Simon, *Studies*, p. 158. Hudson, *History*, p. 130.

Manchester committee took two days to deliberate before allowing them in 1840.

Praising Manchester, Hole recorded that ‘in no Institute was the object of reaching the Mechanic class more sedulously kept in view’:<sup>22</sup> damning indeed for the movement as a whole and egregiously unfair to London.

Birkbeck denied that ‘the attendance of real mechanics had disappointed the expectation of the first friends of these Institutions. In the London Mechanics’ Institution, two thirds of the members have been uniformly of this description.’ Most interestingly he went on to write that Duppa needed only to ask for details of the LMI membership to be supplied with them.<sup>23</sup> Is it possible that the SDUK had not sent the questionnaire to the LMI secretary?

Could this have been because Birkbeck had refused to join Henry Brougham’s SDUK on its founding and continued to shun the Society until August 1839 (by which time Duppa’s book was presumably in production, if not in print)? In 1833, Robertson indicated that Birkbeck’s ‘honourable’ stance was due to Brougham’s having stolen the idea when Birkbeck told him about Sir Richard Phillips’ original plan of providing cheap literature for the working classes. What a different body the SDUK would have been, had it been run by the radical materialist Phillips. Birkbeck’s reluctance to join may be an indicator of the doctor’s more radical approach to working-class education. He did not become an SDUK member until the London union of mechanics’ institutes was being established with him as its President. The London union’s first meeting was held at the SDUK in the late summer of 1839.<sup>24</sup>

By the late 1830s, forming unions of mechanics’ institutes was an SDUK priority. The union in the West Riding of Yorkshire had been the first. Founded on the initiative of Edward Baines, a radical Unitarian-turned-Whig, it had been formed before Duppa’s book was published. Hudson had been prominent in its running. The Yorkshire union was considered a model. Hole noted that Yorkshire contained ‘the largest number of Institutes in proportion to the population of any in the kingdom’.<sup>25</sup> By the time Coates’ book was published in 1841, associations had been formed in London

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<sup>22</sup> Birkbeck suggested taking newspapers in Nov. 1829, and they were stocked from Sep. 1830: MBv3, 23 Nov. 1829, and 27 Sep. 1830. Manchester: Coates, *Report*, p. 34. James Hole, *Prize essay on literary, scientific and mechanics’ institutions* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1853), p. 17.

<sup>23</sup> Birkbeck to Duppa, see n.20.

<sup>24</sup> *MM*, 19 (1833), p. 326. Kelly, *Birkbeck*, pp. 162-63, 191.

<sup>25</sup> Hole, *Essay*, p. 17.

(including twenty-one institutions), in Birmingham for the Midland counties, in Manchester for Lancashire, in Bristol for the west of England, and in Lewes for Sussex.

Although statistics about the twenty-one mechanics' institutes in the London union were included in an appendix, Coates' main table on which he based his conclusions did not include London. It is interesting to speculate on why the London information was buried in the appendices. The front matter table included forty-five institutes. Their selection was, according to Coates, based on the fact that only these institutes had provided enough information to enable comparison. The table reveals what information was required: a breakdown of the membership into mechanics and other; a breakdown into members under or over the age of twenty one; total membership; and finally the population of the town. The LMI details in the appendix only lack the size of the population of the town – which in fact two other institutions in the front-matter table did not provide either: Darwen in Lancashire and Clickheaton (presumably Cleckheaton) in Yorkshire.<sup>26</sup>

Of the forty-five mechanics' institutes which Coates included, twenty-seven had more 'others' than 'mechanics' (eighteen had more mechanics). Comparison was invited between predominantly middle-class institutes – for instance Bath (75 mechanics to 325 others), Coventry (45 mechanics to 236 others) and Preston (102 mechanics to 354 others) – and those with more working-class members like Birmingham (405 mechanics to 80 others), Maidstone (124 mechanics to 70 others) and the Pottery institute in Hanley (177 mechanics to 103 others). Although Coates noted the minimal selection, he nevertheless concluded: the 'returns show that a majority of the subscribers do not belong to the labouring classes'. Including London would not have altered this gross generalisation, but the LMI statistics would have emphasised the great disparity between the institutes in 1840. By far the largest institute with 1144 members (Preston, the next largest, had only 456 members), the LMI boasted (in 1840) 800 mechanics and only 344 others.<sup>27</sup> These figures bear out Birkbeck's claim to Duppa. In fact they show an even higher percentage of working men. Mechanics made up 70% of the membership (comparing favourably to Birkbeck's claim that two thirds were mechanics.) Chapter 4 addresses the problems involved in equating the terms

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<sup>26</sup> Coates, *Report*, pp. 19-20, 104-105.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 104.

‘mechanic’ and ‘working class’.

Coates backed up his generalisation with a quotation from the West Riding Union’s 1840 report. It was

now universally acknowledged, that the members of Mechanic’s Institutes [all mechanics’ institutes or just those within the union?] are nineteen-twentieths of them, not of the class of mechanics, but are connected with the higher branches of handicraft trades, or are clerks in offices, and in many instances young men connected with liberal professions.<sup>28</sup>

Reference to the ‘higher branches of handicraft trades’ underscores the problems of generalisation. Working men in Yorkshire, involved primarily in the woolen industry, had different occupations from working men in London where numerous artisans and mechanics belonged to these handicraft trades. As Prothero noted, London with its ‘great size and large demand for high-quality goods’ supported a large number of better-off working men who ‘had much more in common with small employers, shopkeepers and dealers (which many journeymen might become) and professional men than with the mass of “the poor”’.<sup>29</sup> How the LMI members fit into (or fail to fit into) historians’ accounts of London working-class characteristics is discussed in chapter 4.

Another aspect of the Yorkshire story which may not be applicable to London was Hole’s conclusion that one of the primary reasons for the failure of the institutes was the lack of elementary education among the working classes – and managers’ tardiness in providing elementary classes. Many historians including Prothero follow this line for London also.<sup>30</sup> But the LMI provided classes within three months of the move into permanent premises at Southampton Buildings. There was little take-up for the arithmetic class, begun in December 1824 with only twenty-five pupils, whereas the French language class which opened a month later had 240 pupils within six months. The members did not appear to have been after the basics. And these men were primarily working class: at the time the classes were introduced in December 1824, the Registers show that the occupations of 675 out of 940 members indicate that the men may have been working class, that is 72% of the membership.<sup>31</sup> So probably the majority of LMI working-class members – readers of the *MM* after all – were not

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>29</sup> Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 26.

<sup>30</sup> Hole, *Essay*, pp. 20, 29, 32, 59-60. Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 198.

<sup>31</sup> MRv1. Ch. 4 analyses the relationship between ‘occupation’ and ‘class’.

lacking in elementary education.

Coates's reliance on the Yorkshire Union set a trend in the historiography. Hudson, Hole (and indeed Samuel Smiles) were to draw much of their evidence from their own experiences in Yorkshire – and all these were the main sources for later historians. Although J. F. C. Harrison gave his book the general title *Learning and living (1790-1960): a study in the history of the English adult education movement*, the author admitted on the third page of the introduction that due to the lack of 'adequate monographic work', the book was based on material 'from one selected area, Yorkshire.'<sup>32</sup>

Perhaps the most important difference between the LMI and the northern experience which Hudson and Hole recounted revolved around the composition of the management committee. Who should be in charge: the wealthy patrons or the working men themselves? This question lies at the heart of later historiographical concerns that the institutes were founded to exercise social control over a working class which was seen as morally bankrupt, prone to crime, drunkenness and irreligion. Many historians believed, as Richard Johnson noted, that 'the early Victorian obsession with the education of the poor is best understood as a concern about authority, about power, about the assertion (or the re-assertion?) of control.' If the goal of middle-class founders was to reform working men's morals and supervise their leisure hours – hours which might otherwise be spent in ill-directed debate, political agitation or licentiousness – middle-class men needed to have absolute authority in the institutes. The social-control theory relies on finding evidence of this class relationship.<sup>33</sup>

Hudson and Hole believed that the wealthy should be in charge. Hudson's book was addressed to the local elites. He called the institutes 'middle class institutions'. He opened his section on mechanics' institutes with Byron's statement that if mechanic's institutes succeeded 'the ancient aristocracy of England will be secure for ages to come'. Hudson was convinced that the institutes had to be supported by influential men and that the 'working man must be placed in a large assemblage of superior minds'.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Parliamentary Papers 1849 (458), *Report from the select committee on public libraries*, Samuel Smiles' evidence, pp. 124-28. Harrison, *Learning*, p. xiii.

<sup>33</sup> Richard Johnson, 'Educational policy and social control in early Victorian England', *Past and Present*, no. 49 (1970), p. 119. Robert D. Storch, 'The problem of working-class leisure', in A. P. Donajgrodzki (ed.), *Social control in nineteenth century Britain* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 139.

<sup>34</sup> Hudson, *History*, pp. vii, 26.

On the other hand, Hudson believed that the time had come for the wealthy to relinquish some of their control and reduce their financial support. Partly this was because their money was needed elsewhere; the institutes now needed to be 'self-supporting' (presumably on the basis of members' subscriptions). Hudson also recognised that, by 1851 (when he was writing), mechanics' institutes which wanted to appeal to working men had to have someone on the committee 'qualified to meet the requirements of the members'. Coates had taken the same view in 1842. While the 'principal' institutes had required munificent support from wealthy patrons to get up and running, and were still largely funded by 'honorary contributors', Coates asserted that 'the most certain method of interesting the workman in their success is to give him a share in their management; and the larger that share is, the more likely is the Institute to adapt itself to his wants or inclinations.'<sup>35</sup>

But Hudson was wary and attributed the failure of some institutes to allowing too much member/working-class influence on the committees. Taking his examples from Yorkshire, he cited the Selby institute where members (he called them 'boys') were allowed 'to elect not only their own teachers, but the committee' and noted that at Bramley 'members had the right of being present at all committee meetings, and exercised this privilege by uproar so effectually, to the injury of the Institution'. (Some older members at the LMI expressed outrage when 'mere boys' of twenty and twenty one were elected to the committee, but these younger working-class men were soon teaching classes and generally helping to improve the Institute). Hole agreed with Hudson. Answering fears about working-class members being allowed to vote for the management committee, he assured his readers that 'in ordinary cases the franchise of the members is unused'. A free vote was invaluable because it allowed managers 'accused of aristocratic exclusiveness, to point out that the Institute was based on "Universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments."' And the fault therefore arose, not from those who did, but from those who did not, attend its meetings.'<sup>36</sup> Historians concerned about social control could not have asked for better evidence to support their case. But they needed to remember this evidence came from a northern 1850s' experience.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. vii, 58. Coates, *Report*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>36</sup> Hudson, *History*, p. 186. LMI 'boys', see William Farmer in ch. 6. Hole, *Essay*, pp. 117-18.

Hudson devoted a gloomy five pages to the LMI. He believed that ‘from 1830 to the present time not more than two hundred members, on the average, have been working-men’ (although in 1840 the LMI was listing 800 mechanics). Without footnotes, Hudson’s sources cannot easily be traced. His contention, however, that the LMI’s downfall resulted from allowing radical meetings of ‘the Owenites, the Cobbettites, the Huntites and the antireligionists Carlisle [sic] and Taylor’, suggests that in this case he was building his account on Robertson’s evidence. (Chapter 8 covers the numerous letters in the *MM* against letting the theatre to radical groups, including the Cobbettites and Huntites.) Somehow, in Hudson’s view, these meetings had resulted in the working classes leaving and the middle classes joining. The LMI was now ‘little more than an association of shopkeepers and their apprentices, law copyists and attorneys’ clerks’.<sup>37</sup> Could a northern impatience with London and lack of sympathy with its cultural affiliations be responsible for this depressing analysis?

When historians in the 1960s and 1970s came to examine these sources, they naturally saw evidence for their social-control class theories. It was not only what Duppa, Coates, Hudson and Hole were saying but who they were and the attitudes they were expressing. If these were the leading men in the movement, the movement was surely suspect from a working-class perspective. The involvement of the SDUK did not help. Working men’s dislike of the organisation was well-documented. Patricia Hollis in *The Pauper Press* referred to Cobbett’s condemnation of SDUK tracts as ‘gingerbread dolls to stop the poor from asking awkward questions’.<sup>38</sup>

Historians looking at the big picture have to keep in mind that what was said about Yorkshire and the north did not necessarily apply to the entire movement. As Coates’s deductions from the West Riding union report showed, it is often unclear whether historians are referring to the whole movement or to specific institutions. For instance, after noting that the Yorkshire mechanics’ institute reports proved that they were ‘essentially a middle-class venture in adult education’, Harrison concluded that ‘by the forties most contemporary observers of mechanics’ institutes were obsessed by their “failure”’.<sup>39</sup> The implication is surely that all mechanics’ institutes had failed.

Further complications ensued when 1960s and 1970s historians examined the

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<sup>37</sup> Hudson, *History*, pp. 49-53, 51-52. *MM*, 13 (1830), p. 123.

<sup>38</sup> Patricia Hollis, *The pauper press* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 20.

<sup>39</sup> Harrison, *Learning*, p. 58.



motivations of the founding utilitarians and Whigs in a broader context. Simon, Silver and others took into account not only the efficiency-oriented monitorial schools but also the utilitarians' later involvement in the 1834 Poor Laws and their opposition to the Ten Hours Bill. These developments seemed to clarify that the goals of mechanics' institute founders were to control rather than to help working-class men. Juxtaposing mechanics' institutes with the Owenite Halls of Science and Chartist Halls (which they identified as working-class initiatives) encouraged Harrison, Silver and Simon to split nineteenth-century educational activity into two strands: one provided by the working class for the working class and the other by a middle class desperately trying to influence the working classes.

Harrison believed that the pedigree of the 1840s and 1850s 'spontaneous working-class' mutual improvement societies was 'Owenite rather than laissez-faire liberal'. Hetherington's and Lovett's experiences at the LMI undermine the implicit conclusion that mechanics' institutes provided no impetus for working men's on-going efforts at self-education. Silver separated the mechanics' institutes' 'philosophy of social reform and social control' from 'the reform activities of the independent working-class movement.' While Simon put mechanics' institutes in his middle class sections, he included Owen, Carlile and the new mechanics' institute founded in Manchester in his working-class section. But there was a big difference between the LMI and the doctrinaire approach of the Manchester mechanics' institute which led to the ultra-radical Rowland Detrosier's establishing the breakaway Manchester Mechanics' Institute in 1829.<sup>40</sup>

Unfortunately, these historians did not consider any overlap between the two 'camps' as Silver dubbed them.<sup>41</sup> Lumped into the middle-class camp, the LMI just could not have radical and Owenite connections. Simon's ignoring Carlile's toast in his account of the 1826 Paine birthday party indicated the difficulty of tracking down information about the LMI in 1960.

Understanding the LMI in this new light involves adjusting our view of

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 54. Silver, *Education*, p. 42. Simon, *Studies*, pp. 193-204, 215-22. Birkbeck's support of Detrosier is discussed below.

<sup>41</sup> Silver, *Education*, p. 20.

Birkbeck.<sup>42</sup> In his thorough biography, Kelly mooted Birkbeck's radical sympathies but indicated that these were largely inspired by Broughamite goals rather than the levelling philosophy of Birkbeck's Quaker upbringing, or indeed by direct empathy for the working classes. Unlike Brougham, Birkbeck had immediate and visceral contact with the working men. He was a physician at the Aldersgate Dispensary (1807-1833), a charitable medical institution which was distinguished by its doctors ministering to the sick poor in their own homes. As such Birkbeck was exposed to poverty in a way Brougham never was.<sup>43</sup>

For Kelly, Brougham was the biggest influence in Birkbeck's life.<sup>44</sup> Yet the biographer believed that it was Birkbeck and Hetherington's relationship which lay at the heart of the 1830s campaign against the Stamp Act. The two men drew together 'working-class agitators and middle-class liberal opinion'.<sup>45</sup> Their friendship was mutual and strong. When Birkbeck led the deputation to the Prime Minister in 1836 to procure the repeal of the stamp duties, he stood up for Hetherington's 'illegal' actions in defying the Act: 'he had known Mr Hetherington for many years', he said, and Hetherington 'was a mild, placid, sensible man who was incapable of violating any other law [aside from an unjust one]'. A bold statement to make to the Prime Minister about a man whose *Republican* had advised its readers that in twenty years time they would be enjoying 'POLITICAL EQUALITY diffused by the BRITISH REPUBLIC' and that they had no need to fear revolution because 'REVOLUTION *is only* TERRIBLE *to* TYRANTS and TERRIBLE *only when* OPPOSED'. At Hetherington's funeral, Thomas Cooper remembered Birkbeck's loyalty in visiting the defiant printer 'even in his sorest times of persecution.'<sup>46</sup> Brougham and Hetherington would have been unlikely companions.

Kelly noted but minimised Birkbeck's more radical tendencies. Perhaps Kelly's

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<sup>42</sup> Brief biographies of Birkbeck and all the LMI lecturers in the period Feb. 1824 – Sep. 1826 can be found in appendix L.

<sup>43</sup> Importance of home visiting: I. S. L. Loudon, 'The origins and growth of the dispensary movement in England', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 55 (1981), p. 332; 'General Dispensary, Aldersgate Street', *The Times*, 12 May 1841. Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 41, 175.

<sup>44</sup> Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 176.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>46</sup> *Newspaper stamps. Deputation to Lord Viscount Melbourne, to procure the total repeal of the stamp duty on newspapers* (London: Eley, 1836), p. 4. *Republican*, 1 (1831), p. 3. Thomas Cooper, 'Funeral Eloge on the character of Henry Hetherington', *Reasoner*, 7 (1850), p. 148.

most forceful statement was that Birkbeck's 'private feelings' showed 'evidence that he was rather favourable to the Radical party than otherwise'. But considering that Birkbeck (like the LMI itself) has so often been linked to controlling rather than progressive doctrines, it is important to assert the LMI president's radical connections and activities. These may well have been increased through his work at the LMI. Here he probably met Hetherington and may well have been introduced to the anti-institution and anti-capitalist political economist Thomas Hodgskin (of whom more in the following chapters). Kelly justified Birkbeck's friendship with Hodgskin by claiming that Birkbeck could be sympathetic to his views 'without in any way departing from the orthodox Liberal individualism'. Yet James Mill wrote to Brougham that if Hodgskin's ideas spread, they 'would be the subversion of civilized society; worse than the overwhelming deluge of Huns and Tartars'.<sup>47</sup>

In printing a letter from Birkbeck to Robert Owen in which the doctor professed that Owen's efforts were among 'the best objects and the best hopes of the human species', Kelly stressed that Birkbeck was not Owen's 'disciple'.<sup>48</sup> Not a disciple perhaps, but certainly a fellow-traveller. Birkbeck was friend and fund-raiser to the Owenite Eliza Macauley and a supporter of Robert Owen himself who often spoke at the LMI.<sup>49</sup> And then there was Birkbeck's friendship with the radical Unitarian Southwood Smith whose mechanistic explanations of animal physiology caused uproar at the SDUK where Brougham's Paleyite views of Design held sway.<sup>50</sup> The closeness of their friendship was confirmed by Southwood Smith's using a room in Birkbeck's house at 38 Finsbury Square as his consulting room (where in fact Jeremy Bentham's body was stored before being placed at University College London). The coincidence of their thought was revealed by Birkbeck's quoting Southwood Smith's dictum that an unjust government should be overthrown by the people. That Birkbeck made this observation at the LMI with its largely working-class audience would have been all the more horrifying to Tory and Anglican opinion. Birkbeck became so close to the debating society radical John Thelwall, who had been briefly imprisoned in 1821, that

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<sup>47</sup> Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 118. Mill quoted in Alexander Bain, *James Mill* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1882), p. 364.

<sup>48</sup> Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 125.

<sup>49</sup> As discussed in ch. 8, Macauley also spoke at the LMI.

<sup>50</sup> Adrian Desmond, *The politics of evolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 202-206.

Thelwall named one of his sons after Birkbeck.<sup>51</sup>

The doctor was not afraid of working-class radical initiatives, even those which subverted an established mechanics' institute. In 1833, he backed Rowland Detrosier in an LMI committee controversy four years after Detrosier had established the breakaway New Manchester Mechanics' Institute.<sup>52</sup> Birkbeck was also prepared to break taboos. At a time when dissection provoked massive popular, clerical and genteel horror, but was championed by atheistic radicals who left their bodies for dissection, Birkbeck undertook the first public dissection of a human body at the LMI (1827). He was cheered on by the doctrinaire radical editor of the *Lancet*, Thomas Wakley.<sup>53</sup>

More specific to the LMI's mission, Birkbeck had at the age of twenty-four offered free lectures to Glasgow artisans when he was Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry at the Andersonian Institution (to be discussed in chapter 3). Birkbeck's Quaker roots no doubt played a major role in his philanthropic activities, but Birkbeck also needs to be placed within the complex radical context of 1820s and 1830s London. Separating Birkbeck from 'Broughamite educators' is important for understanding the development of the LMI.

### **The pre-Reform Act LMI interpreted with hindsight after 1832**

The geographical problem – of drawing conclusions on the basis of institutes in different parts of the country – was then exacerbated by anachronistic interpretations. Because our concern is over the relationship between the working and middle classes, the importance of the Reform Act's impact cannot be overstated. Basing any understanding of the founding of the movement on accounts written from 1839 onwards needs especial care. The historian must not apply general comments about the 1840s and 1850s to the earlier period. (Neither must he compare philosophies of

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<sup>51</sup> Finsbury: Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 130 n. 1. Unjust: *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 184. Thelwall: Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 129.

<sup>52</sup> Detrosier: Kelly, *Birkbeck*, pp. 139-40, but note that Kelly misdated the founding of the New Manchester Mechanics' Institute; it was 1829, not 1834.

<sup>53</sup> *Lion*, 20, (March 1829), p. 353-59. Hollis, *Pauper*, p. 196. Ruth Richardson, *Death, dissection and the destitute* (London: Penguin, 1988), p. 76-77, noted that some Christians believed the body must remain intact until the day of Resurrection. *Lancet*, 12 (1827), pp. 148, 349.

institutes founded as far apart as 1829, 1834 and 1845.<sup>54</sup>)

The LMI was founded in November/December 1823, only four years after Lord Liverpool's repressive Tory government bolstered by the Anglican Church had introduced the Six Acts following the Peterloo Massacre. These included the Blasphemous and Seditious Libels Act (under which Carlile had been imprisoned) and the Seditious Meetings Act. Both were still in force when the LMI was founded. Far from government measures splitting the middle classes from the working classes as they did from 1832, Tory policies in the 1820s brought activists from the two groups together in opposition. Their alliance was fundamental to the powerful radical movement in pre-Reform London. Inspired to some extent by the writings of Thomas Paine, men of all ranks looked to a representative government to replace the hereditary rulers who currently exercised such crushing power. The next chapter shows that the Tory press was fully aware of the potential of mechanics' institutes to strengthen this alliance.

By the early 1820s, Whigs and Radicals were using scientific education to drive a wedge into Tory Anglican Old Corruption and its top-down power structure. Not only could a gentleman's education in theology and the Classics be made to seem irrelevant, but scientific men from industrial backgrounds could be shown to have contributed more to Britain's wealth and power than the aristocracy. Marginal men, who lacked – and indeed had been excluded from – an elite education, were coming to the fore. Their inventions were driving the nation forward. Science was the 'new culture' which empowered these men – a culture which was egalitarian by nature. Steven Shapin and Arnold Thackray have noted how 'the democratic rules perceived to govern participation in the scientific enterprise could be (and often were) contrasted critically with the authoritarian and elitist political establishment of pre-Reform times.'<sup>55</sup> By encouraging working-class men to join the scientific enterprise, middle-class speakers (defined later by the LMI as 'not of the working class') at the LMI's founding meeting spread the empowerment they had received from science to a new social group. Here I use term middle-class for convenience to refer to the small section of men interested in

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<sup>54</sup> Michael Ian Watson, 'The origins of the mechanics' institutes in north Lancashire', *Educational Administration and History*, 19.2 (Jul. 1987), pp. 16-17.

<sup>55</sup> Steven Shapin and Arnold Thackray, 'Prosopography as a research tool in history of science', *History of Science*, 12 (1974), pp. 6 ('culture'), 10.

philanthropic activities, reform and scientific endeavours. Chapter 4 investigates LMI usage of the terms ‘working class’ and ‘not of the working class’.

This alternative scientific culture did not go unnoticed by the authorities. The Seditious Meetings Act was used to harass groups getting together for scientific instruction. Suspect organisations had to obtain a licence before they could hold meetings. When the City Philosophical Society (run by John Tatum, who would become a member and committee man in the ‘not of the working class’ category) applied in 1817, its licence was withheld ‘on the principle that it was necessary to be more acquainted with the name of every one of its members, and to be in possession of the list of questions submitted to their discussions’.<sup>56</sup> The *Observer* noted that ‘the very general terms in which the Seditious Meeting Act is couched – the indefinite form of many of its clauses – and the discretion which it vests entirely in the breasts of Magistrates, has produced no small degree of inconvenience to the scientific world’.<sup>57</sup> Edward Baines, who was active in proposing and establishing the Leeds Mechanics’ Institution in December 1823, had commented in 1817 that many of the small scientific and philosophical societies had already been suppressed and that others had to obtain a licence before continuing to meet.<sup>58</sup>

An understanding of these repressive Tory tactics, which were still active (if rarely used) in the mid-1820s, and certainly fresh in the mind of mechanics’ institute founders, could explain the institutes’ ban on political discussion which historians have too often attributed simply to middle-class meddling. Silver, Kelly and Simon took the view that the bans resulted from ‘middle class and aristocratic patronage’ (Silver), and convinced the working men that the institutes were ‘put up jobs’ (Kelly). Simon generalised from Manchester to connect the banning ‘of political and religious discussion, even newspapers’ with the fact that the ‘workers themselves were originally allowed no representation whatsoever’.<sup>59</sup>

Placing the bans firmly in their 1820s context provides another explanation.

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<sup>56</sup> Tatum (MRv1, 1524) listed as gentleman, Sep. 1825 committee. *Parliamentary debates*, 1817, quoted in Ian Inkster, ‘London science and the seditious meetings act of 1817’, *British Journal for the History of Science*, 12 (1979), p. 194.

<sup>57</sup> *Observer*, 2 May 1817, quoted in Ian Inkster, ‘Seditious science’, *British Journal for the History of Science*, 14 (1981), p. 183.

<sup>58</sup> A. D. Garner and E. W Jenkins, ‘The English mechanics’ institutes’, *History of Education*, 13 (1984), p. 140. ‘Commented’: Inkster, ‘Seditious’, pp. 184-85.

<sup>59</sup> Silver, *Education*, p. 55. Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 226. Simon, *Studies*, p. 158.

They were a practical response to political realities which pitted broad sections of the working and middle classes together against the government. Coates was an early proponent of the theory that the ‘indifference of the workman to the benefits’ of mechanics’ institutions was because of the ‘interference of other classes’ which led to the ‘systematic exclusion ... of Political Science and Theology in almost every shape’. But he clarified that he was talking about the 1840s and not the 1820s. In the earlier period, he believed, allowing political discussion would have been too dangerous for any working man’s institution which wanted to establish itself as part of the social and cultural scene. There had been, he wrote, ‘a strong jealousy of any political discussions by the people, and still more of any society which proposed to assemble periodically several hundreds of the labouring classes’. It had been ‘an indispensable circumspection, in rigidly excluding all discussion of matters touching theology of politics’. But now, Coates wrote, political discussion was ‘habitual and uncontrollable’. Many more working men could read in 1840 and there were innumerable political publications geared to their tastes. ‘To withhold political matters from his [the working man’s] contemplation has thus ceased to be possible.’ Coates noted that the Chartists and Socialists drew huge crowds to their meetings at which they welcomed argumentation on political matters and provided lectures on science as well. For once, Coates made a specific reference to London. He noted that ‘lectures have frequently been delivered on branches of political economy at the London Mechanics’ Institute and in several places in Scotland’. That only London and a few places in Scotland were dealing with these subject matters underlines how different London was from all the English mechanics’ institutes.<sup>60</sup>

Historians should not follow Coates’ criticism without taking his periodicity warning into account. Was it ‘ironic’, as Prothero thought, that Robertson ‘agreed with the managers that political topics should be excluded from the teaching’ when he was so keen ‘to cultivate the minds of artisans through education concerned with objects within their daily experience’?<sup>61</sup> Or was Robertson acting, like his fellow founders, out of pure pragmatism given the prohibitive laws of the day?

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<sup>60</sup> Coates, *Report*, pp. 24-26, 29-32.

<sup>61</sup> Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 199.

## How science was taught at LMI

Views about middle-class efforts to control the working classes naturally affected what kind of education historians felt was being supplied. In their split between the education provided by the middle classes for the working classes and the education provided by the working classes for themselves, Simon, Harrison and Silver saw clear differences in approach. Tracing educational theories back to the late eighteenth century, Simon believed that the middle-class approach had ‘lost the humanism and all-sidedness that had been their chief characteristic’ in the earlier period. He spoke of a ‘narrower utilitarianism’ which had ‘to some extent, an abstract, doctrinaire quality’. Owen, on the other hand, represented a friendly working-class approach; he was concerned ‘to educate children as human beings capable of applying their reason to nature and society and of enjoying all aspects of life.’ Placing Owen, a wealthy industrialist, in the working-class strand emphasises the arbitrary nature of these groupings. Presumably he could be thus categorised because, as Harrison put it, ‘the British working-class movement was saturated with Owenism’.<sup>62</sup>

Particularly damaging for all mechanics’ institutes was the historians’ connection of the movement with monitorial schools and the SDUK. According to Simon, the monitorial system ‘did not develop the powers of reasoning but made for passive rote learning’. Considered utilitarian and middle-class, monitorial teaching was contrasted with the Owen’s concern to develop the whole man. Silver commented that Owen’s ‘confidence in human nature and the power of education took him beyond what he considered the narrow schemes of Bell and Lancaster’.<sup>63</sup> But, as chapter 6 explains, the LMI’s approach was geared to developing the members’ powers of reason and to mutual instruction. Members of the committee were sympathetic to the Swiss educator Pestalozzi’s individualistic approach. Charles Lane, the committee man responsible for introducing mutual instruction classes, went on to help James Pierrepoint Greaves, a follower of Pestalozzi and LMI member, to found the communitarian educational establishment at Alcott House in Ham Common.

Making a connection between mechanics’ institutes and the SDUK was

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<sup>62</sup> Simon, *Studies*, p. 70. Harrison, *Learning*, pp. 4-5, 40. J. F. C. Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America* (London, Routledge, Kegan, Paul 1969), p. 196.

<sup>63</sup> Simon, *Studies*, p. 148. Silver, *Education*, p. 111-12, 56-57.



unavoidable because of Dappa and Coates's SDUK publications if for no other reason. Simon contended that the movement's and the publisher's joint goal was "to drum sound doctrine into the people", first and foremost the doctrine of the unity of interest of employer and employee, the latter having the duty to follow where the former led'. Mechanics' institutes and the SDUK were 'the concrete embodiment of Radical educational aims at this particular stage; that is, during the decade which preceded the introduction of the Reform Act'. Simon was focussing on the right period, but his conclusions – at least in connection to the LMI – were still questionable. Hetherington, whose *Poor Man's Guardian* attacked the SDUK mercilessly as a 'disgusting society' which 'has spread abroad more canting, lying, mischievous trash, than, perhaps, any other society that ever existed', was on the LMI committee for five years in the decade before 1832.<sup>64</sup>

In their influential 1977 paper 'Science, nature and control: interpreting mechanics' institutes', Steven Shapin and Barry Barnes talked bluntly about the 'social control aspirations' of mechanics' institutes' founders in general. On the basis of these motives, the authors predicted that the lecturers would have presented factually based definitive knowledge designed to support the status quo. In his 2006 paper on 'low scientific culture in Regency London', James Mussell extended and sharpened the argument to focus on the LMI. He juxtaposed the open forum provided by the *MM* which welcomed debate in the form of letters and articles with the authoritarian approach of the LMI. With 'the principles of dialogue enacted by the text' the *MM* 'provided a textual space for an alternative scientific culture'. An LMI lecture, on the other hand, 'with the audience silenced ... demands unconditional acceptance, not discussion and transformation.'<sup>65</sup> The extrapolation from an alleged middle-class control led once again to a misconception. The printed abstracts of LMI lectures (discussed in chapter 7) show that the LMI lecturers constantly encouraged audience members to think for themselves and to question the information with which they were presented.

Social-control theories then appear to have little purchase at the LMI in the

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<sup>64</sup> Simon, *Studies*, p. 163. *Poor Man's Guardian*, no. 60, 1832, p. 486, quoted in Silver, *Education*, p. 42.

<sup>65</sup> Steven Shapin and Barry Barnes, 'Science, nature and control', *Social Studies of Science*, 7 (1977), pp. 48-50. James Mussell, "'This is ours and for us'", in David Clifford, Elisabeth Wadge, Alex Warwick (eds), *Repositioning Victorian sciences* (London: Anthem Press, 2006), pp. 117, 114.

period between 1823 and 1830. This may be partly because members, whether ‘working class’ or ‘not of the working class’, conceived themselves on the same side until the Reform Act changed the political balance. Before 1832, as Gareth Stedman Jones has argued, the ‘dividing line between classes was not that between employer and employed, but that between the represented and the unrepresented.’<sup>66</sup> Why should one group wish to dominate the other when they were working together to achieve parliamentary reform? But there are other problems. As more recent historiography has noted, the social-control model is crude and tends to steam roller over the actions and interactions of individual men. In their seminal article on the popularisation of science, Cooter and Pumfrey refuted any ‘simple diffusion model’ of science, which, with its implied ‘imposition of dominant culture’, could also be applied to teaching in the institutes. For such a model to work, they pointed out, all the educators must have an identical goal and think identically about how to achieve it. Furthermore their views and objectives could not be influenced by their on-going relations with their students. The model ignores, as Cooter and Pumfrey put it, the ‘processes of scientific exchange, interaction, translation, and resistance.’ Johnson too asserted that it is ‘the points of contact between class cultures’ which are of interest, rather than any perceived or half-perceived goal to change the way people behave.<sup>67</sup> Chapters 6 and 7, on LMI classes and lectures, provide details of these class interactions.

### **Recovering the LMI from the ground up**

A contextual approach helps to site LMI members and the institute in the 1820s and to understand the external pressures which influenced the way the men envisaged and developed their institute. Rather than relying on generalised models which predict how groups of men might have behaved based on their class affiliations, I analyse the actions of the individual men who served on the committees, helped out at the lectures,

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<sup>66</sup> Gareth Stedman Jones, ‘Rethinking Chartism’, in *Languages of class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 104-107 (quotation, p. 106).

<sup>67</sup> Roger Cooter and Stephen Pumfrey, ‘Separate spheres and public places’, *History of Science*, 32 (1994), p. 251 (‘diffusion’), p. 253 (‘dominant’), p. 248 (‘exchange’). Johnson, ‘Educational’, p. 119.

In ‘Class expression vs social control?’ Gareth Stedman Jones (*Languages*, p. 80) took the social-control model to its logical extreme when he commented that ‘there is no political or ideological institution which could not in some way be interpreted as an agency of social control’. He concluded that the concept added nothing useful to historiographical interpretations of events.

taught the classes, or made up the audience. Historians have produced no evidence that working-class men left the Institution in the first few years. We must ascertain how the silversmiths, upholsterers, carpenters or bricklayers behaved before reaching any conclusions.

This thesis draws on a detailed analysis of rarely consulted LMI manuscript management Minutes and Quarterly Reports, as well as on the previously untapped LMI manuscript Registers of Members. Revealing some of the early conflicts, the thesis includes the first comparison of the draft Rules and Orders with the final version. Contemporary journals and newspapers are invaluable for this ground-up approach. Detailed accounts of LMI activities appeared in the *MM*, the *Mechanics' Chronicle* (hereafter *MC*) and the *London Mechanics' Register* (hereafter *LMR*). The *MC*, founded by Place's friend Thomas Wooler (former editor of the *Black Dwarf*), only ran for three months before the *LMR* began publishing. Both were founded to support the LMI's version of events in the face of an increasingly hostile *MM* run by Robertson. Place's manuscript account of the LMI's 'early history', started in 1826 with an entry as late as 1835, was surely informed by a desire to refute Robertson's *MM* editorials. Sympathetic reports in the *Westminster* and *Edinburgh* reviews were countered by Tory criticism in *Blackwood's* and the *Quarterly Review*.

Lecture abstracts can be found in the *MC*, the *LMR*, and the *Register of Arts and Sciences (RAS)*. Once the LMI was established, newspaper coverage generally focussed on the external meetings held in the LMI theatre. John Hunt and William Cobbett for instance spoke at Radical Reform Association meetings held at the LMI. Robert Owen's events there were also well covered, as were the Co-operative Society meetings. Not surprisingly the more colourful reports appeared in the *Tory Age* and *John Bull*. Cobbett's *Weekly Register* and the *Co-operative Magazine* gave first-hand accounts of these meetings from the point of view of the speakers themselves.

The following chapter seeks to explain the founding goals. Identifying the groups who came together at the first public meeting, it analyses the rhetoric used in the proposal and by the speakers to appeal to a wide constituency. The third chapter pulls back to ask why Birkbeck was named founder, although he came on board after the proposal was printed. It suggests that in the 1820s, his respectability was vital to front an organisation founded to some extent by radicals who had been active in the London Corresponding Society and even by men who had been in and out of prison for

challenging the authority of the State. Chapter 4, based on an analysis of the Members' Registers (a rich source of evidence about London working men), is devoted to analysing the composition of the membership from 1824 to 1830. The members' own definitions of 'working class' and 'not of the working class' (based on the application of the two-thirds rule) are compared and contrasted with the analyses of such historians as E. P. Thompson, Ioworth Prothero, L. D. Schwarz, David Green and David Barnett. The remaining chapters examine how the members (including those on the committee) worked together to set up the Institution (chapter 5), run the classes (chapter 6), organise and respond to the lectures (chapter 7), and hire out the theatre to radical and Owenite groups (chapter 8).

My goal then is to provide a nuanced and contextually embedded account of one leading mechanics' institute. By exploring members' interactions while noting their self-referential categorisations, I unpick and question the historiographical claims about class change at these institutes.

## Aims and audience

By 8pm, 11 November 1823, the largest room at the Crown and Anchor Tavern off the Strand was filled to overflowing. ‘More than 2000’ men had crowded into the first public meeting to found the London Mechanics’ Institution.<sup>1</sup> The capacity crowd was unsurprising, given that ‘the town was inundated’ with advertisements, that a thousand offprints of Robertson’s *Mechanics’ Magazine* proposal were in circulation, and an extensive word-of-mouth campaign had been organised by Francis Place.<sup>2</sup> The audience was, according to Robertson, composed largely of the men at whom the proposal had been aimed: ‘*working mechanics*’. But he was pleased to see ‘individuals of wealth and eminence’ and ‘many most respectable master engineers, manufacturers, and tradesmen’. Newspaper coverage stressed how ‘respectable’ the mechanics were, although Robertson did report that ‘two or three unhappy individuals’ had turned up drunk and had been ‘gently’ removed. Amidst the throng, Birkbeck (who would chair the meeting), Robertson and the other organisers could barely make their way to their

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<sup>1</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 177. Women were not allowed to become members until June 1830: *MM*, 13 (1830), p. 250. They were, however, welcomed as members’ guests to the opening of the lecture theatre in July 1825 (MBv1, 4 Jul. 1825) and allowed to attend some of the lecture series when members bought tickets for them.

Because the folio numbering in MBv1 ceases at f. 66 (in Feb. 1824), I have, for consistency, referred solely to the dates of meetings and not to folio numbers throughout the thesis.

<sup>2</sup> *LJAS*, 6 (1823), p. 319 (‘inundated’). Place, EH, ff. 242, 245.

seats.<sup>3</sup>

The popularity of the idea of a mechanics' institute was not only measured in attendance, but also in the number of men who signed up to become members. At the end of the meeting, 'several hundreds of mechanics pressed forward ... to give in their names to the secretaries'. Within three days, the number of subscribers was 'upwards of five hundred'.<sup>4</sup> The 2 December follow-up meeting (also at the Crown and Anchor) was almost as large as the first. Comprising 'members and friends', it was so crowded that John Borthwick Gilchrist, soon to be an LMI vice-president, could not hear the proceedings. Once again, at the end of the meeting, 'great numbers of persons came to have themselves enrolled up to the very latest hour' at which they could be called founders of the Institution.<sup>5</sup>

Who were these early members? What were their occupations? Were they principally working mechanics or did they constitute a more varied group? The *British Press* commented on the many 'gentlemen' present at the 2 December meeting – and there are indications that these gentlemen were in fact members. If the 500+ men had all been working mechanics, it is hard to explain how a member could assert at the same meeting that out of the 40 London trades, not 15 were represented. At the first quarterly meeting in March 1824, it was proposed that 'such of the members as were mechanics' should make machines for the use of the Institution. Many members were clearly not mechanics.<sup>6</sup>

But we can dig deeper. Although the properly organised Members' Registers that are extant today were not begun until December 1824, they nevertheless record the names, occupations and addresses of the earliest members (provided that they were still members in December 1824). Each member had a membership number which was allocated when he joined. Because some men had ceased paying by December 1824, the Register does not record all the membership numbers. So all the members with numbers under 1,001 amount to only 576 men (as shown in appendix B). The fact that

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<sup>3</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 177 ('working'), 178 ('individuals'). Respectable: *Courier*, 12 Nov. 1823; *The Times*, 13 Nov. 1823; *Examiner*, 16 Nov. 1823; *Morning Chronicle*, 12 Nov. 1823. Throng: *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 191.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227. Gilchrist: *British Press*, 3 Dec. 1823.

<sup>6</sup> Trades represented: *New Times*, 3 Dec. 1823. The suggestion that there were only 40 trades in London seems odd. Richard Phillips, *The book of English trades* (London: J. Souter, 1818) explained the activities of men working in 78 trades. Quarterly meeting reported in *Courier*, 4 Mar. 1824 and in QMv1, f. 7.

the men on the provisional and first committees (who must have been members by 15 December when the first committee was elected) have numbers below 1,001 supports this deduction (shown in appendix C).

Table 2.1 draws on appendix E, which lists the occupations of all these early members, to show the six occupational listings which included the most members.

*Table 2.1: Occupations undertaken by the largest numbers of the 576 original members*

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Numbers of men</b>
Printer	39
Carpenter	38
Cabinet-maker	29
Clerk	28
Gentleman	26
Engineer	24

Surprisingly, gentlemen and clerks are in this list. Realising that ‘clerk’ and ‘gentleman’ are catch-all terms which bring together many sub-sections, I have categorised some of the occupations into larger groupings (appendix F). For instance the building trade as a whole can include not only carpenters, but painters, plumbers and glaziers. Grouping those involved in precision-instrument-making together results in trades with fewer adherents (watch-making, mathematical- or musical-instrument-making, etc) taking on a new significance. Had clerks or gentlemen been divided into different subsections, as precision-instrument-makers were, their presence would not appear so large. Table 2.2 summarises information in appendix F which allocates the members to larger, artificial, categories. Significantly, engineers and gentlemen drop out of the top six: engineers to seventh place, gentlemen to tenth place.

*Table 2.2: Artificial occupational categories in which the largest numbers worked*

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Numbers of men</b>
Builders etc	72
Printers etc	50
Cabinet-makers etc	49
Precision-instrument-makers	40
Clerks	34
Professionals	30

Finally appendix G addresses the fundamental issue: the proportion of

‘operatives’ to ‘non-operatives’ or those who worked with their hands to those who did not. This was the division that concerned Robertson and the one on which arguments about the size of the working-class membership focussed. Here working mechanics have been separated from everyone else. Although the committee did not supply any breakdown of the membership until 1838, their September 1826 Quarterly Report claimed that the proportion for the previous quarter of ‘the operative to the non-operative is rather more than three to one’. Although Robertson reported that the men in the Crown and Anchor audience were primarily the men he wanted to attract, it appears that almost certainly at least a quarter of these early members were not operatives. Probably the number was higher. The data in appendix G shows every man who could possibly have been an operative, given his trade, in the operative column. Everyone else is categorised as non-operative, except the 25 people who were listed without an occupation (who are at this point excluded from the tally). The data shows that 78% of the members listed occupations which could have been performed by operative mechanics. But equally the men may have been masters in these trades. Well-known employers Richard Taylor and John Martineau were listed simply as printer and engineer. This analysis, based solely on occupation, mistakenly puts them in the ‘operative’ category. Another problem is that many of these occupations, like jeweller or stationer, could indicate a retailer rather than a maker. Finally, should the men who listed no occupation be added in with the non-operatives, the percentage becomes 75% operatives and 25% non-operatives.<sup>7</sup>

Why were so many members not working mechanics when the agreed and stated aim was to educate ‘humble operatives’ (*MM* proposal)? There can be little doubt that the *MM* proposal was geared to operative mechanics.<sup>8</sup> Knowledge was the first step towards ‘obtaining the power to raise themselves to their proper station in society’.<sup>9</sup> They would ‘acquire a knowledge at a cheap rate, of the elements of science’.

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<sup>7</sup> Ch. 4 and appendix K provide more information on the distinction between operatives and non-operatives.

The substantial presence of gentlemen and what might be called ‘professional’ or ‘white-collar workers’, along with the high numbers of printers and instrument-makers/jewellers, add an important extra dimension to Hudson’s broad claim that ‘the first five hundred members’ enrolled ‘consisted almost entirely of master mechanics, shop-keepers, dealers in hardware, with their workmen, cabinet makers, and house painters’ (Hudson, *History*, p. 49). Hobsbawm’s concern that the wood-working trades were over-represented in the first years may be substantiated by these figures: Eric Hobsbawm, *Worlds of Labour* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1984), p. 257.

<sup>8</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 99-102 (proposal), 100 and 102 (‘operatives’).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.



Another reason to join was that attending the Institution would provide a wholesome occupation, conducted ‘in large and well-aired rooms’, to replace the dissipation of the ‘pot-house’.<sup>10</sup> The distinction between a working and a master mechanic was emphasised.

We do not doubt, that in this undertaking, the operatives will find much friendly assistance, particularly from the master mechanics but as the Institution is intended for the benefit of the operatives, our present appeal is chiefly directed to them.

The operatives would learn the ‘facts of chemistry, mechanical philosophy, and of the science of the creation and distribution of wealth’ (the last of these had been dropped by the time of the 11 November meeting and was never mentioned again).<sup>11</sup>

But the *MM* was read by many men interested in the latest scientific and technical developments who were not operatives. Surely if they were interested in the subject matter of the magazine, they would be interested in the lectures and other provisions of the prospective institute. Furthermore, there was a blurring of the meaning of ‘mechanic’ which allowed the word to encompass men who were not working class. So targeting ‘mechanics’ without the qualifier ‘humble’ or ‘operative’ – as in Robertson’s heading for the proposal ‘Institutions for the Instruction of Mechanics’ – could certainly have appealed to men from different social backgrounds.

At the crowded 11 November Crown and Anchor meeting, the LMI’s purpose was stated in broader terms. The education would allow men ‘to advance the arts and sciences, and to add largely to the power, resources, and prosperity of the country’ (the first resolution). Invention and its role in increasing national competitiveness had become a focus. The hint in the *MM* proposal that the education would help in ‘discovering how they [operations] may be simplified and improved’ was now clarified.<sup>12</sup>

Before an examination of the rhetoric about inventors and invention can be undertaken, some of the reasons geared solely towards the working men need to be explored. The proposal emphasised getting working men out of the tavern and providing them with better recreational activities. This advantage was elaborated by many of the speakers. For instance John Johnson, one of three working men who addressed the meeting, regretted his colleagues’ ‘wasting their time and strength’ in

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 101

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 99, 181.

skittles and prize fighting.<sup>13</sup>

More positive reasons were also given. Knowledge in itself would be ‘a permanent source of innocent and delightful recreation’ (Richard Taylor). Running an institute would encourage ‘manly virtue’ and ‘honest pride’ (John Sydney Taylor). (The second resolution stated that the institute would be ‘most stable and useful when entirely or chiefly supported and managed by mechanics themselves’.) Alderman Key pointed out that ‘the best workmen were the best informed’, and Martineau, a large employer who was to become one of the first vice-presidents, drew the obvious conclusion that ‘whatever improved the workmen tended to benefit the employer’ (an assertion greeted with applause). Richard Taylor extended the argument to assert that whatever promoted ‘the true interests of the operative classes’ contributed ‘to the welfare of all classes of the community’.<sup>14</sup>

Although these concerns about the moral reform of working men might have encouraged men from wealthier social groups to *patronise* the institute (and indeed are highlighted by historians who claim that mechanics’ institutes were designed by the middle classes to reduce the troublesomeness of the working classes), they were not great inducements to wealthier men to *join*. Given that the membership included many middle-class men, it is hard to consider reasons based on the moral reform of the workers of paramount importance.<sup>15</sup> The members well understood the distinction between a man who joined and someone who merely donated. When it was suggested that men who donated £10 could become ‘honorary members’, the audience was vehemently opposed. Someone shouted out ‘No *Aristocracy*’ – a call that epitomised the radical and democratic roots of the Institution.<sup>16</sup> These mechanics rejected the patronage of the ruling classes. They did not want to be infiltrated by coterie of idle aristocrats, parasites who did nothing but granted favours on the basis of their elite status within a corrupt society. At the end of the day, the donors, typified by James Mill and Jeremy Bentham, were not aristocrats. As well as indicating their hatred of Old Corruption, the members’ reaction points to the sense of camaraderie that paying the subscription ensured. Whether carpenters, clerks or gentlemen, they were all members.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 188.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 183, 185-87.

<sup>15</sup> How the LMI lecturers encouraged improved habits is discussed in ch. 7.

<sup>16</sup> *Morning Post*, 3 Dec. 1823.

## Invention

Was a shared interest in invention a common bond which united these men from different backgrounds, and motivated them to join? Although historians do not point to the importance of invention in the origins of the LMI, it was a focus of the founding rhetoric – and a major part of the curriculum from May 1826 onwards.<sup>17</sup> An understanding of science was linked to practical achievement. The ‘objects of science’ were, according to Birkbeck in his opening address at the 11 November meeting, to be found in the inventions of Watt, Bramah, Perkins and Count Rumford.<sup>18</sup>

The emphasis was not surprising given the increasing public interest. Watt’s improvements to the steam engine and Maudsley’s improved lathe (1800) were revolutionising light and heavy industries. Civil and mechanical engineers were transforming the landscape. The *MM* itself was a product of these endeavours. Launched on 30 August 1823, the magazine owed its existence and popularity to the intense interest in invention and technological methods for improving manufacture and civic works, and for easing everyday tasks. Before large companies controlled major manufacturing sectors, a man could make his fortune with a new process to speed production or improve quality. In the early 1820s no fewer than nine new periodicals appeared listing patent applications.<sup>19</sup>

Robertson was himself a patent agent. H. I. Dutton emphasised his central role in the 1820s patent business. (Dutton dated the start of patent agency as a profession to 1817.)<sup>20</sup> Robertson not only listed newly acquired patents; he reproduced lengthy specifications and detailed drawings. He weighed up the patented object’s pros and cons. Reading Robertson’s reports kept people up to date with the latest developments and might inspire them to make improvements of their own.

Although Robertson professed that the magazine was aimed at the working man – only of the *MM* could operatives say ‘this is ours, and for us’ – nevertheless he was

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<sup>17</sup> Kelly, Godard, Burns and Prothero did not mention the importance of invention at the LMI. Chs 6 and 7 focus on the LMI curriculum.

<sup>18</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 179-80.

<sup>19</sup> These journals were: *Glasgow Mechanics’ Magazine*, *Technical Repository*, *Kaleidoscope*, *London Journal of Arts and Sciences*, *London Mechanics’ Register*, *Mechanics’ Oracle*, *Chemist*, *Mechanic’s Chronicle*, and *Register of Arts and Sciences*.

<sup>20</sup> H. I. Dutton, *The patent system and inventive activity during the industrial revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 87.

clearly aware that his readership was much larger. From the launch of the magazine, he welcomed communications not only from working men but also from everyone who was interested in the subjects the magazine covered. Six years later Robertson proudly declared that the *MM* had always been ‘*the journal of all classes*’.<sup>21</sup>

Men who enjoyed reading the magazine would naturally be interested in joining the LMI. The *Scotsman* made the connection between the *MM*'s goal to inspire working men to invent and its activities to found the LMI. Indeed it seems unlikely that the patent-agent editor of the *MM* would have suggested an institute which had no connection with invention. After reading the proposal, *The Times* identified the purpose of the LMI as ‘eliciting a vast quantity of practical talent, which now lies dormant, and ... treasuring up, for the benefit of the public, a number of valuable discoveries and inventions which now perish with the individual’. Benjamin Bevan, a successful civil engineer, who was elected to the provisional committee, was delighted that the knowledge imparted would stop people wasting time in pursuit of ‘*fruitless patents*’. John Sidney Taylor pressed the point home at the 11 November meeting: the LMI's purpose was ‘to enrich the world of knowledge by new discoveries, and command the public gratitude by the donations of his [the mechanic's] intellect’.<sup>22</sup>

The democratic environment of the *MM*, which operated as a forum for discussing new inventions, had already brought men from different social backgrounds together. They pooled their experiences and thoughts. For instance, Robertson followed an article by Brunel, describing his plan to build a tunnel under the Thames, with an alternative plan (also given lead story status) by the working man John Johnson who spoke at the 11 November meeting.<sup>23</sup> That men from different social backgrounds would continue the joint endeavour in the Institution seems unsurprising.

But there was another impetus to bring all these men together, and that was the blurring of the distinction between ‘mechanic’ and ‘inventor’. The *MM*'s focus on mechanics as inventors is graphically illustrated in the cover art for the first volume, which encompassed the period from 30 August 1823 to 6 March 1824. A depiction of Hermes (the patron of young men who was associated with inventiveness) fills the centre space and is surrounded by two columns on which are scrolled the names of ten

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<sup>21</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 16. *MM*, 11 (1829), p. v.

<sup>22</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 131 (*The Times*), 132 (*Scotsman*), 146 (Bevan), 185 (Taylor).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 258.

famous inventors including Priestley, Newton, Rennie, Fulton, Smeaton, and Watt. How much more clearly could the cover have associated the magazine's purpose and readership with invention?

James Watt was continually held up as the archetypal mechanic with whom working LMI members could equate themselves directly. Professor Millington, an Oxford educated son of an attorney, told members of his audience that he had himself been a 'workman' and a 'practical mechanic' like themselves. In fact at the 11 November meeting, 'mechanic' seemed to encompass just about anybody who had contributed to Britain's pre-eminence amongst nations. The *Mechanics' Magazine* reported the speeches and the enthusiastic reception they received.

It was to the superiority of our mechanics that this country was indebted for the pre-eminent rank which it held in the scale of nations, and it behoved us to do all in our power to retain that pre-eminence [applause]. [John Martineau, engineer]

He was glad to find all concur in the importance of the operative classes in society. If he were asked what they are? he would reply by asking what are they not? [cheers] ... the sailors and mechanics may alike be denominated heroes of Trafalgar [cheers]. [Benjamin Rotch, patent lawyer]<sup>24</sup>

Robertson's assertion that 'mechanical invention, and not mere labour, is the great source of national wealth' pointed to the connections Rotch and Martineau were making: a mechanic was important in his capacity as inventor and not as a 'mere' labourer.<sup>25</sup>

The attribute of genius was widely used to encompass the common ground shared by the self-made man, the humble mechanic, and the inventor. Taylor told the 11 November audience that there were men of genius 'in every walk of life'. Phrases like 'needy genius', 'natural genius', 'humble genius', and 'genius wasted' recur in the debates around setting up the mechanics' institute. In his flowery language Birkbeck attributed his establishment of the first mechanics' class to his discovery among the working men of 'the heaven lighted lamp' – interpreted by the *LMR* to refer to 'the latent genius in the minds of the workmen'. J. Tidmarsh, writing to the *MM* in December 1823, was delighted at the thought that a boy of genius, whose master had

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<sup>24</sup> *LJAS*, 7 (1824) p. 164 ('workman'). *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 186 (Martineau), 182 (Rotch), 434 ('practical mechanic'). The connections were clearly forced. Other working men were outraged at the 'clap-trap' of so aggrandising the working men. See 'T. H.' in *LJAS*, 6 (1823), pp. 319-23, and 'Tom Telltruth' in *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 195-96. George Thurnell, on the other hand, found Millington's equation of himself with the working men inspirational: Frederic Hill, *National education*, 2 vols (London: C. Knight, 1836), vol. 2, p. 216.

<sup>25</sup> *MM*, 4 (1825), p. iii.

not recognised his talents, would now be enabled to contribute substantially to the community's prosperity.<sup>26</sup>

Explanations of this linkage between mechanic and inventor could lead to an attack on the ruling elite. The central message was that the middling and operative classes were in fact one group. They shared common interests and both needed to bolster their positions in relation to the aristocracy in these pre-Reform years. This was no easy task given the stranglehold the aristocracy had over so many learned bodies. Old Corruption had infiltrated here as everywhere else. Cobbett had coined the term to encompass all that was wrong with the government and society: sinecures, nepotism, rotten boroughs, cronyism, placemen, reversions to bequeath positions of power. Reformers wanted a meritocratic society, run by the men who did the work, and their numbers were swelling. Even elite institutions like the Royal Society were not immune to democratic pressure. In 1820, Charles Babbage was agitating for the new Royal Society president to be 'a philosopher' rather than a 'peer, a priest or a prince.'<sup>27</sup> In his analysis of the reform movement at the Royal Society, Roy MacLeod envisaged 'two great forces pitted against each other – men who owed allegiance to the traditional ruling classes, and men who looked to the new agencies of manufacturing and commercial power, and who made their bids for institutional power in the name of liberalism and specialised knowledge.'<sup>28</sup> Rivalries inside elite scientific institutions were bad enough, but how much more dangerous to Old Corruption when an interest in science, with its rival knowledge base, spread into the community at large. In its increasingly repressive efforts to maintain control, the government even harassed small local scientific societies.

The LMI was founded by reformers who believed that the middling and operative classes belonged together in the fight to end aristocratic rule. This line of argument was developed in various ways. There was a simplistic historical claim that both the labouring and industrial classes were descended from 'slaves', and thus had common cause against the 'rulers'. According to the *MM*, operative mechanics and James Watt were linked because both practised the 'useful arts' which were originally

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<sup>26</sup> Taylor: *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 194. *LJAS*, 6 (1823), pp. 199, 313, 323. *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 116, 179 (Birkbeck address). *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. ix. Tidmarsh: *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 276-77.

<sup>27</sup> Babbage to Whewell, 15 May 1820, Whewell Papers, Trinity College, Cambridge, quoted in Roy M. MacLeod, 'Whigs and savants', in Ian Inkster and Jack Morrell (eds), *Metropolis and province* (London: Hutchinson, 1983), p. 60.

<sup>28</sup> MacLeod, 'Whigs', p. 57.

associated with ‘domestic slaves and degraded classes of men’. Practical skills ‘still bear, even when their importance is acknowledged, part of the stigma attached to the vices and debased state of their first professors.’ The Glasgow mechanics’ letter to Birkbeck struck the same note: in ‘antiquity ... the practical arts were exercised solely by slaves’. In 1833 John Wade, a veteran campaigner against Old Corruption, extended various themes he had expounded as editor of the *Gorgon* (1818-19) to claim that both classes had the same heritage – that of slaves.<sup>29</sup>

There was also an educational dimension. These propagandists had in their sights a ruling elite who claimed to have a monopoly on knowledge, and who proclaimed the brutish lower orders incapable of improvement. The inventions of self-made men gave the lie to this propaganda. Three elite claims to superiority were widely denied in the period:<sup>30</sup>

1) That only abstract, theoretical science, based on principles and established truths, was authentic. These men criticised the belief that the ‘progress of discovery’ could rely solely on those who ‘cultivate natural knowledge, because it affords them pleasure, and who study it as an abstract science’. Invention required men ‘who try expedients for improving the arts, [and] must always depend on the demand for the product of their skill and industry’. Not only was necessity the mother of invention, but the accepted ‘truths’ of the past could be superseded.<sup>31</sup>

2) That theoretical learning was beyond the capability of the lower orders. Practical men blamed ‘the prejudices of the schoolmen’ for ‘retard[ing] the progress of knowledge’. Everyone needed to understand that ‘philosophizing is a much simpler art than many people are aware of. It is neither more, nor less, than *the practice of observing and applying facts to improve the skill and diminish the labour of man.*’<sup>32</sup>

3) That only disinterested knowledge could be impartial, morally sound and trustworthy. To the aristocratic mind, the judgement of a man motivated by profit would automatically be clouded, and his conclusions would be unsound if not dangerous. Engineers and inventors were well aware that public trust was vital and

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<sup>29</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 2. Glasgow mechanics: *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 118. Anon., ‘History of the middling and working classes’, *Westminster Review*, 19 (1833), p. 463. See Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 86, on the *Gorgon*’s approach.

<sup>30</sup> See ch. 7 for further discussion of the first two.

<sup>31</sup> *Mechanic’s Oracle*, 1 (1824-5), p. 29.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* p. 17.

went to lengths to cultivate images of respectability, reliability and objectivity. It was against this background that the *MM* stressed Watt's 'moral dignity'.<sup>33</sup>

Thus working-class mechanics and wealthy, or indeed 'gentleman', inventors could be rhetorically linked in an onslaught on old values. Establishment figures who controlled education were shown to be dampening down the wealth of the nation by limiting the scope of practical men whose inventions were the lifeblood of progress. Achievement was based on merit rather than birth. If British society was understood to be divided into two ranks (slaves and masters), all men not born aristocrats were from the same, inferior, group. The *Mechanics' Register* claimed that 'Watt had advanced from comparative obscurity to affluence and eminence, solely by the efforts of his own genius' (despite his 'highly respectable' parentage).<sup>34</sup>

The crowning glory of the rhetoric was a patriotic appeal. The wealth of the nation rested on the industry and innovations of these practical people. By implication the ruling gentry contributed little. As the 11 November speakers expressed it: 'it was only by the establishment of such institutions as that now contemplated that we could expect to retain the advantages which we possessed' (Martineau); 'to a manufacturing and commercial country, an Institution like that proposed would be productive of incalculable benefits' (John Sidney Taylor); the LMI would be a 'benefit not only to the city, but to the whole empire' (Alderman Key).<sup>35</sup>

In these ways, the focus on invention and the fluid meaning of mechanic drew in a wide constituency. But there was a mixed message: was the prime purpose to increase invention and national wealth or to educate the 'humble mechanic'? On 6 December 1823 Robertson was forced to clarify the position. He admitted that emphasis on invention and the patriotic appeal were specifically designed to draw in men of a different social background. Invention, he now said, was only a 'secondary' goal. The prime objective was 'the direct gratification and benefit of the mechanics' to be accomplished 'by the mutual co-operation of the mechanics themselves'.

That "the arts may be improved by this Institution," that "many *valuable discoveries*" may be made, that the aggregate of "*national advantage*" may be increased, that "the realm of mind may be opened, and a common treasure formed for the *general good*," are only secondary consequences of the plan, not its immediate object. If they have been dwelt on in this publication, it was only to interest a larger class of persons in the

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<sup>33</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *LMR*, 2 (1825), pp. v, vi.

<sup>35</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 184, 186, 187.



success of the scheme; and it is not for their sake, but for the direct gratification and benefit of the mechanics, that the scheme was proposed.<sup>36</sup>

However, the LMI's potential contribution to invention continued to be stressed, both by working men (John Gast) and leading Whigs (Brougham). In December 1825, Gast claimed that mechanics' institutes helped both the 'operative class' and employers because 'whatever tended to improve the principles of mechanism, and to economize expenditure, must be advantageous to both'. (Does this amount to saying that purpose of mechanics' institutes was to help mechanics improve machinery? – a topic addressed in chapter 7.) Brougham asserted that, following the establishment of mechanics' institutes, working men had only themselves to blame 'if they don't rise out of their level, and obtain the chances of making discoveries which would secure them the gifts of affluence, and bestow on them a share in the greatest glory at which man can arrive, the renown of extending the boundaries of science and art'.<sup>37</sup>

The expansion of the definition of mechanic mixed social groups in two ways. Firstly, all successful inventors were now by definition 'mechanics'. Secondly, a 'mechanics' institute would appeal to anyone who wanted to join in the inventive bonanza. Chapters 6 and 7 explore how this early focus on invention was developed in the curriculum. I also assess, in light of LMI evidence, the historiographical claim that working men were in general opposed to the introduction of machinery which replaced men's labour. Arguably new machinery was the *raison d'être* of the institute – and of the *MM*.

### **Place, politics and education**

Radical and Whig politics provided a campaigning outlet for this coalition when it was defined in opposition to the ruling elite. At the LMI, Brougham and Gilchrist both sought to increase the common identification. In July 1825, Brougham told the members, 'I am only a student like yourselves', and referred to 'our President'. Gilchrist described himself as a 'radical reformer' who addressed them as 'a

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>37</sup> Gast speaking at a meeting to establish a Rotherhithe mechanics' institute: *TN*, 4 Dec. 1825. Henry Brougham, 'Address to the members of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution, July 21, 1835', *Speeches of Henry Lord Brougham*, 4 vols (Edinburgh, Adam and Charles Black, 1838), vol. 3, p. 166.

Flexner, *London Mechanics' Institution*, ch. 2 p. 49

mechanic’.<sup>38</sup> Brougham was delighted to report that Millington had told the LMI audience that he ‘had originally belonged to the same class with themselves’. Thus Whigs and Radicals tried to minimise the difference between the working men and themselves. David Robinson was aware of the tactic and complained in *Blackwood’s* that Brougham ‘assumes the mask of the plebeian, [and] scatters around him sneers against the upper orders’. The *St James’s Chronicle*, lambasting the LMI in May 1825, wrote: ‘Mr. Brougham, wishes, perhaps, for merely political purposes, to count a noisy mob on his side’.<sup>39</sup>

Within a month of the proposal’s publication, Francis Place had activated a network of powerful men who had long been campaigning against the Establishment. Seeking to form a broad power base, they saw educating working men as an integral part of their plans. An examination of Place’s concerns, from his London Corresponding Society (LCS) days onwards, reveals that the founding of the LMI was a natural progression in these men’s activities. Indeed Thompson’s analysis of the LCS as a ‘popular radical’ rather than a ‘working-class’ society is helpful for understanding the LMI’s composition and purpose. Noting the differences between London and the rest of the country, Thompson commented on the blurring of social distinctions at the LCS where a journeyman could stand shoulder to shoulder with a printer, a surgeon or a Dissenting clergyman. The LCS focus, according to Thompson was on ‘intellectual and “ideal” motivations’ which could draw a diverse group of men together.<sup>40</sup>

Because Place’s network was so important to the LMI’s founding, its subsequent activities and its reputation, I want to take a little time to fill in the background of their associations. Then I will look at the final two aspects of the founding rhetoric which need to be seen in light of these networks: the importance of the members’ independence from outside influence and the LMI’s claimed neutrality on political matters.

According to Place, he had been involved with Robertson and Hodgskin from the founding of the *MM* and he had contributed to writing the proposal (a claim examined in chapter 3). In his manuscript account of his early meetings with the two

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<sup>38</sup> Brougham: *LMR*, 2 (1825), pp. 186, 189. Gilchrist: *TN*, 20 May 1827.

<sup>39</sup> [Henry Brougham], pseud. William Davis, ‘Scientific Education of the People’, *Edinburgh Review*, 41 (1825), p. 115. [David Robinson], ‘Brougham on the Education of the People’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 17 (1825), p. 548. *St James’s Chronicle*, May 1825, quoted in Godard, *Birkbeck*, p. 73.

<sup>40</sup> Thompson, *Making*, pp. 22-23.

men, Place asserted that he had ‘little doubt that with assistance of a very few active men the project [founding the LMI] might be accomplished’ on ‘the broadest scale’.<sup>41</sup> Fifteen of these ‘active men’ can be identified, and no doubt there were more. Several of Place’s radical colleagues gave donations, presented resolutions at the 11 November meeting, or worked on the provisional (in office from 11 November to 16 December 1823) or first LMI committees. That Place brought these men together within a few weeks shows how close their working relationships were. Place’s progression and how he came to know these men is a catalogue of anti-Tory and anti-Anglican activity. So incensed was the government by these men’s activities that four had been arrested and three had served jail sentences for subversive activities.

Inspired by his reading of Thomas Paine (who had been convicted in 1792 for seditious libel and whose works were banned), Place had joined the Jacobin London Corresponding Society in 1794. ‘All the leading members’, according to Place, ‘were republicans.’<sup>42</sup> Here he had contributed to debates on manhood suffrage. A prime concern of the LCS had been to educate working men so that they could fight for their voting rights and be capable of exercising them. Horrified by these activities, the authorities had had the Society’s founder Thomas Hardy arrested and charged with high treason (punishable by hanging, drawing and quartering). William Frend (who addressed the 3 December 1823 meeting and was elected to the LMI committee that month) had also been an LCS member, and had managed the relief fund for the jailed Hardy. A Unitarian, Frend had lost his tutorship at Jesus College for arguing against the Anglican exclusivity of Cambridge degrees. Place had been a moderating influence in the LCS. Others had not: later LMI provisional committee member Alexander Galloway, a Holborn mechanic who had joined the LCS in the same year as Place, had become a member of the revolutionary United Englishmen and been imprisoned in 1798.<sup>43</sup>

Look at Place’s contacts on the ‘Westminster Committee’. An informal body operating through the 1810s, the committee had been set up to return members of

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<sup>41</sup> Place, EH, f. 241.

<sup>42</sup> Miles, *Place*, pp. 23-24. Place, Add. Mss. 27,849, f. 88 quoted in *ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>43</sup> Frend and Hardy: J. A. Jaffe (ed.), *The affairs of others’: the diaries of Francis Place 1825-1836* (Camden Fifth Series, vol. 30, 2007), p. 133. Moderating influence: William Thomas, ‘Place, Francis (1771-1854)’, *ODNB*. Michael T. Davis, ‘Galloway, Alexander (1776-1847)’, *ibid.* Galloway a mechanic: Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 83, n.1. See appendix C for Galloway, Frend and all other members of the provisional or first LMI committees.

Parliament who would advocate the extension of the franchise to all taxpayers, annual parliaments and the creation of equal electoral districts. Here Place had worked with at least four other initial future LMI supporters: Major Cartwright (who donated one guinea in 1823 to the LMI); Henry Brougham (who donated £20 in November 1823 and all the proceeds from his 1825 pamphlet, *Practical observations upon the education of the people*); Francis Burdett (who donated £100 in May 1824, and £1,000 a year later); and John Cam Hobhouse (who donated £10 in November 1823 and £100 in January 1825).<sup>44</sup> Cartwright, who had long been working for universal suffrage, had been arrested twice but never charged. By 1823, the radical MP Burdett had served two jail sentences for criticising the government: the first for supporting John Gale Jones's right to criticise the government at a British Forum debate in 1810. (Place and Frennd had worked together to raise support for his release.) Burdett's second imprisonment had been for criticising the authorities over the Peterloo Massacre.<sup>45</sup> Hobhouse had also been jailed following Peterloo – for an anti-government pamphlet. Miles, Place's biographer, believed that the controversial passage in that pamphlet had been 'written or altered' by Place. Within a month of his release, with Place as his campaign manager, Hobhouse had been elected to Parliament.<sup>46</sup> Brougham had been more circumspect. Although he had been interested in standing for Westminster, he had refused to commit himself on Place's criteria and therefore had not been selected by the Westminster Committee.<sup>47</sup>

These men had also worked together on previous projects to improve the education of working men – another activity which drew Tory condemnation. The aristocracy feared that educating the masses would lead to 'national ruin'.<sup>48</sup> Place, Brougham, Burdett and Hobhouse all supported the non-sectarian monitorial schools founded by the Quaker Joseph Lancaster in 1802. Designed to teach poor children, the monitorial system kept costs to a minimum by selecting teachers from amongst the brightest students and by teaching large numbers in one class. The Bible was taught

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<sup>44</sup> Donations: Cartwright, MBv1, 1 Dec. 1823; Brougham, MBv1, 11 Nov. 1823, and 23 May 1825; Burdett, *ibid.*, 3 May 1824, and 2 May 1825; Hobhouse, *ibid.*, 11 Nov. 1823, and 24 Jan. 1825.

<sup>45</sup> For Place's activities in returning Burdett in 1807, see Miles, *Place*, pp. 58-69. Burdett's support of John Gale Jones and subsequent imprisonment and release: *ibid.*, pp. 73-79. Frennd: *ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>46</sup> Returning Hobhouse: *ibid.*, pp. 124-34. Hobhouse's pamphlet *A trifling mistake* amended by Place: *ibid.*, p. 133. Hobhouse elected: *ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>47</sup> Brougham and Westminster: *ibid.*, pp. 113-14.

<sup>48</sup> [Robinson], 'Brougham', p. 534.

without any particular interpretation in order to overcome sectarian opposition. It was in connection to Lancaster's schools that Place had met Joseph Hume (who donated pamphlets to the LMI in 1824 and addressed the first anniversary meeting), James Mill (who donated £5 in December 1823) and, through Mill, Jeremy Bentham (who donated £10 in November 1823 and later a further £100).<sup>49</sup> These men boasted that because Lancaster's schools stood for 'religious liberty' and 'universal education upon liberal principles', they may 'be emphatically called *schools for all*'. Staunch Anglicans and evangelicals were appalled. The *Christian Observer* claimed that Lancaster's teaching of the 'general gospel' was closer to deism than Christianity: '*religious bigotry*' was preferable.<sup>50</sup> In 1811, the Church of England set up the rival National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales. This was to ensure that the Church catechism was specifically taught.

In 1813, Benthamite Edward Wakefield (who donated £10 in February 1825 to the LMI) had formed the West London Lancastrian Association (WLLA) to extend Lancaster's work. Brougham, James Mill, Joseph Hume and Alexander Galloway had all been involved. The ambitious plan was 'nothing less than the organisation of a complete system of primary and secondary education ... in London.' Following the LCS's Paineite philosophy, Place and Mill had fought for a secular education. They had managed to overturn the rule that reading lessons could only be taken from the Bible.<sup>51</sup> But the success had been short-lived. In 1814, Lancaster had publicly complained that the WLLA committee had been taken over by those 'who do profess what are called Infidel opinions and boast of having been leaders and founders of the London Corresponding Society'. Lancaster had been making the connection between anti-Christian and anti-government activity: blasphemy and sedition went hand in hand. Burdett among others had agitated for Place to be removed from the WLLA committee. Significantly Burdett had suggested that his place be taken by Arthur Thistlewood, the revolutionary who would be executed, decapitated and his head put on public display

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<sup>49</sup> Donations: Hume, MBv1, 25 Oct. 1824; Mill, *ibid.*, 14 Nov. 1823; Bentham, *ibid.*, 11 Nov. 1823, and 24 Jan. 1825. Hume address: *MM*, 3 (1825), p. 192.

<sup>50</sup> *Philanthropist*, 5 (1815), p. 167. Anglican view in *Christian Observer*, 3 (1805), p. 165.

<sup>51</sup> Wakefield donation: MBv1, 14 Feb. 1825. For setting up WLLA: Simon, *Studies*, pp. 149-50; Miles, *Place*, pp. 87-90. Davis, 'Galloway'. Plan: Graham Wallas, *The life of Francis Place* (London: Longmans, Green, 1898), p. 96. Place and Mill: Simon, *Studies*, p. 150.

for his part in the Cato Street Conspiracy.<sup>52</sup>

Place left the WLLA, but continued to work on educational projects with Bentham and Mill. These revolved around plans for a rational school based on Bentham's *Chrestomathia*, published in the summer of 1815. In *Chrestomathia*, from the Greek for 'useful learning', Bentham expounded the principles of his education system based on science and 'technology'. Students would learn statistics, mechanics, hydrostatics and optics, chemistry, meteorology, magnetism, electricity and galvanism. Mining, land-surveying, architecture and building would be taught. The curriculum also included agriculture, health and medicine. As a 'school of Technology', the Chrestomathic School would 'be a source, of general communication' on the practices of

The *Carpenter*, the *Joiner*, the *Cabinet Maker*, the *Turner in wood*, the *Ship-builder*, &c.; – The *Whitesmith*, the *Blacksmith*, the *Metal Founder*, the *Printer*, the *Engraver*, the *Mathematical Instrument Maker*, &c.; – The *Taylor*, the *Shoemaker*, the *Collar Maker*, the *Saddler*, &c.; – The *Distiller*, the *Brewer*, the *Sugar-Baker*, the *Bread-Baker*, &c

Bentham believed that the more a student understood the various aspects of technology, the wider his 'field of *livelyhood*' would be. Book-keeping and note-taking were taught as skills essential to students who 'hereafter betake themselves to any commercial occupation.' Thus the education was practical and occupation-oriented. Religion was to be excluded; the reason given was that religion's sectarian nature would limit the students who could attend. Ethics and morals, in so far as they were aspects of controversial religious doctrine, would also be excluded.<sup>53</sup>

The roots of the LMI's approach are here. The Chrestomathic school was even envisaged as teaching adults and apprentices as well as providing secondary education. After many vicissitudes, the WLLA was disbanded in 1821 without founding a single school. Two years later, the same men were starting up the LMI.<sup>54</sup>

LMI-funder James Mill, in his 1818 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on education, had reinforced the secular approach and asserted the political purpose. Utilitarian principles of pleasure and pain were enough to establish morals and ethics.

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<sup>52</sup> Quoted in Miles, *Place*, p. 85. Thistlewood: *ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>53</sup> Jeremy Bentham, *Chrestomathia* (London: Payne and Foss, 1816), pp. 22-34 (mechanics to galvanism), 39-41 (mining to construction), 42-49 (agriculture through medicine), 58-61 (technology), 60 ('*carpenter*'), 61-66 (note-taking and book-keeping), 61 ('*livelyhood*'), 66 (divinity), 68 (ethics).

<sup>54</sup> Chrestomathic school: Miles, *Place*, pp. 90-91; Simon, *Studies*, pp. 79-82. Evening school for adults: Miles, *Place*, p. 90.

Religion and sectarianism were blamed for much of the ‘bitterness’ in human life. ‘Political education’ was essential – ‘the key stone of the arch’ – because social circumstances which needed to be improved depended ‘almost entirely upon the Political’. Although he believed that with enough education a working man could match any aristocrat, Mill knew that the working man did not have the same amount of time to devote to learning. This could not be helped because it was ‘absolutely necessary’ that ‘a large proportion of mankind’ labour to produce food and other necessities for the benefit of the nation. But the working man’s misery, resulting from his poverty, unhealthy diet, and lack of education, had to be alleviated. Education was the first step, but it was clear that education for the working man would need to be different in kind from the education of more leisured men – if for no other reason than the constraints of time.<sup>55</sup>

In 1820, Place and his colleagues had come together to support Queen Caroline in her fight to receive recognition from George IV after he ascended the throne. The King’s goal, by contrast, had been to divorce her. As the country divided in its support for one or the other party, the issues had become increasingly complicated. Put simply, the ministry had supported the King, while those who were dissatisfied with the government and the monarchy had supported the Queen. Hers became a mass popular cause.<sup>56</sup> Among the 1823 LMI supporters, the following men had worked to further Caroline’s claim: Alderman Wood (who donated £10 in March 1825 to the LMI), Place, Brougham, Galloway, Hume, Hobhouse, Stephen Lushington (who donated £5 in December 1823), Cartwright, Gilchrist (who was appointed LMI vice-president in December 1823), and William Clement, the proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle* (who donated 100 guineas in December 1823).<sup>57</sup> John Gast, who was active in setting up the Rotherhithe Mechanics’ Institution in November 1825, had been involved in organising union support.<sup>58</sup>

Another group of LMI supporters was part of the network to improve working men’s conditions. Place’s support of John Wade’s *Gorgon* in 1818 had increased his interest in trade union affairs. Place, Bentham, Henry Bickersteth (who gave the LMI

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<sup>55</sup> James Mill, ‘Education’, *Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica* (London: J. Innes, 1825).

<sup>56</sup> For the Queen Caroline affair, with particular focus on working men’s activities, see Prothero, *Artisans*, pp. 132-55.

<sup>57</sup> Wood: MBv1, 14 Feb. 1825. Lushington: *ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1823. Clement: *ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Morning Post*, 29 Nov. 1825.

£10 in December 1823) and Burdett had all donated funds to the journal. Place had worked with Hume on the repeal of the Combination Acts and the laws prohibiting the exportation of machinery and emigration. He had organised the following LMI supporters to testify to the Select Committee on artisans and machinery: Galloway, the Unitarian printer Richard Taylor (who was on the first committee and still active in the LMI's management in 1836), the phrenologist civil engineer Bryan Donkin (who attended the 8 November 1823 private meeting) and the engineer John Martineau (who was elected vice-president in December 1823).<sup>59</sup>

These activists were consistently working to broaden their power base and promote new educational goals for society. To rally support, they could use the same simplification which we saw Robertson and others employing: pitting the aristocracy against the rest of the populace (the slaves). Making this crude differentiation was not limited to working men's propagandists. When *Blackwood's* and the *Quarterly Review* turned their attention to the LMI and other mechanics' institutes in 1825, they saw the same schism.

## Independence

The proposal's emphasis on the need for the members to act independently in the founding and running of the LMI appeared to make this same distinction between 'the people' on one hand and the ministry on the other. The government was the focus of the proposal's opening warning:

When government interferences, it directs its efforts more to make people obedient and docile, than wise and happy. It desires to control the thoughts, and fashion even the minds of its subjects; ... Men had better be without education – properly so called, for nature of herself teaches us many valuable truths – than be educated by their rulers; for then education is but the mere breaking in of the steer to the yoke; the mere discipline of a hunting dog, which, by dint of severity, is made to forego the strongest impulse of his nature, and instead of devouring his prey, to hasten with it to the feet of his master.

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<sup>59</sup> *Gorgon*: Miles, *Place*, p. 161. Bickersteth: MBv1, 6 Dec. 1823. Parliamentary Papers 1824 (51) iv, *First report from the select committee on artizans and machinery* [hereafter PP 1824 (51) iv], pp. 5-14 (Martineau), 14-28 (Galloway), 28-42 (Donkin), 52-56 (Taylor). Taylor and Galloway served on London's Common Council in the 1820s: W. H. Brock, 'Taylor, Richard (1781-1858)', *ODNB*; Davis, 'Galloway'. Donkin donation: MBv1, 8 Nov. 1823.

For Taylor, see appendix D which provides a list of the committees from Sep. 1824 – Mar. 1831 categorised by class. Including references for each committee, it records members' names, occupations and addresses. For references for committee men throughout the thesis, this appendix should be consulted along with appendix C which covers the provisional (elected in Nov. 1823) and first LMI committee (elected in Dec. 1823). Taylor was elected treasurer in Feb. 1836: QMv2, f. 55.



‘Perilous to civil and religious liberty’ was how Brougham described any government intervention in adult education – a statement which could hardly have increased the sympathy of the ruling class to the mechanics’ institutes. Had Brougham been in government himself, he would no doubt have seen things differently.<sup>60</sup>

But the proposal warned against another form of interference: charity from wealthy men. Now ‘independence’ meant that working mechanics should not be ‘indebted to the contributions of benevolent individuals for the sums of money necessary to have rooms and teachers. They must not depend on charity, but on themselves. They must pay for instruction’. Robertson and Hodgskin explained that they had been inspired by the independent actions of a group of Glasgow mechanics. These working men had ‘*of their own accord* recently formed an institution *for their own instruction*’. The members had resolved to do ‘without the assistance of the more wealthy and influential citizens of Glasgow’.<sup>61</sup> The independence of these men was not quite this dramatic. As will be discussed in the next chapter, they were in fact already united as a class at the Andersonian Institution. This was a breakaway group, arguing with the parent institute about who owned the library it had accumulated, rather than a new initiative. These 1823 Glasgow mechanics were the ‘descendants’ of Birkbeck’s working-men students in 1800. (Their forefathers, so to speak, had not been exhibiting independence. They were merely attending a free class provided for them.)

Robertson was barely aware of who Birkbeck was when he wrote the proposal. He referred to ‘a Dr Birkbeck’ who had offered ‘gratuitous’ lectures to working men. Robertson’s belief that gratuitous lectures undermined the LMI members’ independence was one of the sources of his continual griping. In his report on the 11 November meeting, Robertson admonished members of the audience who applauded a ‘professional’ lecturer’s offer to deliver a course of ‘*gratis*’ lectures. When Birkbeck responded to the publishing of the proposal, he wrote to Robertson that he ‘entirely approved’ of the proposal’s analysis of the desired ‘contributions of the mechanics’. Yet within eight months Birkbeck had put the Institution in debt to himself to the tune of £3,700 for the building of a new lecture theatre (much to Robertson’s outrage).<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 100; Henry Brougham, *Practical observations upon the education of the people* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1825), p. 101.

<sup>61</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 100-101 (Glasgow mechanics), 102 (independence).

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 100 (proposal), 177 (admonished). Birkbeck letter: *ibid.* p. 115. For more on gratuitous lectures, see ch. 4. Robertson’s response to the loan is discussed further in ch. 5.

There is little doubt, however, that Robertson sent mixed signals on the subject of independence. The proposal went on to praise the Edinburgh School of Arts which was well known to rely on the patronage of the wealthy. Although he so emphasised independence, he nevertheless invited master mechanics as well as gentlemanly well-wishers to join the operatives in founding the Institution. Robertson and Hodgskin asserted that they ‘should, indeed, almost despair of seeing any good raise from such an institution, unless it proceeded from the mechanics, was supported, regulated, and controlled by them’. Nevertheless, Robertson gloated over all the important employers and influential gentlemen who came to November 11 meeting. He expressed pleasure at the coverage in *The Times* and other Establishment papers because their endorsement showed ‘the mechanics of England ... how many sincere and vigilant friends they have among a class of men, who, perhaps, more than any others, possess the direction of public opinion.’<sup>63</sup>

At the meeting Sheriff Laurie and John Sidney Taylor extolled the advantages of an institute founded on the principle of ‘self-support and independence’. Brougham’s letter (read out at the meeting) provided more detail. For him, the mechanics should become independent as soon as they were capable of running the institute.<sup>64</sup> Presumably it was a matter of opinion as to when they would be ready. That the time had not yet arrived was signalled by the fact that of the fourteen speakers at the 11 November meeting, only three were working class.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, resolution eight of the proposal specifically invited the donations of wealthy philanthropists. The inordinate praise that was heaped on Birkbeck served as an example of the fulsome praise they could expect.<sup>66</sup> In his *Practical observations upon the education of the people*, Brougham took a generous view of how much help gentlemen could provide. After discussing the importance of independence, he devoted fifteen pages to philanthropic support of the mechanics’ institutes; he praised previous donations (of time as well as money) and exhorted others to give generously. Perhaps Brougham and Birkbeck believed that if the mechanics paid five shillings a quarter to be members, the

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<sup>63</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 101 (praise Edinburgh), 135 (patronage), 102 (invited masters and ‘despair’), 131 (*The Times*).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 182 (Laurie), 185 (Taylor), 180-81 (Brougham).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 183 (Mr. Inman, ‘an operative’), 186 (J. Whitaker, painter and glazier), 187 (John Johnson, whitesmith).

<sup>66</sup> Ch. 3 includes discussion of this praise and suggests reasons for it.

Institute would not be based on ‘charity’.<sup>67</sup>

After the provisional committee-men (many of whom were ‘not-of-the-working-class’) had been announced and agreed, William Cobbett rose to address the meeting. A more hard-line radical than Place (with whom he had fallen out on the Westminster Committee), Cobbett announced that ‘none but mechanics should be allowed to become members’ otherwise ‘men would soon be found who would put the mechanics on one side, and make use of them only as tools.’ (According to Place, Cobbett’s contribution ‘securely planted the seeds of mischief’).<sup>68</sup> Birkbeck responded that had the working men been able to establish the institute by themselves, they would have been left to do so. ‘As it was,’ Birkbeck reminded his audience, ‘three-fourths of the Committee were Mechanics, so that it was impossible the interests could be affected even if such an intention existed’.<sup>69</sup>

A month after the first public meeting, the *Glasgow Free Press* criticised the London mechanics for accepting help: ‘we had rather that the whole should have been the work of the mechanics themselves’. They crowed that ‘here, in Glasgow, not one penny was subscribed by any one, upwards of 900 mechanics contributing all, and even more than what was necessary, themselves’. Interestingly at this point (29 November 1823), Robertson was prepared to defend the LMI’s activities. He ran the *Glasgow Free Press* article and added an editor’s note to tell his readers that the Glasgow mechanics could be independent now because they had ‘for more than twenty years’ had the benefit of their affiliation with the Andersonian Institution.<sup>70</sup>

Over the years, as it became clear that many members were not working men, the independence controversy revolved around the composition of the management committee. Coverage in the *Trades’ Newspaper* (October 1825) on the founding of the Rotherhithe Mechanics’ Institution showed how fluid the arguments could be. The paper refused to recommend the institute to its union readership, partly because the institute proposed that the committee should be 50% working men and 50% ‘gentlemen’. The paper praised Brougham for saying that all mechanics’ institutes

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<sup>67</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 181 (resolution), 184 (eulogising Birkbeck). Brougham, *Practical*, pp. 135-50.

<sup>68</sup> Westminster Committee: Miles, *Place*, pp. 118-19. Cobbett’s remarks: *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 190. Place, *EH*, f. 250.

<sup>69</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 191. Ch. 5 explores the interactions between ‘working-class’ and ‘not-of-the-working-class’ committee men on the provisional and first committees.

<sup>70</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 213-14.

should be chiefly managed by mechanics (leaving out the crucial ‘when the time was right’). It appeared pleased with Byron’s opinion that the LMI should be run solely by mechanics. Yet it added that Byron’s was too strong an injunction. The paper would rather see a committee which retained ‘every advantage that can be derived from a more mixed commission. It is the aid of the superior knowledge and ability of the higher classes that is wanted in these institutes, and not their votes, which are alone to be dreaded.’ These gentlemen then were to be patrons only and not members who would surely have had a vote. Yet, within a month, when the Rotherhithe institute announced that the committee would follow the LMI’s lead and be two-thirds working class, the *Trades’ Newspaper* professed itself quite happy.<sup>71</sup>

Added to all this clamour about ‘independence’ was the confusion about which men could actually be considered ‘working class’. Several were nominated in both the ‘working-class’ and the ‘not-of-the-working-class’ category on different occasions. When Place’s son was elected as a ‘working-class’ man, Robertson was indignant. Place agreed that the category was wrong although he felt that the rule should be bent because his son was the best man for the job.<sup>72</sup> Concerns about categorisation recurred throughout the years. It seems likely, however, that had there been fewer ‘not-of-the-working-class’ members, the issue would have resolved itself automatically. Because men were elected by the entire membership and a committee man could not serve two consecutive terms, there simply would not have been enough ‘not-of-the-working-class’ men to cause the problem.

Place pointed out that how much external finance was needed depended on what kind of institute was envisaged. According to Place’s account, he radically transformed Robertson and Hodgskin’s initial plan. Place’s idea was for an institute ‘on the broadest scale’. Place accused Robertson of wanting the institute to be no more than a reading club based on the *MM*.<sup>73</sup> Robertson’s assertion that the LMI was to depend solely on ‘the mutual co-operation of the mechanics themselves’ lends credence to Place’s suggestion that Robertson envisaged a debating society type of institution. This is a key point to which I shall return in the next chapter.

Given Robertson’s later vitriol about Birkbeck’s loan, the composition of the

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<sup>71</sup> *TN*, 30 Oct. 1825, and 20 Nov. 1825.

<sup>72</sup> Place, *EH*, ff. 284-85.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* ff. 241, 257 (club).

committee and gratuitous lectures, some of his early statements appear surprising. Perhaps for a few weeks he was seduced by Place's larger vision. Place's network was an impressive support system and the public meetings showed the diversity of the potential membership. As Place pointed out, Robertson and Hodgskin had themselves 'subscribed five pounds in their joint names'. They were not working men.<sup>74</sup> But Robertson did not vacillate for long. As early as 27 November 1823, he and Place were falling out over the issue of independence. Could it have been a growing awareness of just how powerful Place and his friends were which led to Robertson's subsequent vehement opposition to patronage of any kind?<sup>75</sup>

### **Political and religious neutrality?**

Beyond the suggestion in the proposal that topics would include 'the science of the creation and distribution of wealth' which was never mentioned again, the proposal and the 11 November meeting steered clear of politics. Sheriff Laurie, the only man to mention the subject, confirmed that 'there would be no danger in the proposed institution from the discussion of political or religious subjects, of which he had seen the baneful effects in debating societies'.<sup>76</sup>

Place's network of support for the nascent institute seemed to pass unnoticed by most of the press. The ultra-Tory *John Bull* for instance gave the 11 November meeting a staid announcement and focussed respectfully on the role of 'Professor Birkbeck' (a far cry from later attacks on 'the Liberty Boys and Revolutionists' who had founded the LMI). Perhaps this was not surprising. As the *Examiner* noted 'there was nothing "seditious" in the proposal – not a word of politics in the resolutions – nothing in the plan or the mode of its execution to call forth the spirit of partisanship in the slightest degree.' Yet, the *Examiner* reported, '*not a single Tory* attended the Meeting or contributed to the support of the Mechanics' Institution.' Why was this? 'simply' because the 'Tories have an instinctive dread of the more extensive education of the Many, lest the more they know, the more they should despise and abhor the corruptions

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., f. 250.

<sup>75</sup> See ch. 5.

<sup>76</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 102 (proposal), 182 (Laurie). The only other early mention of politics which I have found is in the *Morning Post* report on 2 Dec. 1823 meeting: 'A Motion to exclude all political matters from the Society was met by much impatience; and, as we understood, was given up' (*Morning Post*, 3 Dec. 1823).

and abuses on which the Few are fattening.’ The *St James’s Chronicle*, in the only critical account which I have found, had another explanation for the lack of Tory support: the institute was ‘calculated for a political machine’. The *Chronicle* identified Brougham, Hobhouse, Cobbett and Place as ‘all politicians’ scheming to ‘enlist as their clients a body so formidable as the mechanics of the metropolis’. It even named Birkbeck along with Brougham and Place for good measure.<sup>77</sup> But seeing as neither Robertson nor Place had any knowledge of Birkbeck beyond his name a month earlier when they were working on the proposal, it seems unlikely that Birkbeck’s political affiliations were widely known.<sup>78</sup>

The first articles in *Blackwood’s* and the *Quarterly Review* on any mechanics’ institute did not occur until after Brougham’s pamphlet on the education of the people was published (February 1825) to raise support for mechanics’ institutes across the nation. At that point, Brougham’s interest could no longer be disguised, and Place’s network could no longer be ignored. These Tory attacks did not mention Birkbeck as a harmful influence. David Robinson in his *Blackwood’s* article felt that Birkbeck’s management at the LMI had been admirable. Their ire was specifically focussed on the roles of Brougham, Place and Burdett.<sup>79</sup>

It is worth looking at these Tory criticisms in some detail for two reasons: firstly, to prepare the ground for the next chapter which suggests that one of the reasons Birkbeck was made the figurehead of the LMI within four weeks of the proposal’s being published was to divert attention away from this Radical/Whig nexus; secondly, to see that the division of society into the aristocracy and the rest exploited in the *MM* and the *Gorgon* was also envisaged by the Tory press.

Here is how David Robinson explained his concerns about the LMI backers. Brougham had ‘indirectly’ derided men ‘who dissent from the opinions of Thomas Paine’; Place wrote for the Benthamite, secular *Westminster Review*; Burdett was ‘the father of Radicalism, and the advocate of universal suffrage and annual parliaments’.

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<sup>77</sup> *John Bull*, 17 Nov. 1823 (first public meeting), and 18 Jul. 1825 (Liberty Boys). *Examiner*, 16 Nov. 1823. *St. James’s Chronicle* article reprinted in *Ipswich Journal*, 15 Nov. 1823.

<sup>78</sup> Godard considered it advantageous for Birkbeck’s work that he was rarely politically active: *Birkbeck*, p. 185. Kelly asserted that although Birkbeck was a Whig, he did not move ‘in political circles’ and could be regarded as ‘politically disinterested’: *Birkbeck*, p. 105.

<sup>79</sup> [Robinson], ‘Brougham’, pp. 534-51 (Birkbeck’s management, p. 548). [John Bird Sumner and J. T. Coleridge], ‘Mechanics’ institutes and infant schools’, *Quarterly Review*, 32 (1825), 410-28.

These men can touch no earthly subject without tainting it with party politics; they can say and do nothing without attempting to make proselytes; their whole history proves that they would not bestow a thought on the education of the people, if they did not expect it to enable them to fill the people with their party opinions.

Political economists were described as ‘in their nature democratic and republican, hostile to aristocracy and monarchy’.<sup>80</sup>

Robinson emphasised that the LMI did not teach the poor in general but only the well-off mechanics. The reason was that Place, Burdett et al. wanted ‘to make these mechanics the corrupters and petty demagogues of the working orders generally’, and to influence ‘the mechanics, who, to a great extent, hold in their hands the elective franchise’. Robinson saw the repeal of the Combination Acts (on which Place and his colleagues had worked) as the ‘grand first step’. ‘Having thus liberated the working classes from surveillance and control – having thus filled them with scorn of their employers – the next step to be taken was to put them under proper instruction.’<sup>81</sup>

Both *Blackwood’s* and the *Quarterly Review* criticised Brougham for his endorsement of cheap literature and his assertion that once material was provided, the working man could make his own decisions about what to read. Brougham knew ‘perfectly well which side they would take’:

In party-politics one party professes to be the exclusive friend of the working classes; it pretends to watch over their interests, and to fight their battles; it is constantly their sycophant and the slanderer of the upper ranks, and it always represents its opponent to be their enemy.

Tory publications had no circulation among the working classes because, as Robinson put it, ‘the lower orders have been separated from, and filled with party-enmity towards, the upper ones’. But Brougham should be careful lest the working classes prefer Cobbett and Carlile to himself and Place.<sup>82</sup> The *Quarterly Review* added Wooler to Cobbett as a harmful influence.<sup>83</sup> Thomas Wooler, editor of *Black Dwarf* and an old friend of Place’s, was to be the editor of the *Mechanics’ Chronicle*, founded in August 1824 to report the LMI’s activities. Brougham’s laissez faire approach to the working man’s reading habits led Robinson to fear that Brougham might be ‘the friend of revolution.’<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> [Robinson], ‘Brougham’, pp. 535, 543 (political economists).

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., pp. 534, 549.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., pp. 541-42.

<sup>83</sup> [Sumner and Coleridge], ‘Mechanics’, p. 420.

<sup>84</sup> [Robinson], ‘Brougham’, p. 542.

Both *Blackwood's* and the *Quarterly* criticised the mechanics' institutes' focus on science rather than religion. Robinson saw moral instruction as including more than just religion. Rather than studying science, the working men needed to learn the outlook of the 'upper ranks': the 'good principles of conduct, which details the feelings, habits, and modes of thinking, of the upper ranks'.<sup>85</sup>

Thus the Tories feared the deep social divisions which the *MM* and others took for granted or encouraged. Both sides were describing a coalition that included middle- and working-class men. Of course *Blackwood's* and the *Quarterly Review* were suggesting that Place's network was trying to coerce or influence the working men – previewing in fact the 'social-control' analysis which many historians later proposed. Chapters five to eight examine different aspects of the Institution to look for evidence of political or class-based antagonism between individual members. Although there was controversy over the composition of the committee, I have found no personal enmity based on distinctions between 'working class' and 'not of the working class'. Nor have I found blocks of 'working-class' men disagreeing with blocks of 'not-of-the-working-class' men. It is only in connection to renting out the theatre to radical groups that any visible interaction occurred on clearly political grounds, but the disputants did not fall into convenient class-based factions.

Nevertheless this network of Whigs and Radicals was prominent in the background. As the years went by, its presence was more often noted. In March 1826 that respectable gentleman's literary review, typically marked by jibes at radicals, *The European*, published a satirical essay on Francis Place, his self-importance and his network. It claimed that Burdett, Hobhouse, Hume, James Mill, Gilchrist, Birkbeck and even Gast were Place 'puppets', or their thinking contained 'a smack of Place'. Place was either the 'inventor' of mechanics' institutions himself, 'or which is the same thing, some of his pupils, gave to the London combination bearing that name that unity and bias, which cannot fail to make it a very efficient organ of civil liberty in Westminster, in the event of a contested election'. Two and a half years on from the founding of the LMI, it is reasonable that Birkbeck should be included in the Place network.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> [Sumner and Coleridge], 'Mechanics', pp. 421-22. [Robinson], 'Brougham', pp. 543-44.

<sup>86</sup> Anon., 'Francis Place of Westminster, Esq.', *European Magazine*, 2 (1826), pp. 228 (puppets), 231 (smack), 232 (mechanics' institutes).



But that was two and a half years later. The following chapter suggests that Birkbeck's quick transformation before that from 'a Dr Birkbeck' on 11 October 1823 to the one and only man who could be credited with establishing mechanics' institutes may have served an important neutralising function. Birkbeck as figurehead steered criticism away from two (originally linked) political sources for the LMI's founding: Place's network and the London debating societies with their radical autodidact working-class adherents. That the Tory press did not rise to attack the LMI en masse until after Brougham's pamphlet was published may show the success of the strategy.

### **Why was Birkbeck named founder of the London Mechanics' Institution?**

Who founded the LMI? Or perhaps the question should be: who had the most useful attributes for a founder and was therefore allocated the title? Given the widespread anxiety about educating working men, and the Tories' mistrust of some of the LMI backers, the origin of the Institution needed careful handling.

There were two sources from which the LMI was generally considered to have originated: the *Mechanics' Magazine* where the proposal had appeared, and/or Birkbeck's 1800 class for Glasgow mechanics. Each conveyed a distinct impression. An institute founded by the *MM* would have appeared allied to mutual instruction groups, reading societies – even debating societies (with their reputation for breeding sedition). Birkbeck's Glasgow class along with the 1823 Glasgow mechanics (who appear to have been considered 'descendants' of Birkbeck's students) brought to mind a respectable institute which provided instruction for grateful working men. A focus on the *MM* indicated a 'bottom up' approach with working men rising on the basis of their own initiative; whereas Birkbeck's class suggested a 'top down' initiative (working men being guided by a man of different rank). This was a critical difference at the time: a matter of perception and how the perception could be moulded.

The variety of conclusions historians have drawn reflects the confusion and infighting in the 1820s. A survey of their views will set out some of the issues which this

chapter tackles. One aspect of the problem was the organisers' notion of tracing the LMI's provenance to an event in the distant past. Surely, historians felt, there were other institutions in the past which could have been considered.<sup>1</sup> Godard and Hudson, for instance, thought the Birmingham Brotherly Society formed in 1789 was the true progenitor. Hudson bolstered Birmingham's claim by stating that Birkbeck had visited Birmingham and knew of the Brotherly Love Society before teaching his own class in Glasgow. Kelly, however, denied that Birkbeck had been in Birmingham before 1804.<sup>2</sup>

Even if the 1800 Glasgow class could be called the first of its kind, was Birkbeck its originator? When Hudson was writing in 1851, he believed that John Anderson was generally credited with establishing the first mechanics' class in Glasgow, but he felt that Birkbeck really deserved the kudos. After considering Anderson's claim, Tylecote and Kelly also allocated the laurel to Birkbeck. Cable agreed that Birkbeck initiated the class, but felt that Anderson deserved some credit for founding the school in which Birkbeck taught. None discussed Anderson's background which, as will become clear, must have been a major consideration at the time.<sup>3</sup>

The next problem historians faced was linking Birkbeck's 1800 Glasgow class with the 1823 developments in London. Kelly, Hole and Godard took a generalised view that the foundation had somehow been laid by Birkbeck in Glasgow, but that the actual impetus for the LMI came from the *MM*. They could add, along with Hudson, that Birkbeck was 'at once acknowledged as the leader in the cause of adult education in the Metropolis'.<sup>4</sup> Burns connected the Glasgow class with the LMI in a more specific way. He asserted that the 1823 seceding class 'was the direct cause of the foundation of the LMI'. He based this on the fact that the *MM* proposal mentioned the Glasgow mechanics; but perhaps Robertson and/or Hodgskin had developed the idea previously to learning about the Glasgow men and merely saw the secession as a good publicity peg on which to hang their project. Stack attempted to connect Birkbeck even more closely. He suggested that Birkbeck might have written a letter which appeared in the

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<sup>1</sup> For other sources, see: Godard, *Birkbeck*, pp. 34-38; Mabel Tylecote, *The mechanics' institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957), pp. 2-5, 11-13; Kelly, *Birkbeck*, pp. 66-70.

<sup>2</sup> Godard, *Birkbeck*, pp. 34-35. Hudson, *History*, pp. 29-31, 33, 44. Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Hudson, *History*, pp. 31-38. Tylecote, *Mechanics*, pp. 5-7. Kelly, *Birkbeck*, pp. 31-32. John Cable, 'Early Scottish science', *Annals of Science*, 30 (1973), p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> Kelly, *Birkbeck*, pp. 76-77. Hole, *Essay*, p. 13. Godard, *Birkbeck*, p. vi. Hudson, *History*, p. 49. Flexner, *London Mechanics' Institution*, ch. 3, p. 67

*London Journal of Arts and Sciences* a few weeks before the *MM* proposal, and which, Stack hypothesised, might have nudged Robertson to propose the LMI. Signed by ‘G. D. B.’ the letter advocated a somewhat similar institute. But ‘G. D. B.’ could not have been Birkbeck: ‘G. D. B.’ was writing from Cambridge; his letter focussed on inventions, whereas Birkbeck’s emphasis had always been on lectures; the letter made no mention of Glasgow; Birkbeck and his friends would certainly have employed the letter (had Birkbeck written it) to support the doctor’s bid for ‘founder’.<sup>5</sup>

Finally historians are divided over who at the *MM* came up with the idea and who wrote the proposal. Kelly had ‘no doubt that the idea of a mechanics’ institute in London originated with Joseph Clinton Robertson’. Hudson agreed. Stack gave equal credit to Hodgskin and Robertson. Hole also named both men but considered Robertson’s role the more important. Stack and Halévy (Hodgskin’s two biographers) believed that Hodgskin wrote the proposal. Godard attributed the proposal to Robertson, although he followed Place’s manuscript account to give Place credit for working on the draft.<sup>6</sup>

Stephens and Roderick played it safe and wrote that the LMI was founded by Birkbeck, Robertson and Hodgskin. I have found only two historians who refused to be waylaid by the 1800 Glasgow story and kept to the London issues at hand. These were the left-wing historian Brian Simon and Elie Halévy. Focussing on a working-class origin, Simon credited Hodgskin and Robertson and criticised ‘Radicals, industrialists and Whig politicians’ for taking over the Institution. We can see that for Simon a Birkbeck provenance would have undercut his working-class emphasis. Halévy believed that Robertson and Hodgskin’s plan had been to supplement the ‘teaching of the printed newspaper’ with ‘the oral instruction of the lecture’.<sup>7</sup>

However historians have interpreted the events, at the time the LMI organisers chose to elevate Birkbeck to the status of founder. He was selected within the first week after the proposal was published (before he had made any of the major contributions which would later differentiate him from the other founding organisers).

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<sup>5</sup> Burns, *Birkbeck*, pp. 18-19. David Stack, *Nature and artifice* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1998), p. 82. *LJAS*, 6 (1823), pp. 197-200.

<sup>6</sup> Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 77. Hudson, *History*, p. 49. Stack, *Nature*, p. 82. Hole, *Essay*, p. 13. Proposal: Stack, *Nature*, p. 83; Elie Halévy, *Thomas Hodgskin* (London: Ernest Benn, 1956), p. 86; Godard, *Birkbeck*, p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> Michael Stephens and Gordon Roderick, ‘Science, the working classes and mechanics’ institutes’, *Annals of Science*, 29 (1972), p. 351. Simon, *Studies*, p. 153. Halévy, *Hodgskin*, p. 86.

Why did men living in the most culturally-rich and dynamic city in the world proclaim that the inspiration for the LMI came from a course of lectures delivered over 20 years previously and over 400 miles away north of the border? Solving this conundrum requires looking not only at the *MM* and Birkbeck's class, but also at the situation for teaching science and/or working men in London.

## London

Before the LMI was founded, London abounded in science institutions which were aimed at those with more disposable income and a higher education. Many were joint-stock associations founded by the middle-classes for a clientele whose scientific interests were more leisured than practical. Designed to make money, as the 1819 *London Tradesman* pointed out, they were not geared to working men. The London Institution (for merchants and bankers) charged a 30s annual subscription when it was founded in 1805. Robertson jeeringly called it the 'London Gentleman's Institution'.<sup>8</sup> London was also home to specialist science organisations. Birkbeck for instance was a member of the Geological Society, Meteorological Society and the Astronomical Society.<sup>9</sup>

There were innumerable less formal groups discussing science. These mutual improvement societies often met in members' homes. Members of the Askesian Society, founded in 1796 in William Allen's home, went on to play important roles in the science-based institutions. Some joined the ranks of the 'itinerant science lecturers'. Askesian member Richard Phillips gave lectures from his home as well as travelling from institution to institution. Hays commented on the substantial amounts of money made by such itinerant lecturers as John Millington, Charles Frederick Partington and John Wallis. Birkbeck himself lectured at many institutions.<sup>10</sup>

There was thus a complex network of overt science instruction across the capital. Important LMI contributors, including Birkbeck, Millington, Partington, Wallis

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<sup>8</sup> *The London tradesman* (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1819), p. 327. *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 438.

<sup>9</sup> John Millington, Richard Taylor and Bryan Donkin were also members of the Astronomical Society.

<sup>10</sup> For Askesian Society, see Ian Inkster, 'Science and society in the metropolis', *Annals of Science*, 34 (1977), pp. 16-31. J. N. Hays, 'The London lecturing empire', in Inkster and Morell (eds), *Metropolis*, pp. 99-100.

and Phillips, were actively involved with these institutions. Although working-class men were not excluded from all of them, gaining access could be difficult. Timothy Claxton (the son of a ‘day-labourer’) found that he could not join a philosophical society for ‘want of friends to secure his nomination’.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, Michael Faraday (who began life as an errand boy before being apprenticed to a book-binder) joined the City Philosophical Society which was ‘dominated by the merchant and industrial middle classes.’<sup>12</sup>

What was new about the LMI was its announced intention to cater for the ‘lower classes’. As he had said of the *MM*, Robertson wanted working men to be able to say, ‘This is ours, and for us’. Although to Duppa, writing in 1839, it seemed clear that the LMI had ‘been suggested by the associations of a similar character of the wealthier classes of societies’,<sup>13</sup> Robertson, Hodgskin, Place et al. bypassed these organisations in search of a working-class provenance.

So what were the London working-class associations on which the LMI might have been able to build? The radical debating societies were the obvious candidates. Here working men educated themselves on a wide range of issues. Generally the men focussed on the organisation of society and investigated the causes of their own precarious position within it. The conclusions they drew often brought government condemnation. According to McCalman, it was one of John Thelwall’s debates which ‘prompted s. 14 of the Seditious Meetings Act, 1795.’ Thelwall was to become a friend of Birkbeck’s and an LMI lecturer.<sup>14</sup>

From the very first public meeting to form the LMI, the speakers sought to distance the organisation from radical London with its debating societies, confrontational working-class leaders, and anti-government literature – not to mention the capital’s proselytising atheists and materialists. Sheriff Laurie spoke of the ‘baneful

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<sup>11</sup> Timothy Claxton, *Memoir of a mechanic* (Boston: George W. Light, 1839), p. 11.

<sup>12</sup> The City Philosophical Society (founded in 1808) met at John Tatum’s house. The fee, at 8s per quarter, was more expensive than the LMI’s. T. J. Pettigrew, joint founder, would become the Duke of Sussex’s surgeon. For Tatum’s LMI lectures, see ch. 7. Inkster, ‘Science’, p. 14 (‘middle classes’). See also A. J. L. James, ‘Michael Faraday, the City Philosophical Society and the Society of Arts’, *Royal Society of Arts Journal*, 140 (1992), 192-99.

<sup>13</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 16. [Duppa], *Manual*, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Iain McCalman, ‘Ultra-radicalism and convivial debating-clubs in London’, *English Historical Review*, 102 (1987), p. 311. MBv2, 1 Jun. 1829 recorded that Birkbeck was to ask Thelwall to deliver an LMI lecture. Thelwall named his son after Birkbeck (Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 129).

effects' of debating societies.<sup>15</sup> At the second anniversary dinner, the Duke of Sussex, whose patronage they would never have secured had the LMI appeared linked to radical working-class groups, cautioned the members against 'allowing their Institution to be turned into a debating society'. At the same event, Brougham proclaimed that the members must 'above all things, avoid the dangerous topics of political or theological discussion'.<sup>16</sup>

Conservative fears were aggravated by the scientific education the LMI promised. For the connection between London radical working-class groups, debating societies and science, one need look no further than Richard Carlile's republication of Thomas Paine's books and particularly the *Age of reason* in 1818. (Carlile had moved to London four years earlier at the age of twenty-three.) When he republished the book which had been banned in the 1790s, government and Anglican authorities combined to stop him. The *Age of reason* called on men to study the 'principles of science in the structure of the universe' and ignore the 'fraud of the Christian system'. Mentioning the word science fifty-five times, Paine specifically praised the science of mechanics and noted that the 'man who proportions the several parts of a mill, uses the same scientific principles as if he had the power of constructing a universe.' God was solely the name of the first cause. Matter had 'invisible agency by which all the component parts of the immense machine of the universe have influence upon each other.' Thelwall believed that even 'mental action' could be explained 'on the system of materialism'.<sup>17</sup>

If God were only active as a first cause, nature was thereafter self-animating. The basis for Anglican and aristocratic rule was undercut and denied. There was no top-down hierarchy but rather a self-correcting, mutually-dependent nature. Every man was equal to every other, rational and independent. Each should have the vote. According to Paine, the 'greatest miseries that have afflicted the human race have had their origin in this thing called revelation, or revealed religion.' He accused priests and authorities of using religion to blind the masses to their true interests.

Two months after Peterloo, Carlile was arrested for publishing and selling the

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<sup>15</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 192.

<sup>16</sup> *MM*, 3 (1825), pp. 115, 118.

<sup>17</sup> Carlile to London: Joel Wiener, 'Richard Carlile', in Joseph Baylen and Norbert Gossman (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals*, vol. 1 (Hassocks, Harvester, 1979), p. 79. Thomas Paine, *Age of reason* (London: R. Carlile, 1826), pp. 27, 28 (mechanics, 'mill', 'agency'), 29. Thelwall read his paper 'The origin of mental action explained on the system of materialism' at the Physical Society in 1793: Inkster, 'Science', p. 26.

*Age of reason*. In December 1819, the London-based British Forum debated the justice of Carlile's subsequent imprisonment. Nine years after Burdett had gone to the Tower for defending John Gale Jones' right to free speech, the veteran radical was once again attacking the government. Jones' speech reiterating Paine's injunctions to rely on 'rational conviction' rather than 'blind assent to certain doctrines' resulted in a 'very large majority' voting 'against the prosecutions of Mr Carlile.'<sup>18</sup>

That these London societies set themselves up to judge government actions was anathema to the authorities. *Blackwood's* 1823 description of ex-British Forum members underscored why the respectable men founding the LMI would have shied away from any connection with London working-class associations:

Their faces are of a very singular hue, like a dull, dead, ochre wall, damp-stained, and streaked with exploding small-beer – they fasten upon you a couple of peering eyes, oblique in cowardly cunning – and with a mixture of halting hesitation and bouncing impudence, come close up to your very ear, and whisper into it the most hideous proposals of parting with coats that have clung to you from time immemorial, and breeches you have worn for unnumbered years. Seldom does one of these ex-members of the British Forum come within a yard of you, but an immense flea seizes the opportunity of escaping from the loathsome hound, and fixing his headquarters within the main-body of his opponent.<sup>19</sup>

The LMI member William Lovett belonged to another London debating society, the Liberals, composed of 'Deists, or sceptics in religious matters, as well as Republicans in politics'.<sup>20</sup> Lovett, who joined the group in 1823, described the liberating feeling belonging to the debating group gave him: 'my mind seemed to be awakened to a new mental existence, new feelings, hopes and aspirations sprang up within me'.<sup>21</sup>

In 1821, Carlile's *An address to men of science* elaborated the materialist view point and called on men of science 'to give the death blow, or the last blow to superstition and idolatry'. He wrote:

we should consider ourselves but as atoms of organized matter, whose pleasure or whose pain, whose existence in a state of organization, or whose non-existence in that state, is a matter of no importance in the laws and operations of Nature; we should view ourselves with the same feelings, as we view the leaf which rises in the spring, and falls in the autumn, and then serves no further purpose but to fertilize the earth for a fresh production.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> John Gale Jones, *Substance of speeches* (London: R. Carlile, 1819), pp. 16, 20.

<sup>19</sup> 'P. R.', 'Edinburgh Nuisances', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 13 (1823), p. 368.

<sup>20</sup> *Republican*, 14 (1826), p. 791. Lovett also attended 'republican, infidel and agrarian-reform debates' at the British Forum: McCalman, 'Ultra-radicalism', pp. 329-30.

<sup>21</sup> Lovett, *Life*, p. 36.

<sup>22</sup> Richard Carlile, *An address to men of science* (London: R. Carlile, 1821), pp. 6-7, 17.



Just before the publication of Carlile's address, the Tories had set up the Constitutional Association (December 1820) to apprehend and prosecute purveyors of what they deemed blasphemy and sedition. After failing to get a conviction against Carlile's sister, the Association was further embarrassed when Brougham joined forces with the radicals to defend a Mancunian fustian cutter who had been arrested for displaying a copy of Carlile's *New Year's address to the reformers of Great Britain* in a sting operation. Brougham defended the Manchester fustian cutter not because he supported the publications but to wrong-foot his political opponents who ran the Constitutional Association.<sup>23</sup>

The government's response to Carlile's annual practice of celebrating Paine's birthday (29 January) – with members of the British Forum and the Liberals among others – provides an excellent example of what the LMI had to avoid. As late as 1824 the landlord of the hosting tavern was, according to the *Republican*, refused the renewal of his annual licence. 'On his enquiring the reason, he was asked, if he had not had a set of miscreants at his house keeping the birth-day of the diabolical Tom Paine' and he was led to believe that he had committed 'a most heinous offence'.<sup>24</sup>

With many of the LMI organisers having expressed sympathy with Paine's views, the LMI had to tread cautiously. Although Brougham's connection may have been pragmatic rather than heart-felt, *Blackwood's* could still denounce him for 'indirectly' advocating Paine's opinions. Several founding members (Place, Frennd, Galloway) had been active in the Paine-supporting London Corresponding Society. Place was close to Carlile. According to Miles, he was 'a principal influence' behind Carlile's move from deism to atheism.<sup>25</sup>

The founders of the London Mechanics' Institution certainly had strong London forebears. They just chose not to acknowledge them. They did not cite London middle-class institutions, even though Birkbeck, Millington and others were closely connected to them. Surely the organisers were right to think that they could not appeal to the working classes by praising middle-class endeavours. On the other hand, there were fundamental connections which could have been drawn between the LMI and

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<sup>23</sup> William H. Wickwar, *The struggle for the freedom of the press* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1972), pp. 181-84, 194-97, 201-204.

<sup>24</sup> *Republican*, 14 (1826), pp. 791-92.

<sup>25</sup> Miles, *Place*, p. 103.

radical working-class groups, not only because of the past connections of founding supporters but also because teaching science had the potential to promulgate a materialist world view. Against this background, the rest of the chapter examines the rival assertions of those who believed the LMI owed its existence to the London-based *MM* and those who supported Birkbeck's claim based on his Glasgow class.

### ***Mechanics' Magazine***

'QT' writing in January 1827 believed that the LMI derived from the founding editorial policy of the *Mechanics' Magazine*. From its very first number, the *MM* had 'prepared the minds of its readers for the proposal'.<sup>26</sup> But who was responsible for this first number? Four men claimed the credit: Robertson, editor and proprietor; Hodgskin, who claimed the role of editor; and the publishers, Knight and Lacey. Any assertion of responsibility for any aspect of the magazine, however, was hotly contested by the others. The four men fell out spectacularly. Robertson and the publishers even ended up in court. For three months, there were two versions of the *MM* (June – September 1826), with each side stubbornly insisting that the magazine was theirs. Of the four men, Robertson was the one who consistently and most emphatically claimed the credit for coming up with the idea for the LMI.

There are three aspects to investigate. Who was responsible for targeting the *MM* at working men? Without that, the LMI would hardly have been proposed. Who was responsible for the *MM*'s editorial content? The focus on inventions and on the exchange of ideas through printing different men's suggestions was key. Who initiated and/or wrote the LMI proposal? Each will be examined in turn.

The publishers claimed that the magazine's focus on a working-class audience (so essential to the LMI's founding policy) had been due entirely to them. In June 1826, during a law-suit with Robertson over the ownership of the *MM*, the publishers asserted that they had devoted themselves to the working class 'in an especial manner', and that Robertson's original idea had been for a miscellany not directed at mechanics. It was 'not without a good deal of difficulty, that we prevailed upon him [Robertson] to adopt our view of the matter, and attempt to make the "Mechanics' Magazine" in reality,

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<sup>26</sup> *MM*, 7 (1827), p. 62.

what it was in name'.<sup>27</sup> Because the target market was what separated the magazine from its competitors, such a claim on the publishers' part was vital to their suit. The accusation does not therefore seem to be incontrovertible evidence against Robertson's commitment to the working man. Most of the controversies during the LMI's early years revolved around Robertson's battles to maintain, as he saw it, the working man's independence.

In an effort to minimise Robertson's contribution, Knight and Lacey also contended that he had not written any article in the magazine on a 'mechanical subject'. These they claimed had all been written by the mechanics themselves.<sup>28</sup> Given the editorial format of the magazine, which relied on correspondence, extracts and original articles, the fact that mechanics were communicating with each other first hand was surely an advantage. (Mussell, however, questioned the authenticity of some of the letters, perhaps suggesting that Robertson had written them himself.<sup>29</sup>) The editorial format derived from Robertson's collaboration with Thomas Byerley and Byerley's subsequent *Mirror of Literature*. In 1820 the two men had developed a new kind of miscellany when they created the immensely popular *Percy Anecdotes*. Here the editors combined original material with extracts and digests from recent and ancient publications.<sup>30</sup> Eleven months before the *MM* started, Byerley had launched the *Mirror of Literature*, a weekly miscellany which packed considerably more text into its double-column format than traditional publications, included more wood engravings, and cost a minimal twopence per issue. Drawing on the success of such radical journals as Wooler's *Black Dwarf* and Carlile's *Republican*, which achieved large sales at cheap prices, the *Mirror* was the first successful 'mass-market' journal: accessible to the working classes and also 'a great favourite with the clergy and the respectable classes'.<sup>31</sup> It made its profit from high quantity at a low price rather than by following the traditional route of high price with small circulation. In his account of encouraging

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<sup>27</sup> *MM*, 5 (1826), pp. iiv-iv.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. vi.

<sup>29</sup> Mussell, "This is Ours", p. 111.

<sup>30</sup> Published pseudonymously between Jan. 1820 and Mar. 1823, *The Percy anecdotes* were attributed to Sholto [Robertson] and Reuben [Byerley] Percy. Content: Sholto and Reuben Percy, *The Percy Anecdotes*, vol. 3 (London: T. Boys, 1823).

<sup>31</sup> Jonathan Topham, 'John Limbird, Thomas Byerley, and the production of cheap periodicals in the 1820s', *Book History*, 8 (2005), pp. 78-82 (radical), 92 ('clergy'). By Mar. 1823, the *Mirror* included engravings within each issue as well as on the title pages: *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*, 1 (1823).

Hodgskin to join Robertson in launching the *MM* (modelled on the *Mirror*), Place noted with admiration the *Mirror*'s 10,000 copy weekly circulation. The notion that Robertson's patent experience and his editorial nous (developed on the bestselling *Percy anecdotes*) was somehow immaterial to the *MM*'s content and success seems unlikely.<sup>32</sup>

Robertson's key role as editor was also challenged by Thomas Hodgskin who claimed to have been 'a joint and equal co-operator in editing the Magazine when it was begun'. Robertson countered that Hodgskin had been merely a hired hand, 'employed as an assistant in conducting some of the earlier numbers'. Hodgskin was 'by me directed and controlled in all he did for the Magazine'.<sup>33</sup> Stack's assertion that one reason the *Chemist* folded was that 'as an editor Hodgskin lacked Robertson's panache', supports the view that Hodgskin could not have been equally responsible for the *MM*'s success. And then there is the fact that Hodgskin was an economist and political theorist – hardly the background to edit a magazine on inventions. Hodgskin's admission in December 1824 about his own 'inexperience' further undercuts any notion of equal partnership.<sup>34</sup>

How Hodgskin's status at the *MM* was understood had ramifications for the perception of his role in founding the LMI. In December 1824, in one of his barbed editorial comments on LMI ceremonies, Robertson expressed concern that Birkbeck's toast to the 'enlightened Editors of the *Mechanics' Magazine*' for their work in founding the LMI would 'cause some misapprehension, and tend to throw on an esteemed friend [Hodgskin] a share of responsibility inconsistent with the part he has taken'.<sup>35</sup>

But the two men were collaborating well in the first few months. Robertson and Hodgskin shared responsibility as the LMI's honorary secretaries and gave a joint

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<sup>32</sup> Place, EH, f. 240. I have found no reference as to when Robertson became a patent agent, but his testimony to a Select Committee confirmed that he was a patent agent in 1824: Parliamentary Papers 1836 (568) ix, *Report from the select committee on arts and their connexion with manufactures* [hereafter PP 1836 (568) ix], p. 130.

<sup>33</sup> *MM*, 22 (1835), pp. 474-75. Much of the following material comes from Robertson's Mar. 1835 articles (amounting to 15 pages) to assert his own priority as the founder of the LMI in *MM*, 22 (1835), pp. 432, 457-68, 474-76.

<sup>34</sup> Stack, *Nature*, p. 81. *MM*, 22 (1835), p. 476 ('inexperienced').

<sup>35</sup> *MM*, 3 (1825), p. 190. It is odd that Birkbeck referred to editors in the plural. At the previous quarterly meeting (Sep. 1824), devoted in large part to a discussion of the *MM* attacks on the management committee for accepting Birkbeck's loan, Hodgskin had made clear that he no longer had anything to do with the magazine: *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 410; *MC*, 1 (1824), p. 28.

donation of five guineas. The early November LMI management Minutes which recapped the instigation of the proposal reported that Robertson consulted ‘his coadjutor M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hodgskin’ about starting a London institution.<sup>36</sup> If it is true, as Place claimed, that Hodgskin introduced Robertson to Place, that would appear to confirm Hodgskin’s importance both at the magazine and in connection to founding the LMI. Place’s role was critical and will be investigated in detail in chapter 5.<sup>37</sup> In February 1824 Robertson was happy to have Birkbeck praise his and Hodgskin’s contributions equally. Given later developments, it is worth noting that Birkbeck at this early stage was happy to allocate credit elsewhere. Robertson thanked Birkbeck and was pleased to receive a note from the doctor which stated: ‘I hope I *am incapable of appropriating to myself* THAT WHICH I KNOW AND BELIEVE TO BELONG TO ANOTHER’ (emphasis in Robertson’s 1835 report).<sup>38</sup>

According to Robertson, he ‘conceived the project’ to establish a mechanics’ institute ‘almost immediately’ after starting the *MM*. He briefed Hodgskin, ‘an assistant’, to write the proposal which he, Robertson, then revised.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless Hodgskin’s two biographers state simply that Hodgskin wrote the proposal with no mention of anyone else’s involvement. Stack based his assertion on the premise that the proposal contained elements of Hodgskin’s political thinking. Stack believed that the ‘notion of [mechanics’] independence’ was more important to Hodgskin than to Robertson.<sup>40</sup>

It is an interesting question which of the two men was more concerned about the working man’s independence. Certainly Robertson was at pains to show that Hodgskin did not stand up for the members’ autonomy. For Robertson the proof was in Hodgskin’s attending the first anniversary dinner (December 1824) which Robertson boycotted because of Birkbeck’s £3,700 loan to the Institution. In his 1835 summary of founding responsibilities, Robertson published his correspondence with Hodgskin over whether they should attend a celebration for an organisation which they believed had failed. In his letter Hodgskin agreed with Robertson that the LMI ‘IS NOT A

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<sup>36</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 190. MBv1, f. 1.

<sup>37</sup> Burns, *Birkbeck*, p. 20, believed that Place did not ‘take an active part in the formation of the Institution’. Godard, *Birkbeck*, p. 46, considered Place the ‘chief man of business’.

<sup>38</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 420. *MM*, 22 (1835), p. 458.

<sup>39</sup> *MM*, 22 (1835), p. 457.

<sup>40</sup> Halévy, *Hodgskin*, p. 86. Stack, *Nature*, p. 83.

MECHANICS' INSTITUTION', asserted that he disapproved of much of what the management committee had done, and referred disparagingly to the committee as 'the Doctor *and his squad*' (emphasis in *MM*). Nevertheless, Hodgskin maintained that he would go to the dinner. Robertson considered this an 'extraordinary answer'. Stack described how Hodgskin 'greedily sought distinction' and 'was driven by a desire for promotion'. Hodgskin was no man of principle it seems – at least no man with the courage of his convictions.<sup>41</sup>

Historians have tended to take a dim view of Robertson – seeing him through Place's eyes, as a disreputable and dishonest man. A monomaniacal, paranoid man with an axe to grind ('which was more personal than ideological') was how Stack understood Robertson.<sup>42</sup> Yet the same behaviour could identify a man of principle, someone not prepared to kow-tow or bend with the prevailing wind. Robertson's behaviour in front of the 1836 Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures emphasised this aspect of his character and provides a useful insight into his approach. The committee was particularly concerned about whether English artisans could match the sophistication of French artistry. Could the English, for instance, produce a service of porcelain fit for the King? Previous witnesses had agreed that more talented workers with better taste were needed for such a task – i.e. Frenchmen. Robertson chose the opportunity to deny the importance of the King. Because 'Kings can never be numerous as customers', Robertson believed that no sensible 'manufacturer would ever think of rearing up designers for the specific purpose of supplying an occasional order from such a quarter'.<sup>43</sup> Along with his apparent enjoyment in irritating others, Robertson's behaviour was typified by this kind of practical thinking which prioritised the needs of the working man.

If giving the LMI an *MM* provenance meant handing Robertson the laurel of founding the Institution, the *MM* had to be written out. Robertson became so antagonistic that including him within the LMI community would have torn the Institution apart. But these later developments cannot explain the speed of Birkbeck's aggrandisement.

I would like to suggest that an early focus on Robertson as the instigator might

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<sup>41</sup> *MM*, 22 (1835), p. 476. Stack, *Nature*, p. 153.

<sup>42</sup> Place, EH, ff. 242, 256, 259. For the Place/Robertson dispute, see ch. 5. Stack, *Nature*, p. 152.

<sup>43</sup> PP 1836 (568) ix, pp. 128-29.

have lent credence to a debating society provenance – and that it may have been for this reason that Robertson himself was prepared to eulogise Birkbeck in the first weeks. But first it is important to establish the likelihood of the magazine’s forming the basis of a working-class reading group. Was this a route that Robertson might have considered or that would have seemed reasonable in the society of the day? Place certainly thought it was. He believed that Robertson planned the LMI as an offshoot of the *MM*. He accused Robertson of wanting to make the LMI ‘a mere club which might be under his control and made subservient to the purposes of the Mechanics Magazine’: a promotional peg for the magazine. Knight and Lacey did not lay claim to writing the proposal but they did cite against Robertson the fact that he had broken the magazine’s connection with the LMI. The publishers clearly saw the LMI as an integral part of their circulation strategy (at least by 1826).<sup>44</sup> Reading societies could provide important circulation boosts. In the advertisement which prefaced the first volume of the *Technological Repository* (1822), the proprietors noted their desire to reach the members of ‘Reading Rooms, or Reading Societies’.<sup>45</sup> How large a step was it from appealing to these organisations to founding one?

Given that an *MM* reading club was probably a reasonable idea, was there any reason for anxious Tories to dread such a development? The *MM* fitted the profile of the ‘cheap literature’ aimed at working men which Brougham admired and *Blackwood’s* feared. At only 3d weekly and packed with more information than its rivals thanks to its double-column format and small type-size, the *MM* was excellent value. Although Robertson generally steered clear of politics and social issues, he did occasionally print articles on such controversial topics as the repeal of the Combination Acts. He was well aware of the risks involved:

we know that this is a political topic; that it is used by many writers to inflame the bad passions of the people, to stir up hatred of their employers, and discontent at the government; and we, in alluding to it, run the risk of being confounded with these writers

Although the magazine believed that the Combination Acts had a tendency to reduce men to ‘permanent degradation’, the editorial claimed that its coverage would not be ‘declamatory’. The magazine would merely supply information to support arguments in favour of repeal. Tories could hardly have been reassured that some of the magazine’s

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<sup>44</sup> Place, EH, f. 257. *MM*, 5 (1826), p. iv.

<sup>45</sup> *Technical Repository*, 1 (1822), advertisement at the front of the volume.

information came from London's ultra-radical *Black Dwarf* (edited by Thomas Wooler who became editor of the LMI's short-lived 'house' journal the *Mechanics' Chronicle*).<sup>46</sup>

Even more damaging for a reading group based on the *MM* was the fact that a mechanics' magazine could be associated with 'atheistical and anarchical principles'. In 1830 Thomas Chalmers referred to mechanics' magazines in general in just these terms. When Robertson remonstrated that his magazine was 'free from every taint of religious or political impurity', Chalmers replied that he had been merely using the name (with no particular magazine in mind) to point out the dangers of publications 'tainted by a spirit of radicalism'. Just the phrase 'mechanics' magazine' was apparently enough to conjure up radicalism, atheism and anarchy.<sup>47</sup> To add to fears, the *MM*'s format and price were modelled on radical publications.

Considering the well-publicised Tory concerns that mechanics' institutes were likely to become 'a British Forum, a Debating Society, or a Spouting Club' and 'mere haranguing societies', the founders would naturally have been wary of giving the slightest hint of a debating-society origin. Surely Robertson would have agreed.<sup>48</sup>

### **George Birkbeck**

Birkbeck's LMI image which was so quickly established in November 1823 was quite distinct from the man and his accomplishments. It conflated Birkbeck, a wealthy man on the staff of the Andersonian Institution in the early 1800s, with the seceding Glaswegian mechanics of 1823. That Birkbeck, an authority figure who benevolently helped others, could come to represent the seceding workers reflects the conflicts and confusions of the heady days when the LMI was being established. Surely the moral of independence that was drawn from the Glasgow secession was fundamentally opposed to Birkbeck's patrician philanthropy.

But one can understand why LMI members and commentators in retrospect took the so-called founder of the Glasgow mechanics' class to be the founder of its London 'equivalent'. Birkbeck was LMI president until his death in 1841, he managed

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<sup>46</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 341, 429.

<sup>47</sup> *MM*, 13 (1830), pp. 255-56.

<sup>48</sup> *British Critic*, 1 (1827), p. 183.



the day-to-day running of the Institution for its first years, he gave innumerable immensely popular lectures and he was the major financial donor. His seminal importance to the LMI cannot be denied. But he was not the founder in the sense of instigator of the idea. If Birkbeck had been called the founding president, many confusions would have been avoided. Take for instance Thomas Kelly, Birkbeck's biographer, dealing with the founding of the LMI. At one point Kelly wrote that Birkbeck 'was not the founder in the literal sense that he conceived the idea of the Institute and took the first step to bring it into being'; at another, he asserted that the LMI 'owed its origin, not to any of the experiments made in London, but directly to the work of Birkbeck at Glasgow'.<sup>49</sup>

Did Birkbeck's activities in Glasgow actually merit Kelly's accolade? Over the years Birkbeck and others worked to create that impression, but what is the evidence? Birkbeck's was the first letter received by the *MM* after the proposal was printed. Birkbeck met up with Robertson before the next issue, a meeting which enabled Robertson to publish on 18 October a testimonial to Birkbeck purportedly from the independent seceding mechanics. Confusion over the timing (never mind the provenance) of this testimonial helped to consolidate Birkbeck's ownership of the idea of educating mechanics. The testimonial stated:

It was your distinguished lot, Sir, to lay open more widely than had been previously contemplated, the portals of philosophy, and to invite artisans of every description to enter them, however scanty their means or obscure their condition.<sup>50</sup>

But the testimonial was not what it seemed. It had been written five months before the mechanics seceded and not by the students themselves but by Dr Andrew Ure, Birkbeck's successor at the Andersonian Institution.<sup>51</sup> Ure and Birkbeck may well have been friends. Certainly within a year Birkbeck was writing to Ure in a manner which counted on the man's sympathy.<sup>52</sup> In February 1823, when the testimonial was written, Ure and his students had just succeeded in resuscitating the mechanics' class which now boasted 600 students. To celebrate, one of the mechanics suggested that they ask Birkbeck to be their patron on the basis that he had founded the class in 1800. Other members of the class, however, said that John Anderson, founder of the college,

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<sup>49</sup> Kelly, *Birkbeck*, pp. 70, 76.

<sup>50</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 118.

<sup>51</sup> *GMM*, 2 (1825), p. 390.

<sup>52</sup> Birkbeck to Ure, 10 Sep. 1825, reproduced in Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 280.

had taught a mechanics' class before his death. Here began a heated and lengthy controversy in which men attempted 'to disfigure or conceal the real truth'.<sup>53</sup>

Let me preface the debate with a brief word on Birkbeck's rival. John Anderson (1726 -1796) was an Enlightenment radical and an advocate of the French Revolution. In 1791, he was in France. A supporter of the revolutionaries, he presented the National Convention with a model of a new gun he had designed. Although the British had not seen the gun's merits, the French did. They displayed the model with the inscription: 'The gift of Science to Liberty'. Anderson was present when Louis XVI was forced to swear an oath of allegiance to the Constitution. As the *Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine* (*GMM*) put it, 'on the 14th of July, on the top of the Altar of Liberty, and in the presence of half a million of Frenchmen, he [Anderson] sung *Te Deum* with the Bishop of Paris, when the King took the oath to the Constitution'. Close to the revolutionary leaders, Anderson devised a way to introduce French literature into Germany after the German Emperor had blockaded the border. Anderson 'proposed making small balloons of paper, varnished with boiled oil, and filled with inflammable air, to which Newspapers and Manifestos might be tied'. His idea was successfully put into practice.<sup>54</sup>

Anderson was the professor of natural philosophy at Glasgow university from 1757. He taught working men. His will stipulated the provision of education for 'artificers' as well as for women. Committed to the productive sectors of the community, he specified that the trustees to manage the college should come from the following nine backgrounds: tradesmen; agriculturalists; manufacturers and merchants; artists 'in which are included all workers in Metal, Glass and Wood Artizans, and Encouragers of the Fine Arts'; medical men; lawyers; divines; natural philosophers; as well as Anderson's own relatives. Hugh Barclay, the leader of Birkbeck's supporters in 1824-5, spoke disparagingly of Anderson's board of management as being 'taken from certain most fanciful divisions of the community'.<sup>55</sup>

In February 1823 (eight months before the LMI proposal appeared), a committee of the mechanics currently in the Glasgow class, plus Ure, was nominated to

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<sup>53</sup> Claxton, *Memoir*, pp. 103-104.

<sup>54</sup> *GMM*, 3 (1825) p. viii.

<sup>55</sup> Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 23. *GMM*, 2, p. 390.

establish the provenance of the Glasgow mechanics' class.<sup>56</sup> The issue was seen to revolve around Anderson's will. What exactly had he directed that the Institute teach and to whom? After examining the will, Ure and the committee decided that Anderson had not specified a class to be taught to 'mechanics', nor had he specified 'an economical rate'. They therefore declared Birkbeck the founder of the class.<sup>57</sup>

Within five months the committee men along with their fellow classmates had fallen out with Ure and the Andersonian Institution. According to Farrar many of the mechanics disliked Ure's supercilious manner. (Indeed Farrar believed that Ure's dislike of them was partially responsible for the opinions he expressed in his *Philosophy of manufactures*, advocating an automated factory in which employees were solely machine minders.) The rift was over who owned the books bought out of the proceeds of the working men's fees (2s were deducted from their payments for the lectures), who owned the books donated to them, and who owned the mechanical apparatus which they had crafted.<sup>58</sup>

It was not until December 1824, when mechanics' institutes were sprouting up across England and Scotland, and Birkbeck was widely acclaimed as the founder of the movement, that four Glasgow mechanics wrote to the *GMM* to prove that Anderson had provided the real impetus for educating working men in scientific principles. The correspondents included extracts from Anderson's will and details of Anderson's own classes. Their opponent was Hugh Barclay, Birkbeck's main supporter among the members who seceded. Barclay, however, was not a mechanic. He was a lawyer. Barclay read the resolutions at their first independent meeting and was elected their first treasurer. It appears that the seceding men were not as working-class as many thought.

Anderson's supporters had to refute three arguments: Anderson was not targeting 'mechanics'; Anderson did not specify an inexpensive, never mind gratuitous, class; Ure and the 1823 committee had decided that Birkbeck was the originator. The definition of mechanic was, as so often the case, causing problems. It seemed that

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<sup>56</sup> This account is based on an article in *Technical Repository*, 4 (1823), pp. 297-305 and letters which appeared in the *GMM* 2 (1825), pp. 389-90, 411-15, 442-44, and *GMM*, 3 (1826), pp. v-ix, 12-15.

<sup>57</sup> *GMM*, 2 (1825), pp. 390, 411-12.

<sup>58</sup> W. V. Farrar, 'Andrew Ure F. R. S. and the philosophy of manufactures', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 27 (1973), pp. 309, 317 (dislike of mechanics), 322, n.45. *Technical Repository*, 4 (1823), pp. 300-302.

because Anderson had not used the word in his will, Ure and Barclay (hardly working men themselves) asserted that Anderson was not targeting working-class men. The word Anderson employed was ‘artificer’. According to ‘Aliquis’, ‘the word artificer conveys a more definite idea to the mind than mechanic – the former implying a workman, the latter a Student of Natural Philosophy.’ (He was deliberately harking back to a seventeenth understanding of mechanick philosophy.)<sup>59</sup>

Given the confusing definitions of mechanic and inventor examined in the last chapter, ‘Aliquis’'s point is well made. Anderson’s will stipulated how ‘disorderly’, ‘ill bred’, and ‘intoxicated’ students should be treated. ‘Aliquis’ took these clauses as ‘indisputable’ proof that Anderson envisaged the ‘lower classes of the community’ studying in his college. Anderson supporters also pointed to the ‘large Class of operative artizans’ which Anderson himself had taught. Anderson coined the term ‘antitoga’ for this class – and much was made of the fact that he was happy for men to turn up direct from their jobs without changing into clean clothes.<sup>60</sup>

The issues surrounding the cost of Anderson’s class raise the question of working men’s independence in terms of paying for what they received. Anderson’s own class was not free. A fee of 21s admitted a student to 48-50 lectures which was according to ‘A. R. C. L. A. Y.’ ‘as cheap as was required’. He pointed out that Ure’s current class was successful at 10s for 24-25 lectures. The will stipulated that the trustees were to fix the fees – reasonable enough given that circumstances would change over the years. ‘Aliquis’ had no doubt that the ‘Institution was for the benefit of the artificers and lower orders of the community, for he [Anderson] distinctly implies that the fee is to be small’. Hugh Barclay had claimed that the will made no provision about the ‘economy’ of the working man’s education.<sup>61</sup>

Were gratis lectures really the defining characteristic of a ‘mechanics’ class’? Having spoken to Birkbeck, Claxton seemed to feel so; he confirmed that gratis lectures meant poorer workmen, a different class of workman, could attend.<sup>62</sup> To some extent that seems reasonable. On the other hand, then as now, there was a disinclination to receive charity. Given Robertson’s views on gratis lectures and taking into account

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<sup>59</sup> *GMM*, 2 (1825), pp. 414-15.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 414-15. Antitoga: *ibid.*, p. 443; *GMM*, 3 (1825), p. v.

<sup>61</sup> *GMM*, 2 (1825), pp. 390, 411-12, 414.

<sup>62</sup> Claxton, *Memoir*, pp. 104, 120.

Anderson's French revolutionary background, it may be that a small fee for lectures was more empowering for working men than receiving 'charitable' free instruction. The backgrounds of 'Aliquis' or 'A.R.C.L.A.Y.' are unknown, but it is interesting that it was the lawyer Barclay who considered the gratis nature of Birkbeck's lectures so defining. It goes without saying that once the Glasgow mechanics seceded and were truly independent, they had to pay the costs of their institute. Nevertheless, not all working men were against receiving gratis lectures in an institute to which they subscribed, and men quickly came forward to offer the newly formed Glasgow Mechanics' Institution free lectures.<sup>63</sup>

Finally, the Anderson supporters had to undermine the decision made by Ure and his February 1823 committee. The impartiality of their adjudication was questioned by Robert Hart in his December 1824 letters to the *GMM*. Hart had been on the committee and was one of the men responsible for getting Anderson's will for the committee to consider. Repeating Barclay's taunt that the pro-Anderson camp was accusing Ure of having 'falsified the evidence' or acted out of ignorance, Hart left the question open. He asserted: only selected portions of the will had been given to him (it was unclear who had selected the extracts); he had been told specifically not to give an opinion; he and the class had been ignorant of what Anderson himself had taught. Is it possible that Anderson's radical Enlightenment views might have influenced the behaviour of the Institute and Ure? Certainly Glasgow's favoured status as the source of all mechanics' institutes would have been threatened by any hint of Revolutionary sympathies in their background. For Hart, the clincher was that Anderson himself had taught a class, which he called his Antitoga Class, 'to which work people were allowed and invited by him to attend'. Knowing of this initiative, anyone reading the will would know that Anderson's intentions were 'to give knowledge to those who were, before his time, shut out from science'. Hart considered that the case for Anderson was thus sealed.<sup>64</sup>

Hart's experiences on Ure's committee enabled him to add that Birkbeck, far from being the friend of the working man, could barely be bothered to answer their

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<sup>63</sup> Correspondence about gratis lectures: *MM*, 7 (1827), pp. 13-14, 90-94, 449-50. Glasgow: *Technical Repository*, 4 (1823) p. 304.

<sup>64</sup> Hart letter: *GMM*, 2 (1825), pp. 442-43. There was a lengthy rebuttal of Hart's points in *GMM*, 3 (1825), ending however with affidavits to support Hart's assertions, pp. 12-14. Because the *GMM*'s ultimate editorial conclusion was in favour of Anderson, we will leave the argument here.

letter asking him to be their patron. According to Hart, Birkbeck did not reply for three months and then only after someone (Dr. Moir) had been asked to speak to him personally. Hart thought that Birkbeck's delay might have been because he knew he did not deserve the honour: 'There is something unaccountable in this: it looks as if Dr. Birkbeck saw the sandy foundation on which his honours were to be built.' Hart was outraged that even then, Birkbeck had not written to the mechanics himself – 'desiring Dr. Moir to write an apology for him, as he had not time himself!!!' Hart's version of events casts doubt on Birkbeck's claim that the Glasgow class was 'his favourite project'.<sup>65</sup>

Equally damaging to Birkbeck's reputation, 'Aliquis' asserted that the doctor had not been a good or popular lecturer. The gratis lectures were given because Birkbeck could not get a paying audience. Indeed some of the mechanics thought Birkbeck had left the Institution because the Andersonian managers, unable to pay him, had informed him that if he continued teaching, he would have to live off what the students would pay.<sup>66</sup> Birkbeck's sensitivity about the popularity of his lectures can be seen in his demand that Robertson 'correct' the statement in the LMI proposal that attendance at the Glasgow classes had 'at length' fallen off. Birkbeck felt this implied that the attendance had dwindled during his tenure. Robertson obliged in the 18 October issue, but Birkbeck appears to have been surprisingly touchy.<sup>67</sup> Although there is corroborative evidence that his mechanics classes gave Birkbeck gifts, there does not appear to be evidence beyond Birkbeck's own statements that his audience reached 500 men. Kelly referenced only the *Imperial Magazine* memoir which he noted was 'laudatory' and probably based on an interview with Birkbeck.<sup>68</sup> In 1825, could Birkbeck have been exaggerating or mis-remembering? His lecturing skills, demonstrated regularly at the LMI, may have taken time to develop. (Even Robertson admitted that Birkbeck 'can speak well', before adding 'and that is nearly all he can do'.<sup>69</sup>)

On his own admission, Birkbeck tried to introduce a course on 'animal

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<sup>65</sup> *GMM*, 2 (1825), p. 443. Anon., 'Memoir of George Birkbeck', *Imperial Magazine*, 7 (1825), p. 28 ('favourite').

<sup>66</sup> *GMM*, 2 (1825), p. 415.

<sup>67</sup> Anon., 'Memoir', p. 32 ('correct'). *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 100, 115.

<sup>68</sup> *GMM*, 3 (1825), p. 13. Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 5 ('laudatory'), 41.

<sup>69</sup> *MM*, 12 (1830), p. 280.

economy' which was a failure. In fact so few arrived for the first lecture, that Birkbeck did not even deliver it. Birkbeck attributed this partly to the fact that, contrary to the stipulations of Anderson's will, he had excluded women – presumably on the grounds of decency because physiology and functional anatomy were to be discussed.<sup>70</sup>

Nevertheless, Birkbeck appears to have been out of sympathy with the prevailing attitudes at the Andersonian. It is difficult to imagine Birkbeck speaking on any topic at the LMI without attracting a large and enthusiastic audience.

Birkbeck's claim to have originated a mechanics' class (and thus the mechanics' institutes) rested on his experiences in Glasgow. Yet a vociferous group of Glasgow mechanics publicly rejected him. His supporters were led not by a mechanic but by a lawyer. In its 17 August 1825 preface (just over a year and a half after the LMI was founded), the *GMM* stated categorically that Anderson had been robbed of the credit he deserved. In September 1825, Birkbeck wrote to Ure to express his desire to be shot of the entire matter: he 'anxiously hoped, that the people of Glasgow, at least the part connected with the Institution, would endeavour to forget me and any little service which I may have rendered to the place'. Although further letters had appeared in the *GMM* justifying Birkbeck's priority (after Hart's damning letter but before the preface was written), Birkbeck himself envisaged all the people connected with the Andersonian against him. He continued, 'It is really amusing to see that your wiseacres after a lapse of twenty years have groped their way to Professor Anderson, as "the original founder of Mechanics' Institutions"'.<sup>71</sup> That was their decision, he seemed to be saying, but he would maintain his own version of events.

Later historians and chroniclers took Birkbeck's (and Brougham's) word. A case in point was Timothy Claxton who (after an interview with Birkbeck) stated not only that Birkbeck was the founder but also that Anderson's will had never been used to support his claim.<sup>72</sup> Had Claxton heard this untruth from Birkbeck? Birkbeck must have read the *GMM* letters – or at least heard about them – before he wrote to Ure. Claxton's account raises another anomaly. Claxton used as proof of Birkbeck's priority the fact (as presented by Birkbeck) that the Andersonian management derided Birkbeck's plan to teach working mechanics. The management's lack of understanding

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<sup>70</sup> Birkbeck to Ure, 10 Sep. 1825, reprinted in Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 280.

<sup>71</sup> *GMM*, 3 (1825), p. v. Birkbeck to Ure: Kelly, *Birkbeck*, pp. 280-81.

<sup>72</sup> Claxton, *Memoir*, pp. 104, 119.

was a theme to which Birkbeck returned over and over again, and it was a huge boost to his own claim for precedence. If the managers were unfamiliar with teaching working men, clearly the Institute had not had such a focus. But reference to the Anderson management minutes reveals that the managers were enthusiastic about Birkbeck's idea.<sup>73</sup>

From September 1824 onwards, Robertson downgraded Birkbeck's role in founding the LMI and asserted his and the magazine's priority. On the fourth, he wrote: 'We feel towards the Institution as a parent feels towards a favourite child; for ... we called it into existence – and but for us and our exertions, no such thing would, up to this moment, have existed'. In 1827, he first noted that Birkbeck had been in London for many years and had done nothing to found an institute for working men.<sup>74</sup> Robertson also came to maintain with the Glasgow mechanics that Anderson had established 'the first school' for mechanics in which Birkbeck had been 'but a hired lecturer'.<sup>75</sup>

Further damaging to Birkbeck's case, Leonard Horner, praised in the LMI proposal for founding the Edinburgh School of Arts to teach 'humble operatives', claimed that his inspiration had been 'a class for the special purpose of instructing mechanics, founded by Dr Anderson, at Glasgow, and which was afterwards rendered efficient by that illustrious individual Dr Birkbeck'.<sup>76</sup> Horner thus credited Anderson with the first class.

Which of the men deserves to receive the laurel is not the main issue here. The key point is the controversy. Anderson had many powerful backers, including the *GMM*. These men were automatically Birkbeck detractors. So how was it that Birkbeck came to be universally credited with instigating the education of working men in practical science? Kelly believed that the tradition originated with Brougham, and certainly Brougham's support of Birkbeck over the decades was unflagging. Robertson spent years publicly arguing with Brougham over the latter's statements about Birkbeck's priority. In 1835, the *MM* editor published a lengthy diatribe which included extracts of Brougham's articles, speeches and private letters (from which the following

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid. Birkbeck referred to the Andersonian managers' scepticism in his 11 Nov. 1823 address: *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 179. Managers' enthusiasm: Kelly, *Birkbeck*, pp. 27, 30.

<sup>74</sup> *MM*, 2, (1824), p. 410. *MM*, 7 (1827), p. 382, and *MM*, 12 (1830), p. 280.

<sup>75</sup> *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 440. *MM*, 23 (1835), p. 317.

<sup>76</sup> Place, quoted in Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 71 n.2.



account is drawn).<sup>77</sup>

In the early years, Brougham was prepared to soften his stance on Birkbeck's priority (under Robertson's goading). At the end of 1824, Brougham published an article in the *Edinburgh Review* on popular education. Here he wrote that Birkbeck, having 'reflected on the success' of his Glasgow class, decided to extend it, and with 'a few of his friends accordingly' set up the LMI.<sup>78</sup> When Robertson complained, Brougham replied that the *Edinburgh Review* had changed what he had written and that he would correct it in his next publication. In his pamphlet, *Practical observations upon the education of the people* (published a few months later), Brougham still gave Birkbeck priority – 'the commencement [of mechanics' institutes] was the work of Dr Birkbeck' – but now he did not write that Birkbeck had set up the LMI. Rather he mentioned 'An Address ... published by Messrs. Robertson and Hodgkin, in the *Mechanics Magazine*' to which Birkbeck had responded. Brougham wrote no more about the address or its importance. Perhaps trying to mollify Robertson (as the editor himself thought), Brougham allocated special praise to Robertson for establishing the *MM*.<sup>79</sup> But it was Brougham's comments in the August 1825 *Edinburgh Review* which suggest (as Robertson pointed out) that he knew he was on thin ice. Writing about the theatre's opening ceremonies the previous month, Brougham clarified that when he called Birkbeck '*the distinguished founder*' what he meant was '*the founder of this building*' because Birkbeck had advanced the money to build the theatre (Robertson's emphasis).<sup>80</sup> This article appeared about seven months after the *GMM* correspondence which closed with remarks supporting Anderson and in the same month as the *GMM* preface which proclaimed Anderson the founder of mechanics' institutes.

As time went on, and after Robertson had split from the LMI over policy, Brougham's statements were unequivocal. For example, when he addressed the LMI in July 1828, he proclaimed: 'It was to Birkbeck that they and all England practically owed the institution of what was the means of instructing all classes of the community'. It would be 'vain to deny him this merit as the original contriver'. In 1835 Brougham wrote to the *MM* publishers that he had 'always understood Dr. Birkbeck to be the

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 76. *MM*, 22 (1835), pp. 457-68.

<sup>78</sup> [Brougham], 'Scientific', p. 115.

<sup>79</sup> Brougham, *Practical*, pp. 3 (*MM*), 17 ('commencement'), 22 (address).

<sup>80</sup> *MM*, 22 (1835), p. 459.

founder of the London Mechanics' Institution, and never heard of any other'.<sup>81</sup>

Robertson printed Brougham's letter and his own four-page account of the LMI's founding and his previous disputes with Brougham. He concluded:

- 1st. That Dr. Birkbeck was *not* the founder of the London Mechanics' Institution.
- 2d. That Lord Brougham was a party to proceedings inconsistent with the supposition of Dr. Birkbeck being the founder.
- 3d. That it has been represented to Lord Brougham again and again, and in every way most likely to impress the fact on his Lordship's mind, that it was doing a violence to truth to persist in ascribing the foundation of the Institution to Dr. Birkbeck.
- And 4th. That Lord Brougham must, therefore, be under an entire mistake in now stating, that he "always understood Dr. Birkbeck to be the founder of the Institution, and never heard of any other."<sup>82</sup>

In response, Brougham rested his case on the Glasgow mechanics' testimonial. Brougham wrote that he believed on the basis of the testimonial 'given by the workmen themselves' that the 'foundations' of all mechanics' institutes could be 'distinctly traced' to Birkbeck's Glasgow class.<sup>83</sup> These appear to be shaky foundations indeed. The testimonial was written by Ure before the mechanics seceded. Many of the Glasgow mechanics believed that Anderson was the founder of the first Glasgow mechanics' class. Surely Brougham knew that matters were not as straightforward as he claimed?

So why was it so important, worthy of bending the truth, to attribute the entire idea of mechanics' institutes to Birkbeck? It is a question with two parts: why was it important in the first few weeks? and why was it important later on? Reasons for attributing the founding to Birkbeck multiplied after the managers accepted the doctor's loan in late 1824: 1) because Birkbeck's munificent donation was a good reason to call him founder; 2) because the other claimant Robertson had become so hostile to the management's handling of the Institute; 3) because a commitment had already been made to call Birkbeck the founder; 4) because Anderson with his radical philosophy was an undesirable candidate whose supporters needed to be silenced; 5) because of Birkbeck's successful management and innumerable highly popular lectures.

What I want to do now is look at the first few weeks when the image of the LMI was being forged. An examination of the opening rhetoric shows that Robertson initially joined the bandwagon in giving Birkbeck credit. If Kelly were right that

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<sup>81</sup> *TFP*, 7 July 1828. *MM*, 22 (1835), p. 457.

<sup>82</sup> *MM*, 22 (1835), p. 460.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

Brougham instigated the ‘tradition’, the influential Whig must have been involved in the week between the proposal’s being printed (with its reference to ‘a Dr Birkbeck’) and the next issue in which Robertson agreed with the testimonial that Birkbeck had first unfolded the ‘temple of science to the artisan’. (Place could easily have brought Brougham on board at this early stage.) It was Robertson himself who read out at the first public meeting Brougham’s letter congratulating Birkbeck for being ‘the original author of this admirable scheme above twenty years ago’. The third resolution at the 11 November meeting stated the LMI’s debt to ‘the Mechanics of Glasgow’ for their example. But it is important to note that the resolution was about the mechanics ‘principle of self-support’ and did not mention Birkbeck’s class which occurred over 20 years before these mechanics seceded from the Andersonian Institution and Ure’s class.<sup>84</sup>

Chalmers identified the fears a mechanics’ magazine could inspire. Robertson was probably aware of these problems of image and knew that for the institute to be established on firm ground it needed an undeniably respectable provenance. Based on the Glasgow class rather than the *MM*, the LMI had no association with cheap literature, debating societies, or working men getting together by themselves. If the authorities could close a tavern for hosting a Paine birthday party, they could certainly make life difficult for a fledgling institute with the wrong connections.

Birkbeck’s class had no conceivable seditious background – provided of course that Anderson was kept out of the picture. While Anderson’s revolutionary sympathies appear to have caused no stir in Scotland they would certainly have alarmed the English. Focussing on Birkbeck also served to steer attention away from the LMI’s Whig and Radical backers. The campaign worked. Coverage even in Tory papers was, with only one known exception, universally positive until Brougham’s pamphlet was published in February 1825. On 17 November 1823, for instance, the ultra-Tory *New Times* reported that the Crown and Anchor meeting was ‘to consider the expediency of forming a mechanics’ institute, similar to those already established in Glasgow [Mechanics’ Institution], Birmingham [Brotherly Society], Edinburgh [School of Arts], and other opulent commercial cities’.<sup>85</sup>

Along with its respectable provenance came the LMI’s ability both to gain

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<sup>84</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 181.

<sup>85</sup> *New Times*, 17 Nov. 1823.

patronage from wealthy backers and to provide patronage for the working men. The ideal founder would be a well-connected man who could bring others on board, gain publicity for the Institution and introduce members to benefactors (all of which Birkbeck did). And of course, a wealthy man could give considerable financial assistance himself (as Birkbeck did). In short, Birkbeck's 'station', as Hodgskin called it, made him admirably suited to the role.<sup>86</sup>

Another reason Robertson might have supported Birkbeck was that in the heady early days, he was swept along by the enthusiasm of Place and his colleagues. Did Robertson miss the early signs of Birkbeck's appropriation? He seems to have missed more than the appropriation of the idea, he missed signs also that the Institution with its founding membership did not even at the start match his expectations. In 1831, when Robertson first heard of Claxton's 1818 mechanical institution, he considered the resemblance between it and the LMI 'altogether almost complete.' Claxton's institute, founded by a whitesmith and son of a labourer, revolved around 'mutual instruction'. This was not the ethos of the LMI with its lecturers whether paid or gratis. Robertson professed himself mystified that for 'some (unexplained) cause', Claxton's institution never received the necessary coverage to make it a success.<sup>87</sup> But surely the reason was obvious. Claxton lacked the kind of support which the LMI had. It was because of the patronage of wealthy men that Robertson's 'favourite child' received the column inches that it did. Robertson got the publicity; he got an institution patronised by the good and the great, but he did not get the 'mechanics' institute' that he appeared to want. There were no working-class men, like Claxton, who could be considered for the role of founder.

Birkbeck's elevation to 'founder' may have allayed Establishment fears, but what was the role he actually played? Chapters five through eight assess the Institution under his management: the productive interactions of 'working-class' and 'not-of-the-working-class' members, and the controversial letting of the theatre to radical and Co-operative organisations. The following chapter, based largely on the LMI Members' Registers, provides an analysis of the membership over the first six years.

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<sup>86</sup> Hodgskin letter in *Daily News*, 27 Oct. 1856.

<sup>87</sup> *MM*, 14 (1831), p. 446.

## **LMI membership: undermining historiographical explanations**

The LMI is generally considered to have failed (within the first year or two) in its attempt to appeal to working men. Working-class men are supposed to have left and their places to have been filled by middle-class men. The only way to substantiate this assertion is through a detailed analysis of the memberships in 1824 and 1829 – an analysis which must differentiate between the two groups. Separating the classes is problematic because, as the second part of this chapter examines, historians have considered mechanics (and artisans) both ‘working class’ and ‘lower middle class’ because of their economic stability. Linking material from my digitised database of the Members’ Registers to reports in the Minute Books, the *MM* and the *LMR*, allows a new understanding of who the members were and what they experienced at the LMI. Many other reasons, besides class-based considerations, can be identified to explain why men joined or resigned.

The chapter begins by looking at the overall membership numbers and offers explanations for the peaks and troughs in the figures. It then focuses on the occupations which were the most represented to reveal, astonishingly, that the same occupational categories remained the most represented throughout the period, despite the common assumption in the standard texts of changing composition. The second part of the

chapter is concerned with the relationships between the designations ‘mechanic’, ‘working class’, ‘not of the working class’ and ‘middle class’ (although this last term was not used at the LMI). I investigate meanings both at the time and within the historiography.

## **Part 1**

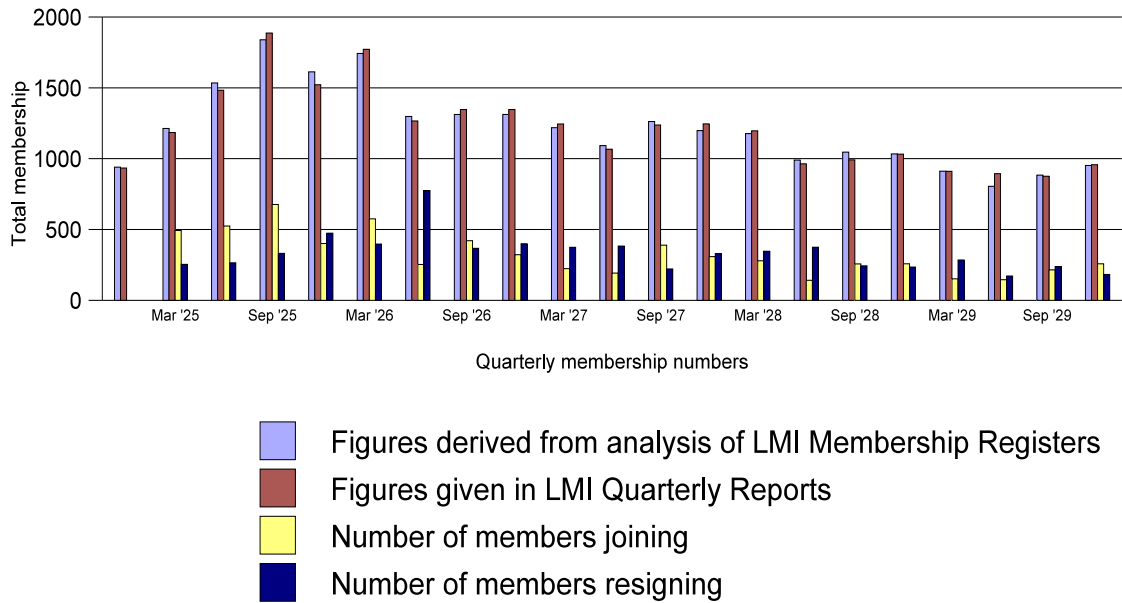
### **Overall membership numbers**

Figure 4.1 illustrates quarterly membership numbers from December 1824 to December 1829. The numbers of members recorded in the LMI Registers (tallied here for the first time) are shown beside the numbers the committee reported at the quarterly meetings. The figure shows the membership for the December to March quarter in the December column, and so on. Members paid their subscriptions in advance. However, the Quarterly Reports were retrospective. I have therefore matched the figures they recorded in March with my December subscription figure based on the men recorded as having paid in the Registers. Figure 4.1 also shows the numbers joining and resigning in each quarter (taken from the Quarterly Reports). Appendix H provides the details and references. An analysis of the individual members listed in the Registers reveals that much of the coming and going relates to people who joined for only one quarter. These figures therefore do not automatically imply that there was a huge turnover in the base membership.

Figure 4.1 shows a clear peak in membership in September 1825, after the lecture theatre opened (July 1825), and a gradual decline thereafter, with the steepest drop in June 1826. Membership at the end of the period in December 1829 was pretty much equal to the membership at the beginning. There are four explanations for the peak before June 1826 and the subsequent falling off:

- 1) The novelty of the new lecture theatre drew people and, by its very nature, wore off.
- 2) The economic crisis of 1825-1826 took its toll and members were not prepared to pay the subscription.
- 3) The introduction of a higher subscription fee and an entrance fee in March 1827 was the deciding factor. On the face of it, this reason looks

Figure 4.1: LMI total membership by quarter Dec. 1824 - Dec. 1829



spurious given that by March 1827, the Institution had been operating for three quarters at a substantially lower level of membership. The big decrease in membership was in June 1826.

- 4) The Institution’s large debt (to Birkbeck) reduced what the Institution could offer and produced an unappealing aura of failure.

Two of these revolve around the economic status of the members. Those who take ‘working class’ as synonymous with impoverishment will be sympathetic to these financial explanations. So the definition of ‘working class’ becomes important. The second half of this chapter shows that the circumstances of LMI members did not match many of the circumstances generally attributed to working-class men.

The notion that some members were attracted briefly because of the LMI’s novelty fits what happened well – and suggests that the membership figures after the opening of the lecture theatre were pushed artificially high. It could be that the normal membership figure should have been around 1,000. The grandeur of the opening ceremonies in July 1825 supports this explanation. Attended by such dignitaries as the Duke of Sussex, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Joseph Hume, Alderman Wood, Sir Robert Wilson and Henry Brougham, and covered by the *Morning Post*, the numerous mechanics’ journals and as far afield as the *York Herald*, the opening was impressive. Brougham in his address explained that societies like the LMI were being established

across the country, reinforcing the idea that they were fashionable and exciting.<sup>1</sup>

Contemporaries accepted that such hype would drive attendance figures up, but that the novelty might be short lived. ‘T. H.’ had given an early warning in the *LJAS* that while the [proposed] institute ‘possesses the charm of novelty it will flourish ... but zeal is a perishable commodity’. Charles Hindley from the Ashton under Lyne Mechanics’ Institution believed that ‘a falling off of fully one half’ was expected from its peak period. Charles Toplis, an LMI member, vice-president and lecturer, believed that the catchment of the LMI produced about 1,100 members: ‘placing your building at any one point of London, you will range within a certain circuit, and that circuit appears here to have furnished very steadily 1,100 members’.<sup>2</sup>

According to the novelty theory, the alleged decline in members may in fact be an adjustment to base numbers.

### **Economic Crisis**

It is difficult to match the timing of the 1825-6 financial crisis to the LMI figures. As early as March 1825, Lord Liverpool was issuing warnings that the government would not help out if speculators ran into financial difficulties. The price of wheat was rocketing, the price of manufactures tumbling and the price of shares falling. In September 1825, the first bank failed. The panic hit in December when three London banks and sixty-three provincial banks suspended payment. Working men who had seen their wages reduced by half demanded cheap bread and petitioned against the Corn Laws. In Spring 1826, foreign corn was admitted for two months. In his diary for 30 April, 1826, Francis Place wrote: ‘The whole country is alarmed at the state of the manufacturing population and willing to do almost anything to appease the starving people.’ He reported that a meeting was to be held in the City the next day and that the troops were being called out. There were strikes and riots in northern England in the

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<sup>1</sup> *Morning Post*, 8 Jul. 1825. *York Herald*, 16 Jul. 1825. *LMR*, 2 (1825) devoted an entire supplement (pp. 177-90) to the new theatre and its opening ceremony. Robertson gave a full account of the ceremony and praised the theatre, but still claimed that the committee had betrayed the working-class members: *MM*, 4 (1825), pp. 232-40. Robertson’s criticisms begin on p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> *LJAS*, 6 (1823), p. 321. Charles Hindley to Brougham, 15 Sep. 1826, University College London, SDUK papers, Mechanics’ Institutes Correspondence, Ashton under Lyne. Toplis: PP 1836 (568) ix, p. 122. For Toplis at the LMI, see primarily chs 6 and 7.



spring and summer of 1826.<sup>3</sup>

In the March 1826 Quarterly Report, the committee had used the ‘present unfavourable state of trade’ to explain the drop in subscriptions between their report of September 1825 figures and the new figures they were announcing for members who paid for the December to March 1826 quarter. But subscriptions were actually increasing by the time they issued the report. The following quarter they would be reporting the increase between December 1825 and March 1826. But in September 1826, the management had to report a drop of 445 subscriptions (the largest in our period). They blamed ‘calamitous circumstances which have latterly distressed and paralised [sic] the whole community’, and were ‘persuaded’ that the decline did not proceed ‘from a depreciated estimate of importance of the Institute’.<sup>4</sup>

If the financial crisis affected these men, why did the membership actually rise in the middle of it? and why did committee start procedures (which were ratified by the members) to *raise* the subscriptions and add an entrance fee in December 1826? More subscriptions at a lower price could easily bring in more income than fewer subscriptions at a higher price. Finally why, when the crisis was so drawn out, from Spring 1825 to as late as Christmas 1826, were there only two drops in the crisis period, the first one followed immediately by a significant increase in membership? There is no clear correlation. Figure 4.2 is a graph of the numbers of members in the most represented occupational categories. It shows that, during this period, in some categories the membership increased.

### **Increased fees**

Like the economic crisis theory, the increased fees theory to explain membership decline makes two key assumptions: first, that the higher membership figures in September 1825 through to June 1826 should have been the norm; and second, that the members were not in stable enough employment or generally well enough off to be able to pay the higher sum.

While the novelty theory ties in well with the highs in figure 4.1, the increased

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<sup>3</sup> Place, ‘Affairs’, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> Quarterly Reports: Mar. 1826, *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 314; Jun. 1826, *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 106; Sep. 1826, *ibid.*, p. 312.

fees theory receives little corroboration. The 1s increase to 6s per quarter along with a one-off entrance fee (only repeated if a member missed a quarter's payment) of half a crown took effect in March 1827. The drop in total membership from the quarter before the higher fees were introduced (December 1826) to the quarter in which members paid more (March 1827) is 93, a marginal drop compared to that between March 1826 and December 1826 of 431. In support of the committee's and members' decision to increase the fees, the next, December, Quarterly Report revealed that the intake of new members had been up by 206. Incidentally the total membership figures were also up by 170.<sup>5</sup> If the increased fees were a serious problem it is surprising that the membership numbers rose so soon after their introduction and maintained a higher level for several quarters.

Nevertheless, several vocal LMI members associated the increased fees with reduced membership. There is an assumption in the historiography that raising the fees was naturally disastrous. Godard wrote that 'as might have been anticipated' the numbers diminished. Hudson claimed 'such was the immediate effect of the regulation' that a loss of 160 subscribers took place (the LMI's figures). Prothero believed that the membership of most of the mechanics' institutes 'fell away in the 1826 depression'. He continued that the LMI had raised its fees because of its falling membership leading 'to a further decline which continued until 1830, and to an increasing proportion of clerks'. Kelly also believed that the increased fees resulted in a 'change in the character of the membership': clerks and 'independent craftsmen' could afford the increase, whereas 'ordinary journeymen' could not.<sup>6</sup>

The increased fees theory goes with the notion that the majority of members were struggling to pay the fees; a half crown entrance fee and an increase of a shilling a quarter made attendance prohibitive. It seems unlikely that the committee and the members would jointly have agreed to such hikes had they considered them the death knell of the Institution. Might not Birkbeck have relaxed the stipulations of his £3,700 loan (at least in the short term) rather than destroying his alleged 'brainchild'? In 1831 Birkbeck made clear that 'he had lent the money solely for the purpose of promoting

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<sup>5</sup> Increased fees agreed, Dec. 1826 quarterly meeting: QMv1, ff. 163-65. Quarterly figures: appendix H.

<sup>6</sup> Godard, *Birkbeck*, p. 105. Hudson, *History*, p. 52. Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 203. Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 100.

the prosperity of the Institution, and if he did not live to see the sum repaid, he should never feel any discontent or anxiety.’<sup>7</sup> In fact the motion for increasing the subscription fee was carried at the March 1827 quarterly meeting by ‘an unanimous show of hands, and loud clapping’. The entrance fee was ‘carried, but with not so numerous a show of hands’.<sup>8</sup>

Linking the decline to the economic crisis or to the increase in fees has a major impact on our understanding of the members’ lifestyles and potentials. The second part of this chapter suggests that they were substantially better off than many accounts of working-class prospects would suggest. It may be unwise to go so far as *Blackwood’s* claim in 1825 that the mechanics who belonged to the LMI ‘have all from eighty to two hundred pounds per annum income; the mass of them, taking into account not only wages, but dress, and manner of living, have far better incomes than the mass of our officers, officiating clergymen, clerks, &c.&c’.<sup>9</sup> But it is important to remember that the working mechanics were probably drawn from the better-off members of the working classes, and that a sizeable proportion of the members were not working class.

Given that the increase of the fees resulted in a marginal drop compared to the drops over the previous three quarters, why did some members point to the increase as the reason for decline? Although historians do not quote the LMI members, they certainly could. To have a hope of understanding what the members thought, it is necessary to position the opinions they expressed within the LMI context. One of the members’ prime concerns was how the management spent the LMI’s funds and misappropriated them, according to some, by indebting the institute to Birkbeck. The need for the increased fees after all derived from the expenses of the Institution. Dissatisfaction about the £3,700 debt was constantly stoked by Robertson. Problems with the theatre roof, which had been badly constructed and had to be repaired at no small cost in 1827, added to irritation with the committee’s decision making. That the architect in charge of the fiasco was LMI vice-president Robert McWilliam, who had insisted upon using a novel truss structure (leading to the resignation of three members of the building subcommittee), did not endear the management committee to the

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<sup>7</sup> *MM*, 15 (1831), p. 239.

<sup>8</sup> *MM*, 7 (1827), p. 180.

<sup>9</sup> [Robinson], ‘Brougham’, p. 539.

members.<sup>10</sup>

The raising of the fees and the leaking of the roof were near simultaneous events in December 1826. In fact, members appear to have been more upset by the roof debacle than by the fee hike. After various patching attempts failed, the committee finally got down to fixing the roof properly in June 1827. Three months later, when once again the committee reported a drop in the membership, Robert Clarke (a ‘not-of-the-working-class’ clerk) wrote to the committee that ‘he considered the Gentlemen who conducted and superintended the building of the Theatre had brought great disgrace upon the Institution’. In the same month the *TFP* accused the committee of ‘arrant jobbing’ and noted the decline in the membership.<sup>11</sup> In December 1827, in response to members’ agitations, a ‘committee of inquiry ... [was] appointed to examine into all the circumstances connected with the roof’. The report was not presented to the membership until February 1828. The *MM*’s anonymous reporter on LMI affairs reported: ‘the upshot of the business is, that the gratuitous aid of the architect (Vice-president Robert McWilliam) has raised the first dissension in the Society, and cost its finances £290!!’<sup>12</sup>

Therefore griping about increased fees may have had less to do with the members’ ability to pay and more to do with chastising the management committee. The *MM*’s reporter moved on from complaining about the increase to a criticism of the way the committee was handling the debt crisis.<sup>13</sup> The committee certainly made the connection. Seeking to encourage the members to vote for the increased fees, the Quarterly Report compared the Institution’s large debts to its income, before asserting that it was ‘only surprising’ that the committee men had not made greater mistakes in their estimates for buildings, etc, given their inexperience.<sup>14</sup> The increased fees were grist to the mill of men who, like Robertson, thought taking Birkbeck’s loan had been a fatal error.

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<sup>10</sup> Special general meetings on the roof (8 and 13 Feb. 1828): QMv1, ff. 262-75.

<sup>11</sup> MBv2, 4 Jun. 1827. *Ibid.*, 17 Sep. 1827. *TFP*, 9 Sep. 1827.

<sup>12</sup> *MM*, 8 (1828), p. 367. *MM*, 9 (1828), p. 142.

<sup>13</sup> *MM*, 8 (1828), p. 208.

<sup>14</sup> QMv1, f. 176.

## The debt to Birkbeck

This raises the fourth potential reason mentioned above for the membership decline, namely that the debt itself may have been responsible. Lack of funds reduced what the Institution could offer and constant efforts to save money and to raise money created the negative impression of an establishment on the slide. From the heady days of a gleaming new theatre attended by the Great and Good, the members were faced (by July 1826) with a leaking theatre roof which would cost £290 to repair and many gratuitous lectures which, according to some members, were barely attended.

The necessity for gratuitous lectures (with the resulting diminution of members coming to the Institute) was blamed on the debt to Birkbeck. From October 1826 to February 1827, discussion of the pros and cons of gratuitous lectures appeared on some thirty-two pages of the *MM* and Robertson even devoted an addendum to the subject at the end of volume seven (summer 1827).<sup>15</sup> ‘Aurum’ connected the ‘very inferior kind of lecturing’ (about which members could hardly complain because it was gratuitous) with the general ‘ill management’ of the Institute and a reduction in members’ attendance. He was outraged that money which should have been spent on paying lecturers was thrown away on unnecessary expenses like the theatre.

If, then, having the means to pay for our instruction, we receive it gratuitously, merely that those means may be applied to some other more showy, but infinitely less useful purpose, (for instance, the building of a lecturing theatre) we put ourselves upon a level with those dishonest persons who, to cut a fine appearance, keep a carriage and handsome establishment, run themselves into debt with butchers and bakers, tailors and shoemakers

Aurum’s assertion that fewer members were attending lectures was denied by other *MM* correspondents, including ‘Viator’ who believed that attendance had increased ‘during the last and the preceding, and indeed every quarter’, and the ‘Copper Captain’ who noted that ‘many hundreds could instantly contradict’ this aspect of Aurum’s criticisms.<sup>16</sup>

Robertson weighed in heavily, and tried (along with others) to maintain that gratuitous lectures went against the ethos of independence which had been enshrined at

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<sup>15</sup> *MM*, 6 (1827), pp. 392-93, 419-20, 462-63, 467-68, 493-96, 506-508, 523-24, 531-32, 535, 551. *MM*, 7 (1827), pp. 13-14, 90-94, 112, 449-50.

<sup>16</sup> *MM*, 6 (1827), pp. 463, 467, 531.

the LMI's foundation. Had Birkbeck's and Brougham's statements about mechanics' being self-sufficient not precluded such free-loading? They claimed that the management committee had taken the Institution out of the hands of the members and essentially destroyed it. Robertson was building on charges he had made in July 1825: that the 'mechanics' had, 'through deception and manoeuvre, been deprived' of their due 'share in the management'.<sup>17</sup> Increased fees were small beer in comparison to these charges.

'T. M. B.' wisely intervened in the *MM* debate in a letter which Robertson printed in July 1827 in an 'Addenda and Corrigium' section to volume seven.

'T. M. B.' asserted that the members were still very much in charge (after all they elected the management committee). 'The Mechanics', he wrote, 'will manage their own business; so that nothing can be forced on them without their consent. Such, accordingly, is the impression of the members, that the majority of them – I might almost say the whole of them – agree in the opinion that gratuitous lecturing is not injurious to their independence.' ('T. M. B.'s original letter published in February 1827 had inspired a detailed response from Robertson, and now, 'as the opener of the debate', 'T. M. B.' insisted on his right to have the last word.)<sup>18</sup>

According to Robertson, fundraising events further undermined the LMI's reputation. He considered a steamboat excursion down the Thames to the Nore (40 miles from London) in May 1829, 'a begging, fiddler-like excursion' and wondered why 'the members of the London, more than the members of any other Institution, have occasion to resort to such low shifts to eke out their ways and means?' Not surprisingly he drew the conclusion that 'there must be some gross mismanagement about our Metropolitan Institution, that, with all the helps it has received, and with a body of members still so numerous, it should be driven to such beggarly courses.'<sup>19</sup>

Renting out the theatre was the most controversial of the committee's efforts to raise money. Chapter 8 reveals that even the drafting of an advertisement to announce the availability of the theatre caused controversy in February 1826. The Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty (which became the Radical Reform Association) was allowed to

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<sup>17</sup> *MM*, 7 (1827), pp. 93-94. *MM*, 4 (1825), p. 238.

<sup>18</sup> *MM*, 7 (1827), pp. 449-50.

<sup>19</sup> *MM*, 11 (1829), p. 246.

use the theatre from July 1828.<sup>20</sup> According to a correspondent to the *MM* in April 1830, the Institution was ‘disgraced and ruined beyond redemption’ because Robert Owen had been allowed to rent the theatre for lectures on the Sabbath. Robertson added that the Institution was ‘identified all over the kingdom, as the head-quarters of the Cobbettites, Huntites, and other church and state tinkers of the day.’ And the reason was that the committee was desperate to pay off the debt. Robertson never missed a chance to connect the debt to the building of the theatre and Birkbeck’s loan.<sup>21</sup> A group of members, once again led by Robert Clarke who had been instrumental in calling the special meeting about the roof, demanded a general meeting to debate the motion that the theatre should not be used for religious or political events. Birkbeck did not chair the extraordinary meeting because some members suspected him ‘of favouring the introduction of the tenants who were objectionable ... for the purpose of securing the interest of the money’ which he had lent.<sup>22</sup>

To recap. The controversy over the debt was ever-present. It provided a general background of malaise, but the unease is hard to tally with the quarterly membership numbers. The members’ concerns over these issues began in February 1826 (when renting the theatre was first mooted to raise money to pay back the debt), and reappeared in October 1826 (over gratuitous lecturing). The necessity of raising the fees in March 1827 was connected with mismanagement on the part of the committee, both for taking Birkbeck’s loan and for allowing the shoddy construction of the theatre roof. July 1828 saw the beginning of hiring the theatre to political groups which led to the April 1830 special meeting, which could not be chaired by Birkbeck because of his alleged self-interest in raising money. But it is quite possible that these agitations were caused by a vocal minority; as ‘T. M. B.’ wrote, the majority of members may have been happy with the management decisions. The members had, after all, voted on to the committee (every six months) the members who were running the Institution.

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<sup>20</sup> See ch. 8.

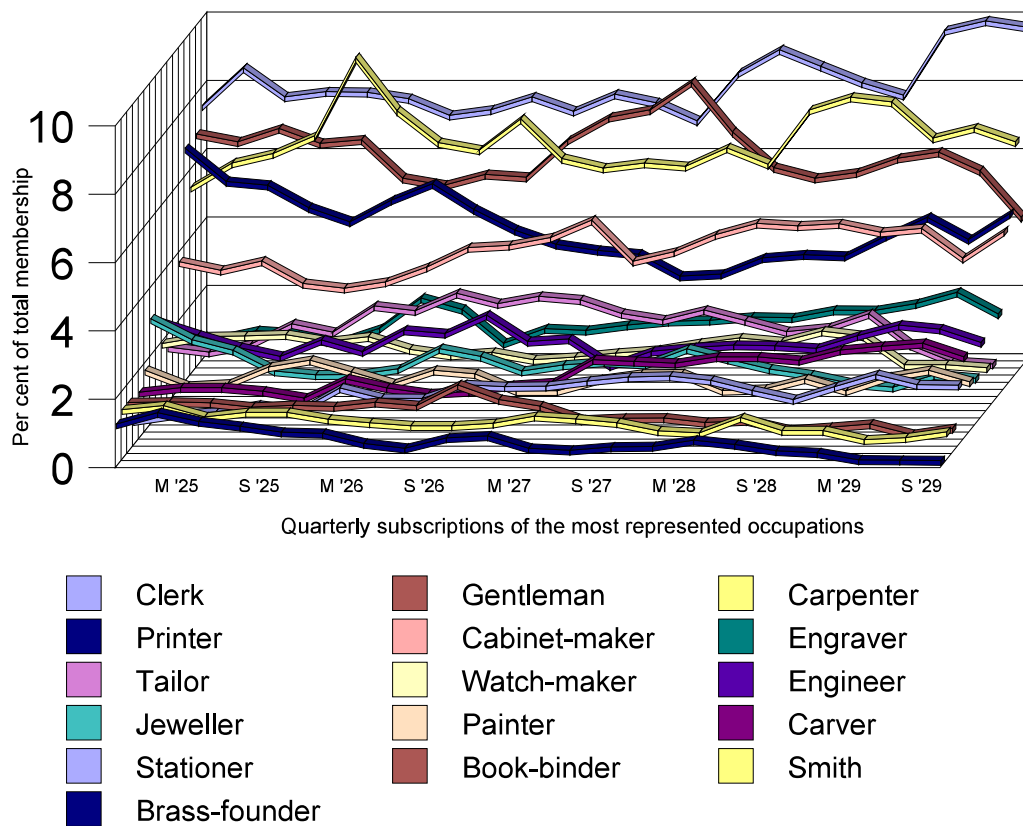
<sup>21</sup> *MM*, 13 (1830), pp. 122-24.

<sup>22</sup> QMv1, f. 441.

## Composition of the membership

The composition of the membership can be analysed in terms of the members' occupations. Figure 4.2 shows the occupations which appeared in the top ten most populous categories for at least one quarter. They are depicted according to the percentage their adherents represented of that quarter's total membership. The information is derived from the analysis in appendix I which lists all occupations with ten or more members in the LMI for the entire period. Not shown in figure 4.2 (although listed in the table in the appendix) are the large categories of members' sons and men recorded without occupations. These are excluded for two reasons: firstly, without further study, they shed little light on the occupational composition of the membership, and secondly the number of men with no occupation increased dramatically in the second register. In December 1829, there were 161 men listed without occupation, 16.9% of the total 952 members.

Figure 4.2: Breakdown of LMI membership by occupation Dec. 1824-Dec. 1829 from clerk (top rear) to brass-founder (bottom fore)





The striking aspect of figure 4.2 is the general ranking of the different groups. Throughout the period, clerks, gentlemen, carpenters and, with slightly fewer adherents, printers and cabinet-makers were the largest constituencies. In the last three quarters, an increase in clerks was matched by a reduction in gentlemen. Taken together therefore the overall numbers of clerks and gentlemen cannot be seen as increasing a middle-class component. Clerks were generally the dominant group from the beginning.

One explanation for the large number of clerks and gentlemen may be that these are generally broader categories than carpenter or watch-maker. The second part of this chapter identifies three different kinds of clerks at the LMI. I have not bunched any of the occupations into broader categories which might be more comparable. Groupings can be useful in one sense, but they risk distorting the evidence. At least here nothing is hidden and account can be taken of the difficulties.

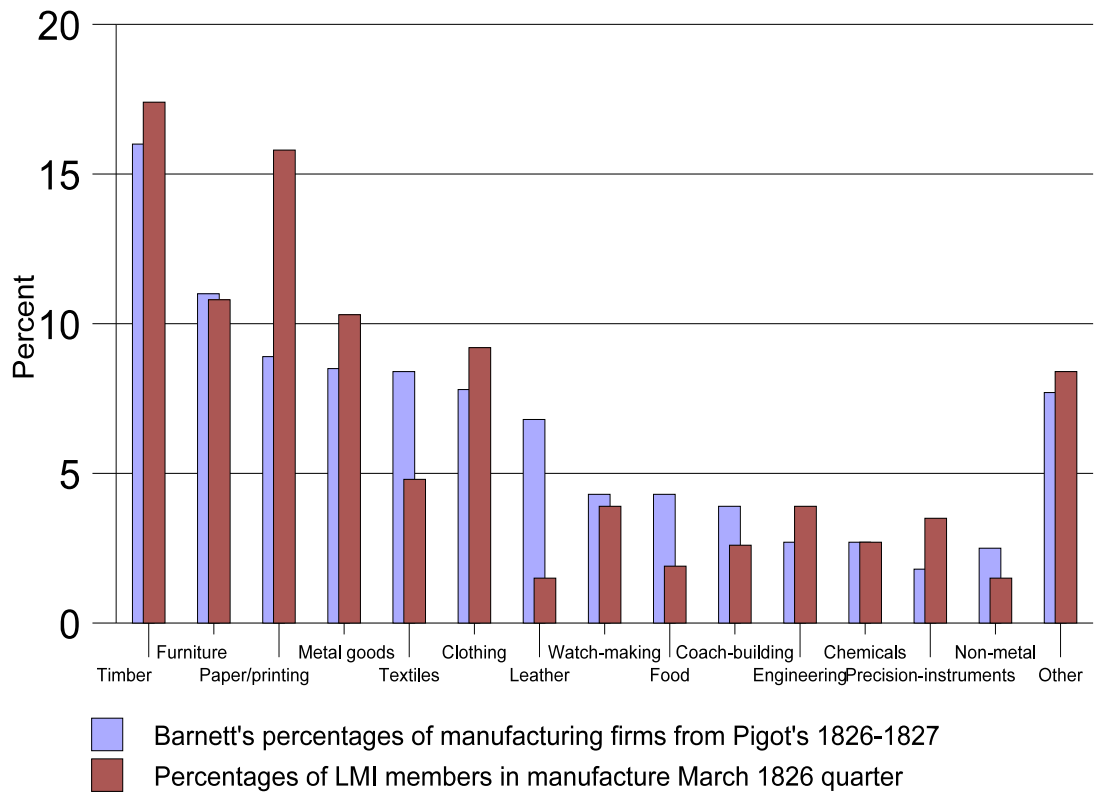
Figure 4.3 compares the proportions of different occupations at the LMI to the prevalence of different trades in London itself. The LMI numbers, based on information in the Registers, represent the membership during the March 1826 quarter. The overall London numbers are from David Barnett's 1998 analysis of the London manufacturing firms in 1826-1827. Barnett is an ideal source because his data was drawn from first-hand, and exactly contemporaneous, sources: Pigot and Co.'s *London and provincial new commercial directory for 1826-27* and the fire office registers held in the Guildhall Library. Barnett created overarching categories but he clearly defined what occupations he was including in each and therefore I have largely been able to categorise the members in a similar way. Appendix J provides the full data on the categorisation of the LMI members.<sup>23</sup>

There are of course various caveats: to Barnett's work, to mine, and to the connection between the two. Barnett noted that his categories were not 'absolutely self-contained industrial sectors' and that he had made decisions about where to place some occupations which could have been allocated to various sectors. He also discussed at length the problems of distinguishing retail from manufacture in various of these trades, although the Pigot's data that he was working with did distinguish

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<sup>23</sup> David Barnett, *London, hub of the industrial revolution* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1998), p. 39.

Figure 4.3: LMI occupations compared to London trades 1826



between the two. Nevertheless Barnett noted constant overlaps and reported that when a man's or company's activities were mixed or unclear, he generally opted for categorising them as retail, on the principle that almost everyone who manufactured sold in some respect.<sup>24</sup>

It is impossible to know whether an LMI member defined as a jeweller, haberdasher or hosier was primarily a manufacturer or a retailer. Given that the LMI was designed for men who made things with their hands and was generally considered (at least at the beginning) to have been largely made up of such, I have considered all men in these trades to be manufacturers and am thus comparing them directly to Barnett's manufacturers. The fact that neither the LMI nor the 1821 and 1831 censuses distinguished retail from manufacture, along with Barnett's assertion that 'in many cases' manufacturers sold their products, suggests that the distinction was less

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 25, 39, 139, 151, 162, 174, 221-22.

important then than now. It is probably safe to assume that the members were not ‘shopmen’, who were, according to the *TN* in August 1825, ‘far behind the mechanics in information’. Also the shopmen’s hours were often too long for them to attend: the *TN* was campaigning for a reduction in these hours – many worked an 18-hour day – precisely so that they could attend an institution ‘of their own’ in the evenings.<sup>25</sup>

Another problematic area for comparing LMI figures with Barnett’s is in the construction trades. Barnett did not include a category for the building trades in his table of manufacturers. Rather he considered them in a separate construction industry section. How then to include LMI carpenters, plumbers, plasterers and painters? Discussing his timber category, Barnett noted that he had divided carpenters between this section and the construction industry: ‘carpenter’, he wrote, ‘could either mean a small-scale general craftsman in wood, trading with very little capital, or could be synonymous with the term “builder” in the construction trade, and involve huge capital investment’. Not being able to allocate all the LMI men listed as carpenter to one or the other of Barnett’s categories, and because Barnett does not analyse the construction industry in the same way as he does manufacturing, I have put all carpenters into this timber category. Given that there were such ‘enormous numbers’ of these smaller-scale craftsmen and that some members were defined as builders, it may be that most of the carpenters at the LMI were of this small industry variety.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, this generous allocation probably explains why the LMI figures exceed Barnett’s for the timber trade. To try to match like with like, I have excluded the seventy or so LMI plumbers, plasterers and painters from this ‘manufacturing’ analysis.

Within ‘other’, Barnett included jewellers and I have included them there also, but it is interesting to note that jewellers accounted for 5.5% of the LMI membership while precision-instrument-makers (whom Barnett does give their own category) amounted to only 3.5% of LMI membership. Barnett and others have noted that jewellers were a particularly tricky category to separate into retailers and manufacturers. It may be that many of the jewellers at the LMI were solely retailers. Barnett provided a category for shipbuilding amounting to 1.5% of the total number of London firms. There were no ship-builders at the LMI so I have excluded the category

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25. *TN*, 14 Aug. 1825.

<sup>26</sup> Barnett, *London*, pp. 80, 121-24.

from Figure 4.3.<sup>27</sup>

Appendix J suggests that at least 424 members or 24% of the entire membership were not involved in occupations that could allow them to be classed as manufacturers. 239 members, including (most of) those with no occupations, and members' sons could have been in manufacturing but we cannot be sure.

Figure 4.3 contains many assumptions, but the similarity of Barnett's 1826-7 analysis to the LMI membership figures makes the information it contains a good starting point for an analysis of the LMI occupations. One would expect those trades with the most firms to be highly represented, and there is a good correlation between the size of the industry in London and its representation at the LMI. Five categories stand out. There were particularly high percentages of LMI members in paper and printing, engineering, and precision-instrument-making. A low proportion of members worked in textiles and in food manufacture. Can these be explained either in terms of the LMI's catchment area or in terms of the Institution's particular appeal (what it taught)? Of course providing any sort of explanation becomes difficult for a member such as Richard Varney, listed as cook in first Register and carpenter in second.<sup>28</sup> Such occupational flexibility is examined later in this chapter.

As Toplis noted, the catchment area obviously affected who could attend the Institution. In *Chrestomathia*, Bentham considered two miles the maximum distance pupils would travel to his projected school. The Crown and Anchor's location at the east end of the Strand, by Arundel Street, was the first deciding factor for the LMI's catchment area. Books for members to join were placed at five other sites: Charing Cross, Berners Street (Oxford Street), New Bond Street, Paternoster Row and Fleet Street.<sup>29</sup> It is interesting how far west the founders were originally looking. Very few (if any) must have signed up at Berners Street, New Bond Street or Charing Cross. The centre of activity moved decidedly eastwards. The first lectures were at Monkwell Street off London Wall, and the final building was in Chancery Lane. The LMI's catchment area presumably did not overlap those of other early mechanics' institutes, that is, Spitalfields, Southwark, Rotherhithe, and Hackney. The LMI Members'

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 107-108.

<sup>28</sup> Varney: MRv1, 1807, and MRv2, 4787.

<sup>29</sup> Toplis: PP (568) ix, p. 122. Bentham, *Chrestomathia*, p. 78. MBv1, 14 Nov. 1823.

Registers show that the majority of members in fact came from Finsbury and the City.

Many printers and stationers (including law stationers) were clustered in the area of the Crown and Anchor and Southampton Buildings: around the Inns of Court, and within a square bounded by Chancery Lane, Farringdon Street, Fleet Street and Holborn. Many of the other highly represented trades were prominent in the City and Finsbury, particularly metal-workers, precision-instrument-makers and watch-makers. The lack of ship-builders is explained by their Docklands location, with the institute in Rotherhithe catering for them. Perhaps the few leather workers can also be explained. The tanning works were generally south of the river. The establishment of the Southwark Mechanics' Institution suggests that trades conducted south of the river were too far away from the 'parent' institution. However many people did come from Bermondsey.

There is a temptation to say that the founding of the Spitalfields Mechanics' Institution in 1825 proved the geographical explanation for the low percentage of textile workers in the LMI. Barnett stressed the importance of the silk industry in his textile category. The LMI weavers came from such places as Ludgate Hill, Cheapside and St Andrews Hill. Certainly there is no reason to think that weavers would not have been interested in what the LMI taught. According to Barnett, 1820s London was one of 'the largest centres of both patented and non-patented textile inventions', and in 1824 the *MM* included weavers among the 'journeymen or apprentices' from whom they expected inventions to be produced for an *MM* 1824 prize competition. (Cabinet-makers, turners, and cutlers could only enter in another category for the 'best specimen' of work.)<sup>30</sup> Perhaps the explanation is that during the 1820s the textile industry was being taken over by 'profit-making entrepreneurs' and 'industrial capital' which altered the type of workman employed and thus made textile workers less likely to join the LMI.<sup>31</sup>

The higher percentage of engineers at the LMI has to be attributed to the nature of what the LMI taught. The first engineers who joined came from far and wide: from Deptford and Blackfriars, from Pimlico and Regents Park, from Southwark, as well as

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<sup>30</sup> Barnett, *London*, pp. 54-55. The *MM* also expected inventions from 'carpenters and joiners, millwrights, engineers (generally), shipwrights, coach-makers and wheel-wrights, watch-makers': *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 80.

<sup>31</sup> Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 1.

from Oxford Street, Furnivals Inn, Cow Cross and City Road. Many engineers were involved in the organisational meetings to found the LMI. In fact there was a sense in which a true mechanic was an engineer. Members of the Select Committee on artisans and machinery in 1824 referred to engineers as men who could ‘properly’ be called mechanics. Testifying to the committee, master engineers repeatedly stressed the need for educated engineers: ‘there are but a limited number of men qualified to act as operative engineers’; ‘the rearing of competent workmen, is not a thing which can be accomplished in a very short period’; ‘a man requires a mind of a superior cast to be a good practical engineer; and there is not a superabundance of such characters’. In his evidence to the Select Committee, Galloway claimed that ‘there may be ... perhaps 200 or 300 master engineers in the metropolis and its vicinity’. Philip Taylor observed ‘that many of the improvements in machines are actually suggested by the workmen themselves’.<sup>32</sup>

The education on offer in scientific matters and what we would call technology would attract all the trades that were particularly well represented. The case for the printers’ education was emphasised in *The Gorgon*, which criticised the numbers of unskilled men used by master printers: if printers were not ‘capable and properly qualified’, it would be not ‘advantageous to literature’. With steam printing presses coming ever more widely into use, printers needed to be technically adept.<sup>33</sup> Precision-instrument-makers, metal-workers, watch-makers, engineers, chemical-workers, and non-metallic producers all required mechanical and chemical know-how and the skills of a draftsman.

In order to maintain their position in the fashion-orientated market that was London, workers in each of these trades needed to keep up with the latest trends and to present their products in the most attractive manner. Phillips emphasised that cabinet-makers must have a knowledge of mechanics (because so many items needed to fulfill multiple functions) and be able to draw in perspective to show how their furniture would look in ‘the apartment for which it is designed’. Any labour-saving or quality-improving invention could transform their businesses. Some members needed drawing lessons before they could convey the invention they had in mind. It was not

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<sup>32</sup> PP 1824 (51) iv, pp. 19 (Galloway), 29 (‘limited’, ‘rearing’), 37 (‘mechanic’, scientific knowledge), 40 (‘man’). Taylor: *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 42.

<sup>33</sup> *Gorgon*, 1 (1818), p. 221.

long before the LMI was offering five different drawing classes.<sup>34</sup>

Several reasons can be suggested for why so many ‘gentlemen’ joined: the importance of being seen to patronise the institute; the need for education, which Brougham delighted in claiming was more acute among these men than among the workers;<sup>35</sup> the desire to be able to oversee what their workmen were doing;<sup>36</sup> and finally, an interest in invention. Many gentlemen were amateur turners and inventors. Indeed Birkbeck noted in an LMI lecture that the lathe he was demonstrating was ‘peculiarly adapted by the infinite number of its applications to afford useful and pleasing employment to private gentlemen, who had much leisure time upon their hands.’<sup>37</sup>

Clerks were a particularly important group. With the increase in manufacture and trade, their numbers were increasing dramatically in the 1820s. Literacy and numeracy were obviously requirements and a greater understanding of trades and processes was necessary for analysing the cost benefits of different procedures. More information on the LMI clerks is provided in the next section.

## Part 2

### The alleged middle-class usurpation

In 1831, William Carpenter, the champion of the unstamped press who had shared an LMI platform with Hetherington, proclaimed that the working classes were included in the term middle class. Addressing the working classes, he wrote: ‘the middle classes of 1831 are not only *not* a class of persons having interests different from your own ... They are the *same* class; they are, generally speaking, *working* or *labouring* men.’<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Phillips, *Book*, p. 78. See ch. 6 for more on the drawing classes.

<sup>35</sup> *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 188. Brougham, *Practical*, p. 32.

<sup>36</sup> The *Technical Repository*, 1 (1832), p. 183, printed a letter from a country gentleman wanting to understand how his bricklayer achieved a right angle. The editor commented: ‘how many thousands of country gentlemen are quite unqualified for such a task.’

<sup>37</sup> *WFP*, 20 Sep. 1828.

<sup>38</sup> William Carpenter, *An address to the working classes, on the Reform Bill* (London, [1831; signed 14 October]), p. 14, quoted in Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the middle class* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 316

Dror Wahrman noted that although few would have been convinced by this inclusive usage, nevertheless Carpenter's 'appeal demonstrates again the lingering leeway in that space of possibilities for the use of "middle-class" language, a space that was rapidly closing down as the ultimate act of exclusion – the Reform Act itself – was taking concrete shape'.<sup>39</sup>

Not surprisingly any class analysis which neatly separated working-class from middle-class men is unhelpful for understanding what happened at the LMI. This is not only because the terms were in flux, but, more fundamentally, because mechanics and artisans did not fit neatly into the model. Considered working class, mechanics nevertheless had economic and social characteristics which encouraged historians to connect them with the middle class. In his broad view of London in the age of industrialisation from 1700-1850, L. D. Schwarz placed well-off artisans and mechanics in the 'lower-middle class' on the basis of their wages rather than on their 'class consciousness'. David Green, who approached the subject specifically from the angle of London artisans and paupers, agreed with Schwarz that the artisans' independence and stable working conditions set them apart from the mass of working-class men. According to Thompson, the 'London artisan was rarely beaten down so low' as the poorer working men and was 'among those whom Professor Ashton describes as being "able to share in the benefits of economic progress"'.<sup>40</sup>

Historians also noted the difficulty of distancing a working-class artisan from a middle-class employer. Green believed that 'in many trades there was little to choose between artisans and small masters, and over their lifetime journeymen could reasonably expect to become employers in their own right'. Prothero remarked on the 'fluidity of the boundary between artisans and the lower middle-class'. He commented that 'the skilled artisans, or "mechanics"' had 'much more in common with small employers, shopkeepers and dealers (which many journeymen might become) and professional men than with the mass of "the poor"'. Inkster agreed with R. S. Neale that 'within many cities there existed a greater distinction between artisans and the poor

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> L. D. Schwarz, *London in the age of industrialisation* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 53. David R. Green, *From artisans to paupers* (London: Scolar Press, 1995), p. 87. Thompson, *Making*, p. 267.



than between artisans and their employers or professional groups'.<sup>41</sup>

The problem with classifying mechanics is not only historiographical. In 1825, *Blackwood's* noted the difference between LMI artisans and the 'tens of thousands of coal-heavers, carmen, dustmen, bricklayers, labourers, porters, and servants and labourers of all descriptions, tailors, shoemakers, &c.'<sup>42</sup> It criticised Brougham and Birkbeck for implying that they were educating 'the working classes generally'. At the LMI itself, members regularly argued over whether someone who employed others could be elected to the committee in the 'working-class' category. The issue remained unresolved.

If artisans and mechanics blurred the boundary between the working class and the middle class (with the upper lower class and the lower middle class interpenetrating one another), allegations about a class shift at the LMI rest on subtle distinctions indeed. Given the composition of the LMI's membership, Prothero highlighted the problem when he asserted that there was 'often no great gap between journeyman and small master or shopkeeper, tradesman, self-employed engraver, printer, apothecary, teacher, journalist, surgeon or Dissenting clergyman'.<sup>43</sup>

Further complications arise when the analysis moves from economic distinctions to cultural ones. The rhetoric of class has little room for fine distinctions and borderline groups. It deals bluntly with the working class and the middle class. Whereas a social and economic analysis merged mechanics into the lower middle class, a cultural interpretation highlights the political connotations of working class. The focus is on difference rather than similarity. Thompson explained that 'the outstanding fact of the period between 1790 and 1830 is the formation of "the working class" and the 'growth of class-consciousness'. By this he meant that the working classes began to identify their interests as being 'against the interests of other classes'. They joined together to form political and industrial pressure groups. That better-off working men stressed what Thompson called the 'truly catastrophic nature of the Industrial Revolution' lends great weight to the view that all working men were oppressed. It is perhaps easy to forget that the 'articulate working men', the 'active spirits', were not

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<sup>41</sup> Green, *Artisans*, p. 26. Prothero, *Artisans*, pp. 20, 26. Ian Inkster, 'Introduction', in Inkster and Morrell (eds), *Metropolis*, p. 30.

<sup>42</sup> [Robinson], 'Brougham', pp. 538-39.

<sup>43</sup> Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 20.

suffering in the same way. The 1833 *Westminster Review* reported that ‘what may be termed skilled labourers’ became the ‘pleaders of the cause of their suffering brethren’ whose condition was one of ‘positive wretchedness’.<sup>44</sup>

Green felt that Henry Mayhew focussed on ‘those activities in which economic decline was most obvious’ in order to prove ‘that conditions for the London working class had worsened considerably within living memory’. According to Green, Mayhew ignored trades in which the working classes were better paid.<sup>45</sup> Is there a similar inclination to emphasise working-class desperation in the work of later historians? Schwarz, Prothero, Green and Thompson concentrated on the hardships and limitations of working men. They each stressed conflict between social groups as population growth, industrialisation and capitalisation changed work patterns. Their contextual frameworks were broad, geared to developments over a long period. Much of their focus was on political revolt, the growth of capitalism, and the growth of working-class solidarity. Not surprisingly, they singled out working men who ‘fared less well and were more deeply involved in working-class radicalism’<sup>46</sup> – the radicalism which emphasised the gross difference in lifestyles which Old Corruption sought to maintain.

While useful for understanding the ideological stances of working men and their struggle for rights, this approach threatens to restrict the definition of working-class men to impoverished men. There is little room for the better-off artisans. Green considered that ‘the decline in London over the years 1825-32 amounts almost to a secular drop to a new and lower level of activity’. Both Schwarz and Green used the collapse of building activity in late 1825-1827 as proof of the disastrous condition of London workers.<sup>47</sup> Yet at the LMI, membership was at its highest in the September to December 1825 quarter and the March to June 1826 quarter. The membership of carpenters was at its highest in June 1826 and quite high in 1828. Carpenters remained the most represented groups after gentlemen and clerks from March 1825 to December 1829.

A broader view of working-class activities and possibilities is absolutely

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<sup>44</sup> Thompson, *Making*: pp. 212, 217, 225 (‘articulate’), 546 (‘active’). Anon., ‘History’, p. 485.

<sup>45</sup> Green, *Artisans*, p. 63.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46-48. Schwarz, *London*, p. 87.

necessary to explain what we find at the LMI. Even if LMI members belonged to the higher ranks of mechanics, their experiences still indicated working-class possibilities which the standard view of the working classes appears to foreclose. In the first Members' Register of 4,295 members, approximately 370 different occupations were represented. The database enables a focus on members from the same family, members at the same address, or members who are listed twice with different occupations. It reveals fluidity between occupations and the difficulties of categorisation. (In the following analysis, I provide the membership numbers recorded in the Registers as references.) For instance, families living at the same address comprised variously: a cabinet-maker and an engineer (the Sauls in Titchfield street, membership numbers: MRv1, 4411, 4906); a compositor and a wire-weaver (the Greenfields of Clerkenwell, MRv2, 5296, 5403); a gun-smith and a paper-hanger (the Hammonds of Blackfriars Road, MRv2, 2917, 4766); a boot-maker and a glass-cutter (the Dunts at Charing Cross, MRv2, 9747, and MRv1, 2620). The Bacons of Chancery Lane included a copper-plate-ruler, a mathematical-instrument-maker, an engraver, and a brass-turner (MRv1, 122, 308, 469, 2634). Ebenezer Bacon, the copper-plate-ruler, was a 'working-class' stalwart of the LMI. He was on the second committee (September 1824), nominated for the fifth (March 1826), elected to the sixth (September 1826) and the ninth (March 1828).<sup>48</sup> An individual could describe himself as both a 'ladies shoe-maker' and a 'gentleman' (George Seare, MRv1, 2621, and MRv2, 1975), or as a 'stationer' in one Register and a 'rope-maker' in the next (James Spicer, MRv1, 2374, and MRv2, 2648).

The database also reveals families who crossed the divide between men who worked with their hands and men who did not: an engineer and a tea broker (the Balls of New Street Square, MRv2, 446, 830); a shoe-maker and a stationer (the Taylors of Bond Street, MRv1, 1990, 3244); a water-gilder and a musician (the Marions of Temple Bar, MRv1, 4134, 4135). The Registers reveal that a man could list himself as both a warehouseman and gentleman (for instance Charles Jackson, MRv1, 4510 and MRv2, 1752), or a boot-maker and a clerk (George Johnson, MRv1, 2497, and MRv2, 4081). When he ran into difficulties over debt, LMI secretary James Flather, a tin and

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<sup>48</sup> Appendix D.

iron-plate-worker, was helped by his barrister brother.<sup>49</sup>

‘Working-class’ LMI members (so identified from their election to the committee) had many different interests. William Jones, for instance, was a ‘working-class’ plumber who also acted as the agent for John Roberts’ fireproof ‘hood and mouth piece’, an invention which received much publicity at the LMI. John Johnson, a ‘working-class’ whitesmith, had the cover of the *Mechanics’ Magazine* for his detailed proposal for a tunnel under Thames. The shoe-maker Mr Francis made ‘an artificial eye on a large scale’ which Birkbeck used to demonstrate the physiology of the senses. Although working at his trade as a shoe-maker when the LMI was founded, Francis had become ‘an optician of some celebrity’ by 1828. The ‘working-class’ stonemason Henry Poole, who taught an LMI practical geometry class, hoped to become a mathematics teacher. Richard Cull, a ‘working-class’ plumber (in 1830) became a ‘not-of-the-working-class’ (1832) teacher of elocution.<sup>50</sup>

These men showed no signs of limited horizons, but rather their activities demonstrated the diversity within the working-class community and its ability to permeate the boundary with the middle class. Their lives do not fit into the paradigms offered in the histories we have been examining. They mixed easily with men of ‘higher’ ranks. For instance, when Brougham wanted to find out how the Southwark Mechanics’ Institution was faring, he wrote to Charles Parry, a ‘working-class’ Bermondsey hatter, who was one of the first members of the LMI, and who responded enthusiastically.<sup>51</sup>

Barnett’s *London hub* is once again helpful. Barnett was not looking at trends or seeking to explain political developments. The term ‘working class’ was not used within the book. Rather Barnett focussed on ‘manufacturers and retailers’. The picture he painted tallies with that at the LMI. He was struck by the ‘bewildering variety’, the ‘bewildering ... diversity’ and the ‘bewildering complexity’ of the groups and associations. Barnett dealt with large and small scale businesses together. He reported

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<sup>49</sup> Flather: QMv1, f. 3. MBv1, 13 Dec. 1824.

<sup>50</sup> Jones: agent, *LMR*, 2 (1825), pp. 15-16; demonstrations of the ‘hood’ are discussed in ch. 6. Tunnel, *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 258-61. Francis: *Morning Chronicle*, 14 Jan. 1828. Poole and mathematics, *Examiner*, 6 Dec. 1829. Cull (MBv1, 2396) was elected in Sep. 1830 in the ‘working-class’ category, but classified as ‘not of the working class’ for the Sep. 1832 election. In the LMI Members’ Register, vol. 5 (Dec. 1835 – Dec 1838), Cull was listed as a teacher of elocution.

<sup>51</sup> Charles Parry to Brougham, 16 Sep. 1826, University College London, SDUK papers, Mechanics’ Institutes Correspondence, Southwark.

that ‘large-scale factories and heavy capital equipment existed side-by-side with small workshops, sometimes in the same trade, such as printing’. He noted ‘that the fire office registers contain policies for 337 workshops, but also for 196 manufactories’. By 1827, steam engines were more prevalent in London (290 steam engines) than in Manchester (240), Leeds (130) or Glasgow (80-90). Again stressing the variety of manufacture activity in London and its wealth, he quoted from George Dodd who in 1842 identified 22 different London industries in which factories existed on a massive scale.<sup>52</sup>

Barnett’s account explains how the LMI membership could have increased at a time when Schwarz and Green stressed deprivation and poverty. An alternate image of the working-class environment starts to emerge – a world in which working men could be well enough off to afford the LMI fee increase.

Another way in which historians limited the activities of working-class men was to restrict their geographic boundaries. They tended to think that different trades existed in different parts of London and were unable to move. Thus Schwarz wrote: ‘Once established, an industry was likely to stay in the same part of London unless it departed from London entirely.’<sup>53</sup> An analysis of the addresses of the members, an aspect of the Registers not yet discussed, undermines four of these generalisations about geographic boundaries.

1. ‘In some places, single trades dominated employment, as was the case with watchmaking in Clerkenwell and St Lukes’.<sup>54</sup> Whether this means that all London watch-makers lived in Clerkenwell or that watch-making was the single employment in Clerkenwell, the LMI evidence tends to undercut the claim. Out of twelve watch-makers who joined the LMI in the first few months, only five lived in Clerkenwell or St Lukes. The trades listed for members in Clerkenwell include: china-painter, iron-plate-worker, gold-beater, painter, hot-presser, jeweller, cabinet-maker, carpenter, brass-founder, engineer, japanner, printer, clerk, iron-founder, ornamental painter, wire-drawer, schoolmaster, turner, coach-painter, goldsmith, silver-polisher, builder, philosophical-instrument-maker, water-gilder, enameller, manufacturer of cardboard

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<sup>52</sup> Barnett, *London*, pp. 18, 20, 36 (steam engines), 140, 220 (factories, fire-office). William Dodd, *Labouring classes of Britain* (Boston, Putman, 1848), p. 34.

<sup>53</sup> Schwarz, *London*, p. 33.

<sup>54</sup> Green, *Artisans*, p. 155.

ornaments, hatter, cooper, whitesmith, tailor, tin-plate-worker, plumber, and many others.

2. 'With more specialized trades and professions, individual streets were sometimes devoted entirely to particular occupations.' Long Acre was devoted to coach-making, and Monmouth Street to the second-hand shoe trade.<sup>55</sup> Again the LMI evidence does not support the claim.. Although the Registers record three coach-makers in Long Acre, these are outnumbered by occupations who could not possibly be involved in coach-making. These include: tailor, cheese-monger, plumber, engraver, solicitor, builder, watch and clock-maker, tool-maker, cabinet-maker, architect, chemist, trunk-maker, book-binder, stationer, writer. Of course coach-making required many different specialities. The following members might or might not have been involved in the trade: iron-monger, japanner, clerk, fringe-maker, goldsmith, upholsterer, mechanist, joiner, gold-refiner, chaser, lace-man, turner, varnish-maker, carver, painter, brass-founder, smith, varnisher, carpenter. As for Monmouth Street, only two members list their address as Monmouth Street: a solicitor and a goldsmith. There were no shoe-makers.

3. The 'rates of pay, patterns of employment and workplace customs of specific trades meant that to a greater or lesser extent each district possessed a distinctive economic and social structure. This meant that structural change in particular trades and cyclical fluctuations in employment affected districts in highly individualistic ways.'<sup>56</sup> Just from looking at the trades in Long Acre, these limitations are not reflected in the LMI data.

4. Green believed that 'in London the distinction between skilled artisans and unskilled labourers was as often as not expressed in spatial terms'. He agreed with Mayhew's contrast of 'the skilled operative of the West-end' with 'the unskilled workman in the eastern quarter' of London.<sup>57</sup> Yet 3.3% of the members included in eight top occupations which were analysed for the putative audience at the Crown and Anchor came from Tower Hamlets; that is seven men out of a total of 211. The notion

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 155. Long Acre: *ibid.*, pp. 6, 155; Jerry White, *London in the nineteenth century* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2007), p. 175; Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 24. Monmouth: Green, *Artisans*, p. 155, White, *London*, p. 208.

<sup>56</sup> Green, *Artisans*, p. 156.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

that east London consisted of poor neighbourhoods is belied by the fact that four ‘gentlemen’ came from Tower Hamlets: living in Whitechapel, Shoreditch, Bethnal Green and Goodman’s Fields.

Given the evidence of the LMI, it is not surprising to find that Barnett provided a very different analysis of the geography of London’s manufacturing firms. He noted:

the overwhelming characteristic of London as a whole during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the bewildering industrial and commercial diversity to be found in every district and in many of its maze of largely unplanned streets

Barnett confirmed that ‘many buildings housed more than one business; number 108 [Cheapside] as many as five and number 66 four’ – and that ‘even in those trades at the upper end of the market, retailers were to be found in large numbers in the poorest neighbourhoods’.<sup>58</sup>

Discussions of small workshops and trade societies whose membership, as Prothero wrote, was ‘confined to legal men of a single trade’ add to the impression of the isolation of one trade from another.<sup>59</sup> From these accounts it is hard to credit the mix of trades in the same workshops and within the same families that existed at the LMI.

### **LMI members and class**

The equation of mechanic with inventor meant that almost anyone who joined the LMI, if he had so much as dabbled in invention, could be considered a mechanic. Even Dr Gilchrist, the radical reformer who held the post of Professor at the East India Company’s Oriental Institution from 1818 to 1825, referred to himself as a mechanic.<sup>60</sup> In one sense, Gilchrist’s identifying himself with the working man was a positive sign. On the other hand, ‘mechanic’ had a class connotation – and some members, led in the first instance by Robertson, wished to differentiate the members according to class. How was this to be done given the vagueness of the terms and the broad constituency of the LMI?

Different levels of meaning existed even within Robertson’s statements about

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<sup>58</sup> Barnett, *London*, pp. 18, 20, 221.

<sup>59</sup> Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 40.

<sup>60</sup> *TN*, 20 May 1827.

mechanics. In his November 1824 attack on the LMI committee, he talked about the ‘journeymen mechanics’, the ‘working mechanics’ and the ‘mechanics themselves’. Was he implying a difference between a journeyman mechanic and a master mechanic? In the *MM*’s first edition, Robertson moved from writing about ‘all who are operatively employed in our Arts and Manufactures’, to wanting to hear only from ‘intelligent Mechanics’. Clearly there were mechanics and mechanics.<sup>61</sup>

Foreseeing a problem, the men nominated to draw up the Rules and Orders at the 11 November 1823 meeting defined mechanic for the purpose of deciding who ‘should be eligible, and might become a member’. The deciding characteristic was deemed to be that a man ‘earned his living by the work of his hands’. If the membership became too large on the basis of this definition, it was agreed that ‘preference should be given to such persons as worked at trades, or in some way assisted in them, for daily weekly or quarterly wages.’<sup>62</sup> The Institution’s style would certainly have been cramped if such definition had come into play. Regardless of all the gentlemen, clerks and teachers who would have been excluded, where would this characterisation have placed men like the working-class ship-builder John Gast? In December 1825, Gast declared that ‘he was himself a mechanic, and at one time indebted to the labour of these hands (showing his own).’<sup>63</sup> Presumably he would not have been admitted a member because he was no longer earning his living by the work of his hands. But of course the definition was never used. Men from all walks of life were welcomed, clerks notable among them.

As there was an association between mechanics, manual jobs, and working class, so there was an association, equally unstable, between clerks and middle class. Because clerks did not make things with their hands, but rather indulged in ‘brain work’, they were not considered working class. Clerks had ‘clean hands’.<sup>64</sup> It is in these generalisations that the term clerk takes on a middle-class aspect, and comes to stand for a group for which the LMI was not supposed to cater.

A study of the LMI clerks, however, shows that many of them may not have

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<sup>61</sup> *MM*, 2 (1824), pp. vii-viii. *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 16.

<sup>62</sup> Place, EH, f. 251.

<sup>63</sup> *Morning Post*, 29 Nov. 1825.

<sup>64</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 269.



been from the wealthier or more educated backgrounds which came to be associated with clerks. In fact, the LMI clerks may have been largely working-class brothers of the manually engaged mechanics. Perhaps this should not be surprising: clerks per se were not supposed to be at the LMI in its first years and middle-class clerks had their own institutions. Merchants' and bankers' clerks were identified by Francis Place and others as separate from the typical LMI member in Spring 1825, when they planned a new institute specifically for 'the Commercial and Professional Youth of the Metropolis.' At the first annual meeting, 'the room was filled with young tradesmen, merchants, and bankers' clerks, and others connected with some of the most respectable houses in the City'. This institute was clearly not seen as a competitor to the LMI. Given that there were so many clerks at the LMI, it is odd that the new institution's founders 'were asked what the clerks cared for mental improvement?'<sup>65</sup> Either no one appreciated how many clerks there were at the LMI, or the clerks to be catered for were a largely different group. Although a significant number of LMI clerks worked in the eastern part of the City, around the Bank, the Royal Exchange, India House, and the Excise Office, many more did not.

Many of the clerks at the LMI therefore were likely not to have belonged to this 'commercial and professional' group. An 1827 article on education in the *British Critic* confirmed that mechanics' institutes designed for 'adults of the working class' were envisaged separately from the literary and scientific institutions 'for the benefit of the middle orders, as for instance, clerks and other persons who are employed during the day in offices or counting-houses'. Perhaps the 1844 *Westminster Review* was back-projecting when it claimed that 'persons belonging to spheres of life more or less above the condition of the ordinary workman' including clerks, had been at mechanics' institutes from the start. It described the group as 'the more opulent portion, of what may be described as the lower sections of the English middle class'.<sup>66</sup>

What information is available about the clerks who joined the LMI? Aside from a number of merchants/bankers' clerks and a handful of legal clerks (more legal clerks had joined by 1830), there were many clerks working alongside their mechanic relatives in cabinet-making or carpentry businesses. Cross-referencing members who

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<sup>65</sup> *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 362. Place, 'Affairs', p. 45.

<sup>66</sup> *British Critic*, 1 (1827), p. 186. *Westminster Review*, 41 (1844), p. 213.

were clerks with other members establishes family relationships which point to a significant number of these ‘working-class’ clerks. There are twenty-one clerks in the LMI Registers for whom this is possible: either the same man was listed twice (once as a clerk and once as something else) or he shared a surname and address with another member whose occupation was listed. Sixteen clerks can be identified with trades that would include working mechanics. Four men were identified once as clerk and once as variously a glover, a boot-maker, a cotton manufacturer, and a jeweller.<sup>67</sup> Twelve clerks shared a surname and address with men working in trades. The trades were: silversmith (1), brass-founder (1), dyer (1), carpenter (2), hatter (1), jeweller (2), book-binder and cabinet-maker (3). In the case of George Clement jun., his father was a ‘working-class’ silversmith on the provisional and first committee. The son worked as a clerk ten doors down from his father in Bedford Row.<sup>68</sup>

This category of clerk was on the same social level as his brother mechanic (although the social status of the mechanic remains unknown). The 1819 *London Tradesman* advocated that an aspiring manufacturer be ‘employed as a clerk or journeyman, in another house than that where his apprenticeship was served’ so as to learn ‘new ways of doing business’ before returning to his original trade.<sup>69</sup> Clearly, to

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<sup>67</sup> Glover and clerk: Thomas Bishop, Cheapside (MRv2, 2402, 5157). Boot-maker and clerk: George Johnson, Newcastle St, Strand (MRv1, 2497, and MRv2, 4081). Cotton manufacturer and clerk: Charles Ross, St Paul’s Church Yard (MRv1, 2199, and MRv2, 1353). Jeweller and clerk: Richard Husband may be the same person as R. C. Husband, both of 68 Barbican, one listed as a jeweller (MRv1, 2594), the other as a clerk (MRv1, 2193).

<sup>68</sup> Silversmith: George Clements, Bedford Row (MRv1, 528); clerk, George Clement jnr, Bedford St (MRv1, 1540). The following mechanics and clerks with the same surname shared the same address.

Brass-founder: W. F. Collinson, Chenies St (MRv2, 4292); clerk, Edwin Collinson (MRv2, 4533).

Dyer: William Haddon, Red Cross Sq. (MRv1, 1577); clerk, William Charles Haddon (MRv1, 3703).

Carpenters: George Dunnage, Bagnigge Wells (MRv2, 4050), John Harris, Portman Sq. (MRv2, 1947); clerks, William Dunnage (MRv2, 4049), David Thomas Harris (MRv2, 1990).

Hatter: Matthew Longsdon, Castle St. Borough (MRv2, 1938); clerk, Alfred Longsdon (MRv2, 5563).

Jewellers: James Lucas, Ossulton St, (MRv1, 4139), George Philo, Elliotts Place, Islington (MRv2, 5301); clerks, Samuel Lucas (MRv1, 2643), James Philo (MRv2, 5150).

Cabinet-makers: John Murray, Berwick St (MRv2, 4129), Thomas James Simpson, Clifton St (MRv1, 227), James Snoxell, Fleet St (MRv1, 3253); clerks, John Murray jnr (MRv2, 4127), Charles Simpson (MRv2, 5175), Edward Snoxell (MRv1, 2971). (William Snoxell, a venetian-shade-maker, worked at the same address, MRv1, 2307).

Book-binder: Charles Robertson, Rolls Bldgs (MRv1, 3057); clerk, James Robertson (MRv1, 3058).

<sup>69</sup> *The London tradesman*, p. 40.

run any kind of business a man needed to be able to do his accounts, write letters, and keep track of his affairs. When Place was discussing different levels of workmen in 1833, he believed that most ‘shopkeeper’s clerks’ should be placed in the same category as ‘journeymen tradesmen’ because they ‘receive weekly wages and are paid at about the same rate’. (His other three categories were ‘shopmen’, ‘out of door apprentices’ and ‘labourer’.) There were, according to the *London Tradesman*, also ‘boy-clerk-porters’ who attended the ‘inferior Tradesmen of the lowest order’.<sup>70</sup>

Only five out of these twenty-one men were not associated with a trade: two were elsewhere listed as ‘gentleman’, one was related to a ‘gentleman’, one was a clerk at the Bank of England, and one shared a surname and address with a broker.<sup>71</sup> While this is a tiny percentage of the clerks who were members of the LMI during the period, it nevertheless suggests that a large number of clerks could have been working in trades, and not in the City or the Inns of Court. Were the sample representative, it would mean that 43% of the LMI clerks were related to men who worked in manual occupations, and could thus be considered to have come from a ‘working-class’ background.

One LMI clerk, George Foskett, exemplifies the dangers of pigeon-holing LMI clerks as middle-class men avowing a different set of values from the mechanics. The first secretary of the British Association for the Promotion of Co-operative Knowledge (May 1829), Foskett was a founder (with Hetherington) of the Metropolitan Trades Union which became the National Union of Working Men and Others.<sup>72</sup> Perhaps Foskett came from a mechanic background or in fact worked in a trade side-by-side with mechanics.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Francis Place to Thomas Coates, 22 Dec. 1833, University College London, SDUK papers, Correspondence. *London tradesman*, p. 106.

<sup>71</sup> James Powell (clerk, MRv2, 4072 and gentleman, MRv1, 3619). Arthur Stratford (clerk, MRv2, 939, and gentleman, MRv1 2841). Anthony Rotton (MRv2, 2513), a clerk, shared an address at Newington Green with Richard Rotton (MRv2, 2822), a gentleman. William Duff (MRv1, 4019) was a clerk at the Bank of England. Edmund Dubois (MRv1, 3357) shared an address with James Dubois (MRv1, 3358), a broker.

<sup>72</sup> MRv2, 2772. D. J. Rowe (ed.), *London Radicalism 1830-1843* (London Record Society, vol. 5, 1970), pp. 139-40.

<sup>73</sup> Joanna Innes and Arthur Burns, ‘Introduction’, in Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes (eds), *Rethinking the age of reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 69, are among the few historians to have commented on clerks’ ‘radical activity at the local level, alongside that of the trades and other “mechanical” employments’. Iain McCalman, *Radical underworld* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) noted that there were radical clerks in the late 1790s (p. 83) and among Robert

## Two-thirds rule

The LMI Rules and Orders did not specify the meaning of ‘working class’. They merely stated that ‘two thirds at least of the Committee of Managers shall be taken from the working classes.’<sup>74</sup> Within a few years, some members were agitating for a definition of ‘working class’. Right from the start the ‘class’ of members voted on to the committee had been contested. Although both Robertson and Francis Place believed that the categorisation of Place’s son as ‘working class’ was wrong, the son remained a ‘working-class’ member of the committee.

Later problems revolved specifically around whether men employed others or not. George Adam, a ‘working-class’ carpenter on the committee notified *TN* readers in September 1826 that the committee was not behaving honourably in categorising nominated members on the ballots as ‘working class’ or ‘not of the working class’. According to Adam, and the Minutes bore out his assertion, the committee men had agreed on 31 July 1826 that ‘no individual employing journeymen should be considered as constituting one of the working class’. Adam complained that the committee was allocating to the working-class category men ‘who employed journeymen and of course ought to be considered masters.’ The resolution was never acted upon, perhaps because only sixteen committee men were present (including Adam). Those not present, including Birkbeck, may have objected.<sup>75</sup>

The day after the September 1826 election, Adam raised his concerns again at the quarterly general meeting. Birkbeck suggested that from then on members who nominated a candidate should specify the class to which he belonged: ‘The members, from their knowledge of the parties proposed as committee men, must be the best judges of this fact.’ Birkbeck went on to say that the committee (which now included Hetherington again) had done its best ‘to prepare the balloting-lists according to the

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Taylor’s audiences in the 1830s (p. 189). Nevertheless McCalman conventionally believed that clerks were replacing artisans at the LMI through the 1820s (p. 184).

<sup>74</sup> *Rules and orders of the Mechanics’ Institution for the promotion of useful knowledge among the working classes. Established November 11, 1823* (London, R. Taylor [printer], nd.), p. 6. These were the final rules, hereafter Final Rules. Ch. 5 compares these with Place’s draft Rules which were also printed.

<sup>75</sup> *TN*, 3 Sep. 1826.

opinions of the original founders and legislators of the Institution, as to who were, or were not, to be considered as working men.’<sup>76</sup> Was he referring to the definition of mechanic noted by Place? Was the criterion for admission that mechanic meant anyone who worked with his hands now being cited as a definition of ‘working class’? Birkbeck made no reference to the resolution passed by the sixteen men at the 31 July management meeting.

Before the next election in March 1827, the committee requested that the members ‘distinguish in sending in their nomination whether the members the [sic] put in nomination are of the working classes or not of the working classes’.<sup>77</sup> Despite Adam’s public criticisms and recommendations, no definition of ‘working class’ was given. In March 1827, George Adam was elected and joined Hetherington in the ‘working-class’ section of the committee.

Preparing its readers for the September 1827 election, the *TFP* (the *TN* having folded in July 1827) took the opportunity not only to advise the members to be careful, but also to refine the meaning of ‘mechanic’. The *TFP* added a ‘poverty’ clause. The ‘true definition of “mechanics,” as applicable to Mechanics Institutes’, according to the *TFP*, ‘includes two points: – first that the individual *is* a “mechanic” [working with his hands];’ and, secondly, that, being a mechanic, he is unable to get the knowledge he desires without uniting his means with other mechanics to procure one master to teach all. We exclude every other individual from the title of mechanic as applied to such Institutions, and defy the subtlest disputant to make him so.’ The LMI Rules ‘have been perverted by allowing ... gentlemen to be elected members who are not “mechanics working with their own hands, and associating with their fellow-mechanics because unable from *poverty* to get knowledge without such association”’ (emphasis added).<sup>78</sup>

The *TFP* justified adding the poverty clause by blaming previous committees for spending too lavishly. It was because the men on the committee were so wealthy that they had indebted the Institution, and thus caused it so much harm.

Gentlemen are in the habit of lavishly spending, Mechanics of weighing, every farthing; – the one only think of the “genteel,” the other ponder on the “necessary,” – the one build large halls, and attend to matters of pride and ornament, regardless of expense: the other, knowing that each penny they have contributed has come from the sweat of their brows, pause and enquire before they pay; – the one get into debt, the

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<sup>76</sup>*LMR* 4 (1826), p. 316. Hetherington, *ibid.*, p. 311.

<sup>77</sup> MBv2, 5 Feb. 1827.

<sup>78</sup> *TFP*, 30 Sep. 1827 .

other shudder at the idea.<sup>79</sup>

It is impossible to know how many members agreed with Adam and the *TFP* that the LMI management was riding roughshod over the ‘working-class’ members. But the evidence militates against its being a large number: not only because no definition of ‘working class’ was ever incorporated in the Rules, but also because men who did not fit the *TFP* description continued to be elected. George Henry Lyne, for instance, was elected in September 1827 in the ‘working-class’ category. Although a journeyman smith when he originally joined as one of the earliest members of the LMI, Lyne had announced in January 1827 that he was now an ‘engineer ... manufacturing machines of his own invention’. One of his workmen had given Lyne’s address when he had become a member in March 1826.<sup>80</sup> According to Adam and the *TFP*, Lyne was ineligible to be elected as a ‘working-class’ committee man.

At the next quarterly meeting in December 1827, the issue was raised again.

A Member was anxious that the term “working class,” should be properly defined, as regarding the qualifications of candidates for the office of a committee-man. He wished to know whether it meant *journeymen* only, or whether persons might be included in the term, who work at their trade as well as employ others. This was a distinction which he thought should be determined, as he knew masters of the working class who, on this ground, declined offering themselves as committee men.<sup>81</sup>

No resolution could be taken until the following quarterly meeting. In the meantime, Adam used the *TFP* to emphasise the importance of having ‘working-class’ men (according to his definition) on the committee: ‘non-operatives’, he wrote, ‘have been least efficient’ on the committee. He cited the LMI’s current roof problems as proof. The *TFP*, referring dramatically to the ‘*falling roof*’, believed that ‘an Institute owned and supported by Mechanics never could have been the subject of such arrant *jobbing* and imposition.’<sup>82</sup>

The issue finally came to the vote at the March 1828 quarterly meeting. The proposals for consideration were that ‘the words “working class” be omitted, and the following substituted in their stead, “journeymen, or masters not employing journeymen or apprentices.” An amendment was proposed, that “journeymen” be defined as “comprehending masters working at their trade”. After ‘a long and animated

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Lyne: MRv1, 199. *MM*, 6 (1827), p. 528. Apprentice: James Jackson, MRv1, 4516.

<sup>81</sup> *MM*, 8 (1828), p. 368.

<sup>82</sup> *TFP*: Adam, 2 Feb. 1828; roof, 9 Sep. 1827.

discussion' in which 'two journeymen – *bona fide* workmen – took a very active part', both proposals were rejected and the rules stayed the same.<sup>83</sup>

There would be no definition of 'working class'. Many perhaps agreed with 'X. M. C.' that the most important consideration was whether nominated men were 'qualified' in terms of 'talent and experience', not the specifics of what class they might be allocated to. Others may have agreed with W. A. Mackinnon's 1828 analysis that better-off working-class men could naturally 'command the constant labour of two labourers'.<sup>84</sup> Whatever the case may be, there is no question that limiting the definition of working class would have greatly reduced the pool from which committee men could have been chosen.

Is it possible that the shift at the LMI in its early years was not due to the membership becoming more middle class, but rather to the arrival of a new, vocal, group which wanted to refocus the Institution to welcome poorer members of society? The criticism would not be that the Institution had changed from its first intake, but rather that it should always have been composed of poorer, less well-educated men.

The most important conclusion to draw from these ongoing debates seems to be that the majority of the members were happy with the Institution and the committee as they existed. That Hetherington, soon to be publishing the *Poor Man's Guardian*, was on the committee regularly throughout these years suggests that the agitators did not speak for a large 'working-class' constituency. Even the *TFP*, which had criticised the management so heartily for policies which it claimed resulted in reduced membership, felt that in October 1827 the Institution was on a surer footing: 'no fewer than between 200 and 250' members had been added 'since we first took it under our especial guardianship'.<sup>85</sup> But the *TFP*'s 'especial guardianship' had not resulted in any change of LMI policy.

### **Categorising LMI members**

The first LMI official report on its membership did not come until 1838 and was an

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<sup>83</sup> *MM*, 9 (1828), p. 142.

<sup>84</sup> *TFP*, 26 Jan. 1828. W. A. Mackinnon, *On the Rise Progress and Present State of Public Opinion* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1828), pp. 3-4.

<sup>85</sup> *TFP*, 7 Oct. 1827.

analysis of the men's trades. It listed 135 different occupations. William Baddeley (probably the son of the working-class stationer William Baddeley senior), who sent in the listing, noted that because no classification had been expected, many members had not listed an occupation. Sensitive to questions about the numbers of mechanics, he wrote

Had the particular occupation of the members been more carefully inquired into, from the commencement of the institution, I am confident that the accompanying table would have shown more favourably for the *mechanics*; but I apprehend, as it now stands, it will bear examination, and is such as can hardly fail to prove satisfactory to all the advocates of general education.<sup>86</sup>

Did he mean that those who did not list an occupation were mechanics and therefore the total of mechanics was greater?

For all of Robertson's criticisms and prodding, the committee did not concern itself with gathering information about the membership. As early as November 1824, Robertson was calling for an analysis because he believed that 'certainly not more than *one half* are of that class of persons for whose special benefit the Institution was founded'.<sup>87</sup> And he chivied the committee for years.

However, in their June 1826 Quarterly Report, the committee men claimed that the proportion for the last quarter of 'the operative to the non-operative is rather more than 3 to 1'. They published no supporting documentation.<sup>88</sup> Why did the committee choose the word 'operative' rather than 'mechanic' or 'working class'? It may be that operative was a more fashionable designation. Both the *European* and *Cooper's John Bull* implied as much. The *European* in its satirical article about Francis Place noted the invaluable help he had given to 'journeymen mechanics, – or as the philosophic school more elegantly and *physically* expresses it, – "*the operatives.*"' Whereas *Cooper's John Bull* in 1826 reported that the LMI had been 'created for purpose of teaching the working classes – we beg pardon, the operatives'. The concluding sentence of the *MM* proposal clarified that the 'Institution is intended for the benefit of the operatives' rather than 'master mechanics'.<sup>89</sup> Thus it appears that 'operative' was as clear or as diffuse in meaning as either 'mechanic' or 'working class' – and presumably was used

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<sup>86</sup> MRv3 lists William Baddeley sen., stationer, 751, and William Baddeley, stationer, 113. *MM*, 29 (1838), pp. 311-12.

<sup>87</sup> *MM*, 2 (1824), pp. vii-viii.

<sup>88</sup> QMv1, f. 156.

<sup>89</sup> *European*, Mar. 1827, p. 232. *Coopers' John Bull*, 26 Mar. 1826. *MM* 1 (1824), p. 102.



in the same way.

Because it is possible to analyse the membership for the quarter to which the claim referred, inroads can be made into identifying who the LMI managers were designating as ‘operatives’. As I did earlier in comparing trades to Barnett’s analysis, I began by considering that anyone who might possibly have been in manufacture was an operative. Because the evidence shows men listed with no occupation could be gentlemen, watch-makers, smiths, carpenters, tailors, clerks, etc (from listings in other Registers or from double entries), I have excluded them from the total. They could be either operatives or non-operatives. I took everyone whom I thought could possibly be listed as a mechanic or operative and put them in that category; the remainder were non-operatives. Appendix K shows how each occupation was allocated.

The numbers show that I did not err in being so inclusive. The proportion for the period in question, based on the Members’ Registers, turned out to be 2.5 operatives to 1 non-operative, not ‘rather more than 3 to 1’. According to my analysis, 72 % of members were operatives. More importantly the committee appeared to be using a broad definition of operative. On this basis ‘operative’ did not exclude men who were masters, men who owned extensive works, or even men who considered themselves ‘gentlemen’. There were men at the LMI who were listed in the Members’ Registers once as ‘gentleman’ and again variously as ladies shoe-maker, saddler, engraver, silversmith.<sup>90</sup>

Reference to the committee nominations shows the anomalies even more clearly. Members nominated in the ‘not-of-the-working class’ category between December 1825 and December 1827 included an engraver, a printer, a tailor, a jeweller, a veneer-cutter, a printing ink manufacturer, a carver and gilder, an iron-monger, a carpenter, a mechanical-draftsman, a hatter, a confectioner, a silk-embosser, a machinist, and a bead-maker. Remember the comment that ‘two journeymen – *bona fide* workmen – took a very active part’ in a discussion. That one commentator drew a distinction between a workman and a ‘bona fide’ workman may show that the majority of the members were unconcerned, perhaps even impatient, with these fine differentiations.

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<sup>90</sup> George Seares (gentleman, MRv1, 2621 and shoe-maker MRv2, 1975); Thomas Papworth (gentleman, MRv1, 3900, and saddler, MRv1, 1779); James Frederick Blake (gentleman, MRv2, 1122, and engraver, MRv1, 301); Samuel James Wood: (gentleman, MRv1, 1636, and silversmith, MRv1, 3245).

Using the same criteria, I analysed the proportion of operatives to non-operatives for December 1824 and December 1829 to see if there were a trend towards fewer 'operatives'. For December 1824, I found that 72% of the membership could be considered operatives. Flying in the face of the historiography and contemporary claims, there was the similar percentage of operatives at the opening of the Institution and in 1826. For December 1829, 68% of the membership were operatives. On this basis there was only a marginal decline in operatives as opposed to non-operatives. The Coates report which printed the LMI 1840 figures, divided in this case between 'mechanic' and 'other', showed a similar split: out of a total membership of 1114, there were 800 mechanics and 344 others and thus 69.6% of the membership were mechanics. By the committee's criteria the division between operatives and non-operatives varied by no more than 4 % throughout the period.

When discussing the membership as a whole, the LMI operated in terms of occupation, not social background or status. Given the fluidity of class definition, and the fact that the LMI never requested information about a member's class, this is not surprising. Nevertheless, the committee's (and thus the majority of the membership's) lack of concern with class differentiations is interesting. Neither the two-thirds rule, nor the class-focussed criticisms levelled against the LMI, appear to have influenced the men to refine their definitions of working class, mechanic or operative.

### **Weighing up the evidence**

Throughout the period to 1830, the occupations with the most members remained relatively stable. Had there been a middle-class influx, there should have been, according to Schwarz's account of the middle-class service sector, an increase in bankers, merchants, lawyers, doctors and so on at the LMI.<sup>91</sup> The only way in which the historiographic claim of a compositional shift can be maintained is if status of the men within the occupational groups changed in a manner that the current level of research has not revealed. For instance the rise in the number of lawyers' clerks towards the end of the period may have altered the social standing of the men within the category of

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<sup>91</sup> Schwarz, *London*, p. 233.

clerk.<sup>92</sup>

Social mobility of individual members might also explain a perceived change in the membership. After all the LMI was founded to improve the men's prospects and encourage a new kinds of behaviour. Indeed, even this brief examination has revealed men changing status: the journeyman George Lyne who became a master engineer, the shoe-maker turned optician Mr Francis, and Richard Cull, 'working-class' plumber turned 'not-of-the-working-class' elocution teacher. E. H. Hunt in his 1981 *British labour history* remarked that 'mechanics' institutes were understandably proud of their numerous working-class members who became supervisors, foremen and clerks'. More generally, there was a drive towards respectability among the working classes during the period. Francis Place writing in the 1820s 'interpreted the movement of London artisans from taverns to coffee-houses as evidence of the marked moral and intellectual improvement of the "metropolitan multitude"'.<sup>93</sup> If later commentators perceived a change in the membership, it is important to ensure that this was not merely due to members' growing older and improving their situation.

Although an avenue for further research has been identified in the form of deeper analysis of members within each occupation, the current evidence does not substantiate the claim that the composition of the membership became more middle class. In fact, it militates against the idea. There were fewer 'gentlemen' at the end of the period of study. Although the number of clerks increased (and there may have been a shift in the status of men categorised as 'clerk'), the proportion of clerks and gentlemen to the total remained fairly static at about 15% throughout the period. That all the accounts of changing membership stressed an influx of clerks as a general occupational category leads to the conclusion that people did not realise the great number of clerks present at the LMI from the beginning.

In fact, it is possible that the founding organisers were surprised by many of the men who joined the Institution. Defining mechanic to indicate who would be eligible to join (as the first provisional committee did) was certainly an irrelevancy. The earliest

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<sup>92</sup> Legal clerks could become solicitors or attorneys. These were wealthy men: 'the stamp duty for the articles for an Attorney's clerk, in order to have admission to the courts of law, is one hundred and ten pounds': Phillips, *Book*, p. 10. Even though the LMI was so near the Inns of Court, none of the clerks who joined at the start lived or worked near the Inns. However, by 1830, there was a rise in the number of clerks living around the Inns of Court.

<sup>93</sup> E. H. Hunt, *British labour history* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), p. 256. Place quoted in McCalman, 'Ultra-radicalism', p. 327.

members included clerks and gentlemen. Robertson's early indignation may have reflected the fact that the Institution had not turned out (even in its first days) the way he had hoped. This interpretation is bolstered by the *TFP*'s seeking to narrow the definition of mechanic in 1827. It may well be that the membership was always more diverse and cosmopolitan than anyone expected.

Given the fact that the majority of members do not appear to have been concerned about the finer points of class differentiations, it is surely preferable to focus on what the members had in common rather than looking for areas of conflict. Men joined because of their interests not because of their social background: interests that involved science and invention but which also had a political dimension. The LMI was avowedly designed to improve the lot of the working classes. In this pursuit, it brought men from different social backgrounds closer together. At the time, men identified as working class and middle class often conceived of themselves as linked under the rubric of the 'industrious' (as opposed to the 'idle rich'). Prothero noted, 'in this [opposition to the idle] the artisans classed themselves with small masters, shopkeepers and professional men, who all lived by useful labour.'<sup>94</sup> Even according to the view that the better-off men were only there to help the working classes improve themselves, the two groups were working towards a common goal – a goal which by its very nature required the blurring of class boundaries.

Given the stratified nature of 1820s society, the LMI's achievement may have been the success with which it brought men from different social groups together. To speak of the LMI's success in overcoming these barriers is not to deny that there was a pecking order among the men, some expecting their views to carry the day, others expecting to defer. Nor is it to deny that there were difficulties and uneasy periods. Some men were particularly concerned about the class relationship between the members. And it is clear that the two-thirds rule provided a constant source of friction around class lines.

Birkbeck and the largely 'working-class' committee were keen to avoid becoming bogged down in considerations of members' class. In March 1825, the committee asserted that it 'had never intended to exclude any class of Society from the London Mechanics' Institution'. The August 1826 Report of the Hackney Literary and Mechanics' Institution, of which Birkbeck was also president, noted that it hoped

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<sup>94</sup> Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 86.

eventually to cater for ‘every one who is desirous, whatever may be his rank or situation in life, of improving and extending his scientific acquirements’.<sup>95</sup> All this makes it easier to understand why the LMI never produced classificatory lists based on social class and refused to define ‘working class’.

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<sup>95</sup> MBv1, 28 Mar. 1825. Hackney: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 367.

**Robertson's and Place's rival assessments  
of the first management committees:  
where the historians got their stories**

Should the LMI accept donations from wealthy patrons or be self-supporting? Should working-class men emulate their 'betters' or seek to become powerful in their own right? Place firmly believed that unless the Institution raised substantial sums from the elite, it would be stillborn.<sup>1</sup> Robertson thought that the working men must be self-sufficient. Place, according to Rowe, wanted 'to assimilate working men into the middle classes by teaching them middle-class values'. Robertson, on the other hand, believed that the working man should stand up for himself. A better society would result not from assimilation but from equality.<sup>2</sup>

Place's and Robertson's disagreement over these questions lies at the heart of the standard historiography – not only because historians have adopted the framework of the two antagonists, but also because they took the two men's versions of events at face value. But accounts so heavily (and indeed obviously) biased as Robertson's and Place's need to be analysed rather than accepted. What may have started off as an ideological difference seems to have turned into a slanging match, certainly on the part

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<sup>1</sup> Place, EH, ff. 244, 256.

<sup>2</sup> D. J. Rowe, 'Francis Place and the historian', *Historical Journal*, 16 (1973), p. 53. Robertson: see for instance *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 131.

of Place who called Robertson a ‘scoundrel’ and ‘my enemy’.<sup>3</sup>

The historiographical emphasis on class struggles or institutional rivalries derives from these accounts. The accepted view, as already discussed, is that Robertson tried to stand up for the working-class members, but that Place, representing a middle-class agenda, won the day and controlled the early management committees. However, the notion that each man stood for a block of members who supported their champion in all matters is easily disproved – as is the idea that Place got his way. Robertson’s extrapolation from his own disenchantment to the belief that a largely working-class membership had deserted the Institution appears farfetched. In fact, although both men were on the provisional committee (which met for about a month from 11 November 1823), neither was sufficiently involved to continue, as many did, to sit on the first management committee. Elected on 16 December 1823, seventeen men remained on the management committee until either September 1824 or March 1825.<sup>4</sup> It was these committee men, largely working class, who set the LMI’s tone and boundaries.

Significantly for the simplistic historiographical narrative, Robertson believed that the men on the first management committee had failed the Institution. He blamed them all, ‘down to the most silent and quiescent committee man amongst them’, for infracting the Rules and for a ‘usurpation’. Place, on the other hand, considered that, in spite of ‘impediments and insinuations which divided the members and kept suspicions alive’, they had acted with courage and ‘conducted the Institution in the best possible manner which their means permitted.’ Where Robertson saw the committee men advancing themselves to the detriment of the nascent institute, Place identified ‘the conspiracy of Robinson [sic], Hodgskins [sic], McWilliam and others to destroy the Institution’.<sup>5</sup>

What did the committee men actually do to provoke these vituperative attacks?

### **Provisional committee**

On 11 November 1823, the paid-up members of the fledgling institute were invited to

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<sup>3</sup> Place, EH, ff. 290, 293.

<sup>4</sup> Provisional: *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 189. First: MBv1, f. 48. Rotation: Final Rules, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *MM*, 2 (1824), p. vi. Place, EH, ff. 247, 263.

elect a provisional committee for the purpose of drawing up a code of laws.<sup>6</sup> Robertson and Hodgskin were honorary secretaries, and Place was on the committee. From September 1824 onwards, nominated and elected members were formally divided into ‘working-class’ and ‘not-of-the-working-class’ categories. However, I have found only three references to the ‘class’ of the provisional committee men. Reporting that the provisional committee ‘consisted principally of operative mechanics’, the *Literary Chronicle* doubted that men so ‘humble’ were the most ‘judicious’ choices. What would these artisans know ‘of the detail or arrangements necessary for forming an establishment of such importance’? But it praised the organisation for its intentions. The second instance was when Birkbeck responded to Cobbett’s public concern about the working men’s independence that ‘three-fourths of the Committee were Mechanics, so that it was impossible the interests could be affected even if such an intention existed’.<sup>7</sup> The third referred to the men added to the committee: these men were ‘chiefly of the working class.’<sup>8</sup>

These comments in themselves do not identify the ‘class’ of individual committee men. However, added to information available on some of the men from subsequent elections, they become illuminating. Appendix C provides a list of provisional committee members and indications of their class as contemporaneously judged. Birkbeck’s three-quarters claim looks like an exaggeration. Perhaps the *Literary Chronicle* was worrying unnecessarily.

The provisional committee nominated a subcommittee, of Place (master tailor), William Bailey (iron-monger), George Birkbeck (doctor), joined by the two honorary secretaries Robertson and Hodgskin, to write the first draft of the ‘Rules and Orders’.<sup>9</sup> These men were ‘not of the working class’. Bailey and Birkbeck are thus categorised from later election results. Hodgskin’s occupation was given as ‘gentleman’ in the first Members’ Register. Place called Robertson and Hodgskin ‘all but working men themselves’ and said they did not know the working class as well as he himself did.<sup>10</sup> Place’s categorisation for LMI purposes can be inferred from his differentiating himself

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<sup>6</sup> Who exactly had paid up and was thus eligible to vote was probably unclear. By Dec. 1824, the committee had little idea who had been members at that time, see below pp. 150-53.

<sup>7</sup> *Literary Chronicle*, 15 Nov. 1823. *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 191.

<sup>8</sup> MBv1, 1 Dec. 1823, and *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 226.

<sup>9</sup> MBv1, 14 Nov. 1823.

<sup>10</sup> Hodgskin: MRv1, 110. Place, EH, ff. 244, 257.



from the working men (see below), and from the controversy over his son's classification as 'working class' during which Place agreed with Robertson that his son should have been listed as 'not of the working class'.<sup>11</sup>

Place claimed to have written the entire draft single-handed. He wanted to make the Rules as 'perfect' as he could. For Place this appeared to mean his rules should be watertight. Wary of the advantages which had been taken of poorly constructed rules, 'I wished to define the powers of the committee so fully and so clearly as to leave them no discretion'.<sup>12</sup>

Historians, following Place's lead, generally conclude that Place's rules were largely accepted. Had this been the case, it would strengthen the argument that the committee and Place acted as one. However, a comparison of Place's draft Rules and the final Rules tells another story.<sup>13</sup> Place was not the 'winner' at this stage. Place's claim that Birkbeck, Bailey, Robertson and Hodgskin were all happy with his draft will be shown to be improbable. More likely, the subcommittee men had vehement discussions about various points of principle and agreed in the end to allow these Rules to go forward to the provisional committee – where the working-class members would have their say – assuming that amendments would occur at that time. The final Rules were significantly different from Place's draft.

Place may have papered over controversy at the subcommittee level – as he glided over his disagreement with Robertson over raising donations during the writing of the proposal – but he pulled no punches about the 'angry' words spoken at the provisional committee meetings to prepare the Rules for the wider membership. The divisions between the men were so highly charged that the meeting ran over three consecutive evenings from 8pm until well after midnight in each case.

The LMI Minutes recorded that Bailey chaired the Thursday, 27 November, meeting (the first night). Bailey began by reading a letter he had composed to be sent to 'the members of both houses of Parliament, the supporters of school societies and of Literary and Scientific Institutions'. Its purpose was to raise money from wealthy patrons. Retrospectively, Place might have felt that commencing the meeting to ratify

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<sup>11</sup> Place, EH, f. 284. *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 437.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 252-53.

<sup>13</sup> *Rules and orders of the Mechanics' Institution for the promotion of useful knowledge among the working classes. Established December 2, 1823* (London: np, nd) – hereafter Draft Rules.

Flexner, *London Mechanics' Institution*, ch. 5, p. 137

his rules with such an address was impolitic. Place's account is interesting both for what he says and how he says it.

When the [Mr Bailey's] address was read no one objected to any part of it, it was strongly recommended for adoption by D' Birkbeck, Mr Richard Taylor, Mr John Martineau and myself, and also by one or two others of the committee. We were however much surprised at the conduct of the mechanics, who were on the committee nearly every one of whom was present. It is their custom to be boisterous when such proceedings take place as please them, on this occasion they were all silent and made no demonstration of satisfaction. It was evident they had been paltered with...<sup>14</sup>

Richard Taylor ('not-of-the-working-class' printer) and John Martineau (joint owner of the Taylor and Martineau engineering firm and one of the first LMI vice-presidents) were Place sympathizers, judging by the fact that he arranged for them to testify before the Select Committee on artisans and machinery in 1824.

Despite Place's assertion that 'no one objected', his account goes on to reveal an acrimonious meeting. His claim that Birkbeck recommended the document is dubious because the LMI Minutes did not record Birkbeck's presence at the meeting. Indeed had he been present, he would surely have been in the chair. (Perhaps the meeting might not have degenerated so had Birkbeck been present?) But most interesting are the references to the mechanics. Even in this small quotation, we can see Place dividing the committee into two factions: Birkbeck, Taylor, Martineau, himself, 'one or two others' – and the rest. The 'mechanics' were identified by uncouth behaviour. They did not respond sedately like gentlemen but were 'boisterous'. They did not have minds of their own, but had 'been paltered with'.

Place concluded that the mechanics were not to blame for their behaviour in objecting to Bailey's address. The blame rested with Robertson, Hodgskin and others. Place saw the debate in terms of rank, and believed the mechanics were not up to the responsibility of being committee men

They could not comprehend the whole scope of the proceedings in which they had been induced to take an active and decided part. They were easily misled, suspicion carefully insinuated against a man so far removed from them as D' Birkbeck was – men like, Mr Bayley – Mr Martineau, and Mr Taylor, (and by inference to what I had been; or was supposed to be) employers of large numbers of journeymen and labourers were sure to produce suspicions of their intentions.<sup>15</sup>

Place identified the ringleaders of the opposition as Robertson, Hodgskin, McWilliam

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<sup>14</sup> MBv1, 27 Nov. 1823. Place, EH, f. 254.

<sup>15</sup> Place, EH, f. 257.

and ‘another such man as himself’.<sup>16</sup> Place was probably referring to Robert Christie whom McWilliam recommended to be on the committee (seconded by Robertson), and who later joined Robertson in criticising the committee for failing to uphold the two-thirds rule.<sup>17</sup> All four antagonists of Place’s were ‘not of the working class’. McWilliam was the architect who would design the LMI’s new lecture theatre (with its faulty truss). Christie was a mathematical teacher who was secretary to the Institution from February 1825 to 1834. Nevertheless, Place sought to denigrate his opponents by identifying them as ‘those who employed no men and were all but working men themselves.’<sup>18</sup> Place, it appears, liked to see people who disagreed with him as working class (even though he had to admit that they were not).

Place complained that McWilliam, ‘essentially a bad man’, warned the men ‘in an artful sinister way ... of the danger they were likely to fall into by their dependence on others’. Of Mr Robertson, his colleague on the subcommittee, Place remarked:

His manners were coarse and insulting, his language was gross and highly offensive. He almost accused D<sup>r</sup> Birkbeck – Mr Bayley and myself of intending to degrade the whole body of mechanics and to use them for sinister purposes, he excited their fears and encouraged every symptom of bad feeling which any of them evinced.<sup>19</sup>

Kelly was so supportive of Place’s account that he referred in his own words to ‘Robertson, who in coarse and insulting language implied that Birkbeck, Bayley and Place were intending to use the Institution for sinister purposes of their own’.<sup>20</sup>

During the meeting, Place accused Robertson of ‘dishonesty’ and ‘treachery’, of having given no indication to Bailey or Place that he objected to Bailey’s address, and yet of influencing ‘the mechanics before the committee had assembled’ to reject Bailey’s proposed letter. (Prothero states matter-of-factly that Place was outraged at Robertson’s dishonesty.<sup>21</sup>) But Robertson had always been against donations. Place knew that Robertson had always been ‘fully persuaded’, as Place put it, ‘that the working men would of themselves furnish all means necessary to establish the Institution’. Furthermore, Robertson had the right to share his opinions with his colleagues. Did stating his beliefs really amount to an ‘intrigue to delude the working

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 259.

<sup>17</sup> MBv1, 13 Sep. 1824.

<sup>18</sup> Place, EH, f. 257.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 255.

<sup>20</sup> Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 87.

<sup>21</sup> Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 195.

men’?<sup>22</sup> The members had elected Robertson to the committee in the belief that he would represent their views. The committee existed in order to consider all aspects of such topics as donations before reaching a considered decision. The idea that the mechanics on the committee had been ‘paltered with’ reduces them to unthinking men while simultaneously attacking any man who would state an opinion (other, it seems, than Place’s) to them.

Bailey’s address was withdrawn. No early letter went out soliciting donations – an omission which left Place fuming for years. In a March 1824 communication to the committee about raising money, Place commented that he would have raised £1,000 by now had not ‘incalculable mischief’ been done by Robertson. Of his conduct Place fulminated: ‘I beg to say that much as I have observed of mankind it has no parallel’.<sup>23</sup>

The mood of the committee men, when at last they came to the Rules, must have been fractious. Place recounted that, before individual rules were even discussed, McWilliam moved that they were ‘too long’ and another subcommittee should be elected to revise them. Being ‘called upon by’ Place to say who should be on this subcommittee, ‘he had the impudence to name himself Hodgskin and Robertson.’ Place accused McWilliam and his allies of filibustering in order to throw Place’s draft out without proper discussion and introduce a new set. ‘I suspected that the whole was a conspiracy in which each had his particular part allotted to him’.<sup>24</sup> The mechanics who opposed the Rules were no longer seen as innocent, easily deceived by Robertson, but as men actively involved in trickery. Place wrote of a ‘man having been purposely placed on the committee’ and of

three or four unprincipled and pertinacious persons, who had been admitted on the committee before any sort of trick was suspected, so that when the Rules and Orders came to be discussed, they still hoped to be able to drive away their opponents and obtain the control of the Institution.<sup>25</sup>

Who were these men? Place offered a clue when he wrote that none of those on the provisional committee who disagreed with Birkbeck – bar McWilliam who became a vice-president – was elected to the first committee.<sup>26</sup> Nine men (including two engineers, an oilman and a smith) fit those criteria. Robert Christie may not have been

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<sup>22</sup> Place, EH, f. 258.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., f. 266.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., ff. 258-59.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., ff. 259-60.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., f. 261.

on the first committee but the committee's support for him is proved by their later hiring him as secretary.<sup>27</sup>

According to Place, Robertson had brought different rules which he was not prepared to share with the meeting.

I then appealed to the committee on the scandalous treachery of the two secretaries who having been parties to the formation of the Rules and Orders and concurred in them all, had, without any communication with the other members of the sub committee, formed a conspiracy to set them aside by a scandalous trick, and substitute others in their stead. It was impossible for the secretaries to defend their conduct, and after a very angry discussion it was resolved to go with the rules and orders.<sup>28</sup>

What a sticky, and very public, altercation – certainly one not liable to improve Robertson and Place's relations. But did it in fact happen? In his 1827 justification of his own role, Robertson wrote that he and Hodgskin had trusted Place (in 1823) to write an honest account of the provisional committee's first meetings: 'Mr. P. knew better than any other third party how far each had contributed to the good work; and it was not doubted, would do equal justice to both.' Robertson reported that Place's account had been printed with one of the sets of Rules and Orders.<sup>29</sup>

Place appeared unconcerned about the views of the members who elected the provisional committee. These members knew well Robertson's and Hodgkin's opinions about donations and the importance of self-sufficiency. The democratic process was not for Place. He knew what was best and those who stood in his way were 'unprincipled', 'bad', 'dishonest', 'treacherous' and finally 'evil'. These comments support Rowe's warning that Place's 'comments on other radicals' were particularly untrustworthy.<sup>30</sup>

Place's (unsupported) comment that only those provisional committee men (with the exception of McWilliam) who supported Birkbeck were elected to the first committee implied that those who supported Birkbeck also supported Place – that Birkbeck and Place agreed on all matters. A comparison of the draft and the amended Rules, however, suggests that it is no more likely that Birkbeck agreed with all aspects of Place's draft than that Robertson did. Who were the men on the provisional committee to whom Place referred? Three working-class men can probably be identified: (1) John Whitaker (painter and glazier) whom Place seconded when

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<sup>27</sup> MBv1, 7 Feb. 1825.

<sup>28</sup> Place, EH, ff. 259-60.

<sup>29</sup> *MM*, 7 (1827), p. 383. I have not been able to track down this version of the rules.

<sup>30</sup> Place, EH, ff. 255, 256, 260, 273. Rowe, 'Place', p. 57.

Whitaker proposed (2) Mr Adams (upholsterer) and (3) Mr Waterman (carpenter). These men were on the first formal committee.<sup>31</sup> That Place had working-class allies on the provisional committee emphasises what is already clear: there was no alignment between Place and the ‘not of the working class’ or between Robertson and the ‘working class’.

The most striking aspect of Place’s draft is that the two-thirds rule was not there. Seeing as a precedent had been set in the provisional committee and a formal ratio between the two classes of men had been praised by both Birkbeck (in refuting Cobbett) and Robertson in the *MM*, this seems an astounding omission. On the other hand, Place’s description of the working mechanics on the provisional committee shows that he did not consider them experienced or rational enough to run the Institution.

Place produced lengthy rules for introducing life and honorary membership on the basis of donations and distinction. Because these rules would have added wealthy men to the membership, the majority of the provisional committee considered them inimical to the ethos of a democratic institute for mechanics. The rules were deleted. However, such was Bailey’s enthusiasm for them that at the 2 December meeting of the entire membership (when the final Rules were being approved), he moved that life membership and honorary members be introduced. The ‘proposition was ... negated almost unanimously.’<sup>32</sup> Those on the provisional committee – probably including Robertson, Hodgskin, McWilliam, and Christie – who vetoed these rules were clearly more in touch with the wider membership than Bailey or Place.

Several of Place’s rules for increasing the committee’s powers at the expense of the membership were amended. Particularly controversial was the rule that ‘all property of the institution is vested in the Committee of Managers for the time being’. This was struck out and four trustees were elected. Place’s rule that the committee should ‘be responsible that no subject be introduced at any lecture but what is connected with the object of the Institute’ was deleted.<sup>33</sup>

Most intriguing, perhaps, was Place’s rule that the elections for committee members must occur between noon and 4pm. (The final Rules moved the timing to 6 -

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<sup>31</sup> MBv1, 22 Nov. 1823.

<sup>32</sup> Draft Rules, pp. 9-11. MBv1, 2 Dec. 1823. *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 228.

<sup>33</sup> Draft Rules, p. 13. Final Rules, p. 12.

9.30pm.) Clearly working men would not be able to vote during day. We may perhaps envisage Place purposely choosing a time which would favour the ‘not of the working class’, but how could the subcommittee have allowed that to go through? Was there such a huge divide between the ‘working class’ and the ‘not of the working class’ that such a mistake could be innocently made during a busy meeting? All the men on the subcommittee were after all ‘not of the working class’. In this connection, Place’s claim that he knew working men better than Robertson and Hodgskin must amount to very little, be self-aggrandizement or add fuel to the argument that he wanted an institute run by men of rank.<sup>34</sup>

The political wrangling resulted in the role of the secretary, the post held jointly by Robertson and Hodgskin, being downgraded from an elected officer to a paid ‘servant’ of the committee. Place’s original Rules had the secretary listed as an officer, along with president, vice-presidents, and treasurer (as was generally the custom in learned bodies). The intrigues behind this change were revealed in a September 1824 public spat (printed in the *MM*) between Robertson and Birkbeck. Birkbeck made clear that he believed Robertson should have been appointed honorary secretary ‘for the benefit of the institute’. Robertson accused Birkbeck of allowing ‘a minority of two’ to abolish the position during a subcommittee meeting about the Rules. Because the five men who composed the subcommittee were Place, Bailey, Birkbeck, Robertson and Hodgskin, the ‘two’ must refer to Place and Bailey – the men most bruised by the ructions at the first night’s meeting of the provisional committee: ructions which Place blamed largely on Robertson and Hodgskin. Robertson went on to ask (in the *MM*) whether Birkbeck failed to stand up to Place and Bailey ‘from want of firmness, or want of solicitude for the interests entrusted to his charge’.<sup>35</sup> What emotionally charged issues these were.

Writing in 1826, Place considered that one of the chief accomplishments of the Rules was to get rid of Robertson and Hodgskin. Place’s accusations that Robertson’s actions in proposing the LMI were motivated by personal gain (either for increasing the *MM*’s circulation or seeking a paid position as secretary) were an effective tool in undermining almost anything Robertson said. Place started the rumour early, and the

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<sup>34</sup> Draft Rules, pp. 20-21. Final Rules, p. 15. Place, EH, f. 244.

<sup>35</sup> Draft Rules, pp. 15-17. Final Rules, p. 7. *MM*, 2 (1824), pp. 440-41.

editor was constantly on the defensive.<sup>36</sup>

Place summarised the three-night meeting: ‘The two secretaries and their coadjutors lost their principal object ... The Rules and Orders which the committee adopted though neither so comprehensive nor so well digested, nor so easy for reference to uninstructed men’ were nevertheless serviceable.<sup>37</sup> (Place was certainly right that the draft Rules were easier to navigate than the final.) The importance of Place’s document in determining later accounts is shown by Godard’s 1884 claim that ‘the rules originally suggested were adopted, with some alterations not of primary importance’ and Kelly’s conclusion:

The revised Rules and Orders were substantially similar to those originally agreed, but they were in certain respects simplified and abbreviated, and they embodied an important new rule to the effect that ‘two-thirds at least of the Committee of Managers shall be taken from the working classes’. On the whole, the victory lay with Place and his supporters.

Kelly implied that Place was in favour of the two-thirds rule. Prothero made the same inference.<sup>38</sup> However, were that the case, the two-thirds rule would surely have been in Place’s initial draft. A defined working-class majority was after all already in effect. These committee men, who reworked Place’s rules, produced substantial changes in how the LMI would be run. The power of the committee was limited and the influence of members increased. The priority of the working-class membership (whether it existed in actuality or not) was enshrined in the Rules.

It should not be surprising to discover that the committee men held a wide variety of views, some agreeing with Place and some not. Nor is it surprising to find that there was no correlation between the opinions of the committee men and a middle-class paternalism. Men of different backgrounds and persuasions came together to create an institution to improve the conditions of the working class. Beyond that simple statement, every aspect of the Institution was up for grabs. The men who negotiated the rules produced an influential document. The men of the first committee who interpreted the rules, put them into practice or bypassed them, did as much (if not more) to set the tone of the Institution.

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<sup>36</sup> Place, EH, f. 257. *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 256.

<sup>37</sup> Place, EH, f. 260.

<sup>38</sup> Godard, *Birkbeck*, pp. 52-53. Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 88. Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 192.



## First management committee

It would seem self-evident that before historians claim that the LMI had a middle-class management (however defined), they would need to analyse the composition of the formal committees. Although Kelly and Burns at least listed the members of the provisional committee, they did not identify the members of the first formal committee.<sup>39</sup> Appendix C provides a listing along with occupation and LMI class categorisation where that can be deduced.

From the second election in September 1824 onwards, candidates were nominated and elected in two categories: ‘working class’ and ‘not of the working class’. The ratio was visibly controlled. In the first election on 15 December 1823, however, I have found no clear categorisations. The 6 December *MM* recorded Robertson moving resolutions to get the voting underway. The only reference found to the class of a candidate is in a letter on ‘how to vote’. Here Andrew Anderson recommended:

Vote for nobody merely because you see some empty title prefixed or appended to his name: should a title alone sway you, it would be but honest to vote for *that alone*, and leave it to others – to the Committee of *Management* perhaps – to decide who shall dangle at its tail.<sup>40</sup>

Nevertheless, the elected committee was widely heralded as adhering to the two-thirds rule. Indeed after the election Robertson proclaimed that ‘*more* than two-thirds’ were ‘working mechanics’.<sup>41</sup>

But before a conclusion can be reached that the LMI was therefore run on democratic principles (as Stephens, Roderick and Burns suggest<sup>42</sup>), the efficacy of the two-thirds rule must be assessed. The fact that the ‘not-of-the-working-class’ men had extensive experience in organising societies and men, and knew each other well from other endeavours, allowed them to punch above their weight on the committee. Even without meaning to, they spoke a different language. We can imagine them overpowering the working mechanics who were in an alien environment and would not have known each other before coming together in the committee. For such a large

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<sup>39</sup> Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 86 n.1. Burns, *Birkbeck*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>40</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 243.

<sup>41</sup> *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 436.

<sup>42</sup> Michael D. Stephens, and Gordon W. Roderick, ‘Science, the working classes and mechanics’ institutes’, *Annals of Science*, 29 (1972), p. 352. Burns, *Birkbeck*, p. 34.

committee to function efficiently, the role of the chairman is critical. He decides who will speak and for how long. He draws up the agenda. The size of the committee also dictated that subcommittees would do most of the work, bringing their conclusions to the larger group for ratification. There was no rule about the class of the chairman and officials or the composition of subcommittees.<sup>43</sup> Place, although not formally on the first committee, performed the role of *éminence grise* – interfering in decisions when he thought the committee had made a mistake. He was the main fund-raiser, and in that capacity extremely important to the Institution.<sup>44</sup> In first six years, only seven not-of-the-working-class men chaired a management meeting and only one of those for more than one meeting. Hetherington managed to chair half a meeting.<sup>45</sup>

Historians provide no detail to corroborate their assertion that the committee ignored the wishes of the membership. Of course, it is a difficult claim to prove, particularly when the committee was largely working class. Nevertheless by studying a major committee decision – the purchase and development of Southampton Buildings – and the membership’s responses, some headway can be made.

The first committee nominated a subgroup of Robert Stacy (a working-class jeweller), Whitaker, and McWilliam to evaluate Southampton Buildings as a suitable site for the Institution. Martineau devised plans for its development.<sup>46</sup> The purchase and subsequent building involved a huge financial outlay, and Birkbeck’s offers of substantial loans at 4% interest were accepted.<sup>47</sup> In the group particularly involved with the buildings, McWilliam was working alongside Place’s allies Martineau and Whitaker. ‘Working-class’ men shared goals and collaborated with men ‘not of the working class’.

The committee men wanted to apprise the members of their decision. But how were they to do it? Place’s desire to keep the Institution under tight control had resulted in the Rules allowing for only four general meetings at preordained times. One had just passed (on 12 June), the next was not until September. It would take two general meetings to change the rule about general meetings (such were the Rules’ stipulations

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<sup>43</sup> [Robinson], in ‘Brougham’, p. 548, was relieved that Birkbeck and his allies had the LMI management ‘as exclusively in their hands, as though they constituted the whole committee.’

<sup>44</sup> MBv1, 22 Nov. 1823, 15 Mar. 1824. Place, EH, f. 356.

<sup>45</sup> Chs 6 and 8 examine the roles of Hetherington and others on later committees.

<sup>46</sup> MBv1, 14 Jun. 1824.

<sup>47</sup> The loans amounted to a total of £3,700, reported in MBv1, 9 Jan. 1826.

about any changes).<sup>48</sup> According to Robertson this limited number of general meetings had caused controversy right from the start (probably at sub-committee level). He wrote that he was among ‘the few’ who thought ‘there should be as few obstacles as possible thrown in the way of the Members meeting in General Assembly as often as there is occasion’. Had it not been for these few men, he claimed, the members would only have had two general meetings a year. There were four because of ‘the too common practice of *dividing differences*, as it is called’.<sup>49</sup>

There was therefore precedent for the bad feeling that erupted when the committee called an impromptu general meeting at the end of one of the lectures. A few weeks earlier Stacy had expressed concern about getting the membership’s approval ‘to enable them [the committee men] to proceed in the purchase of premises’. Although the matter is listed as ‘deferred’ and was not revisited in the Minutes, foresightful committee men must have worried about a procedure which broke the Rules so early in the Institution’s life – never mind the fact that Birkbeck was not to seek approval but ‘describe the plan ... [and] give such other information as to him appears necessary’.<sup>50</sup> The members were to be presented with a *fait accompli*.

Thus it happened that on 16 July 1824, with minimal warning, the members who were present at Mr Dotchen’s second lecture on mathematics and geometry constituted, according to the management committee, a ‘Special General Meeting’. Robertson queried the legality of the meeting, and noted that one infringement of the members’ rights would surely bring others. When complaints were made, the Committee members became angry. The working-class Whitaker stated that it was a ‘*boon*’ that the members had been consulted at all.<sup>51</sup>

John Borthwick Gilchrist (vice-president) proclaimed that the meeting had been ‘called by the committee merely out of courtesy’. Robertson reported Gilchrist’s opinion that the committee ‘had power of themselves to conclude the proposed bargain ... and was it to be endured that they should now be quarrelled with for their condescension. [*The Doctor was angry*].’<sup>52</sup> Letter writers to the *MM* complained about

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<sup>48</sup> Draft Rules, pp. 24-25. Final Rules, pp. 17-18.

<sup>49</sup> *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 323.

<sup>50</sup> MBv1, 31 May, 12 Jul. 1824.

<sup>51</sup> QMv1, f. 17. *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 307. At a later meeting, Whitaker accused a member of being ‘the champion of Mr. Robertson’: *ibid.*, p. 411.

<sup>52</sup> *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 307.

the committee's hostility: Conway believed that the committee men should 'answer every man dispassionately' and not seek to 'silence him by equivoque, nor intimidate him by asperity, lest they create a strong, though silent dislike, where only would have sprung a pleasant spirit of opposition'. 'B. T.' was 'confident the good sense of the different members of the Committee will point' out the importance of respect for the members 'as a course never in future to be deviated from'.<sup>53</sup>

Place's efforts to empower the committee at the expense of the membership caused division and conflict. The public furor may well have fuelled Place's need to justify himself and denigrate others in his manuscript account. Robertson's claim of a previous quarrel over the number of general meetings can hardly have improved the mood of a man 'very sensitive to any slight whether real or imaginary'.<sup>54</sup>

The controversy was not only about the irregularity of the meeting, but also about its agenda: the purchase and the cost of the building. Although Godard was aware of Place's tendency to self-justification, he nevertheless accepted Place's account that Robertson's behaviour represented 'bitter and unscrupulous opposition'.<sup>55</sup> But was a query about how the nascent Institution could afford such expenditure really out of order? Robertson noted that the lease was 'for *some hundred and forty years*, at a rent, with taxes, amounting to nearly *three hundred pounds*'. Who was responsible for the payments?

Not our trustees certainly who have but a few pounds if any ... Not the fifteen members of the present Committee, who are just on the eve of retiring from office...The Mechanics' is not, as yet, an Institution so constituted, that any obligation come under by its Committee of Managers, can be perpetually binding on the general body of members.<sup>56</sup>

Robertson was also concerned that all the money for the lecture theatre was coming from Birkbeck. Why could it not have been an 'open' loan? Robertson asked. Why was the institute placed 'under the foot of one man'?<sup>57</sup>

In his unpublished account Place diffused his rage by calling Robertson's 'a most malignant and subtle attack ... on D<sup>r</sup> Birkbeck and the committee'. Birkbeck's

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp. 308, 323.

<sup>54</sup> Godard, *Birkbeck*, p. 45.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. p. 82.

<sup>56</sup> *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 308.

<sup>57</sup> *MM*, 3 (1825), p. 192.

loan ‘brought out the malice of Robertson and his atrocious associates’.<sup>58</sup> (Looking back from 1859 when he – as one of two surviving trustees – was responsible for the debt [which remained £3,500] and the expenses of the Institution, Brougham might have had more sympathy with Robertson’s fears.<sup>59</sup>) The committee men were stung by the response to their specially convened meeting. On 26 July, Stacy suggested the secretary write to Robertson ‘requesting him to refrain from such slanderous imputations’.<sup>60</sup>

This episode can easily be read as a conflict between the committee and the members. Indeed such a view was exactly the one Robertson himself put forward in his comments about the first committee and when he claimed in late 1824 that ‘the number of this class [journeymen mechanics] now enrolled as members, has dwindled to a few hundreds’. But beyond Robertson’s word we have no reason to think that most of the working mechanics agreed with him – or indeed, on current evidence, that many of them left the Institution. After all working-class men were particularly active in finding the building and defending its purchase. Having a building of its own represented status for the LMI and the arrival, arguably, of the working class as a powerful force. ‘G. D. B.’, in outlining his vision for a new institute in the November 1823 *London Journal of Arts and Sciences*, had claimed that acquiring commodious accommodation for all the institute’s facilities would be the first priority. The Royal Society, he believed, could not be taken seriously because it did not have its own ‘mansion’.<sup>61</sup>

Only a documented reduction in members after the July ‘Special General Meeting’ could prove Robertson’s point. Such a reduction was exactly what he claimed. But there were no records to substantiate his assertion.

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<sup>58</sup> Place, EH, ff. 372-73.

<sup>59</sup> *The Times*, 10 Jan. 1859, was reporting on the basis of a circular trying to raise money to help Brougham who (it was believed) would soon be left with the entire burden after his aged co-trustee died. ‘It is insult added to injury to be left the last trustee with a large rent to pay and a large annual bill for repairs, and collectors and tax-gatherers to meet.’ The circular, as quoted in *The Times*, clarified that ‘under the terms of the lease, [Brougham] can only be entirely relieved by purchasing the lease at a sum of 3,500*l.*’

<sup>60</sup> MBv1, 26 Jul.1824.

<sup>61</sup> *MM*, 2 (1824), p. vii. *LJAS*, 6 (1823), p. 315.

## Early record keeping and membership numbers

A study of the manuscript accounts relating to the opening months of the LMI reveals a shambolic organisation – and the pitfalls awaiting historians who rely on superficial studies of the documents or impressionistic accounts of the membership. Although at the first quarterly general meeting in March 1824, the management claimed the Institution had ‘nearly 1300 [members] and that nearly 1000 have paid their subscriptions’,<sup>62</sup> by the third quarterly meeting in September 1824, they were admitting that they really had no idea because of the ‘non-appearance of several lists of names’. The committee men now divulged that there had only ever been 656 paid up members out of the 1,085 names in the original book and that 81 had ceased paying since then.<sup>63</sup> Three months later, the committee reported that there were also ‘many persons’ who had ‘contributed towards the funds of the society whose names are not particularised in the Books.’<sup>64</sup> Halévy’s confidence that Place ‘carried the day’ in his battle with Robertson partly because of his ‘talent for methodical organisation and for well-ordered accountancy’ seems misplaced.<sup>65</sup> On the other hand, Place did his best to blame Robertson (which may account for Halévy’s conclusion). Before assessing Place’s claim against Robertson, the chapter examines how the system was supposed to work.

The provisional committee men, elected on 11 November 1823, set up the system for receiving subscriptions and donations. There were several methods by which a person could enlist for membership. Four booksellers were authorised to ‘receive the names, addresses and occupations of persons desirous of becoming members of the Institution, and also Donations of Books, Specimens and Apparatus’. This was potentially a tall order for a busy bookseller. Did these booksellers all have spare storage space? The Minutes make reference to ‘books ... left for the insertion of members names’ with each nominated bookseller.<sup>66</sup> No mention, however, is made of the subscription fee itself. Could the booksellers collect fees or only names?

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<sup>62</sup> QMv1, ff. 3-4.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., f. 25, reported in *MC*, 1 (1824), p. 27.

<sup>64</sup> QMv1, ff. 40-41.

<sup>65</sup> Halévy, *Hodgskin*, p. 288.

<sup>66</sup> MBv1, 14 Nov. 1823.

The secretaries were authorised to collect fees. But in the main the fees appear to have been paid at the Crown and Anchor tavern. Each evening two committee men were there to collect money. From the Minutes, it appears that twelve men fulfilled this role. A member might collect anything from 5 shillings to 34 pounds which he was to hand over to the secretaries to pay into the bank. The owner of the Crown and Anchor also collected substantial sums. On 18 December the Minutes recorded that Mr Ottey of the Crown and Anchor ‘Paid into the Committee the sum of Thirty Eight Pounds, Eleven Shillings, Received by him in Subscriptions and Donations since the 9<sup>th</sup> November’. Differentiating subscriptions and donations was another problem. The *MM* noted in passing that the committee did not know whether some recorded sums were subscriptions or donations.<sup>67</sup>

Provided the system worked at all, there must have been at least nine collection books: four for the booksellers, two for the secretaries, two for the committee men collecting at the Crown and Anchor and one for the proprietor of the Crown and Anchor. Ideally the entries in these books would have been carefully checked against monies received and entered into another all-inclusive book. However mentions of vouchers may indicate a laxer method of recording membership – a method, based on stray bits of paper, likely to result in chaos.<sup>68</sup> Simultaneously, the committee had to keep track of money going out. Payments were being made for printing, advertising, renting rooms, etc.

In September 1826, Place accused the secretaries: ‘it came out afterwards’, he wrote, ‘that all the papers which came to their hands were destroyed’. Worse, Place indicted Robertson for ‘embezzling some of the money which had been subscribed towards the institution’. Brian Simon was well justified in his claim that ‘Francis Place stopped at nothing to discredit’ Robertson.<sup>69</sup>

Historians have picked up Place’s attack with glee. In 1884 Godard elaborated Place’s first claim, contending that ‘the honorary secretaries, when unable to carry their measures, destroyed the official books’. Miles agreed that they had destroyed ‘all the papers in their hands’ and added that they had ‘failed to account for the money they had raised’. Stack was more cautious, repeating as fact that the secretaries destroyed one set

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<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 Nov., 2, 6, 11, 13, 18, 20 Dec. 1823. *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 190.

<sup>68</sup> MBv1, 2 Dec. 1823, 9 Feb. 1824.

<sup>69</sup> Place, EH, ff. 261, 287. Simon, *Studies*, p. 216.

of minutes while qualifying the suggestion that they destroyed all the papers by saying that such was Place's claim. According to Kelly 'moneys originally subscribed to the Institution had never been accounted for, having apparently been embezzled by Robertson'.<sup>70</sup> On the principle that there is no smoke without fire, people reading these histories would be deeply suspicious of Robertson.

Nevertheless, there are several reasons to consider Place's accusations motivated by animus rather than evidence. Firstly, when Robertson and Hodgskin were demoted in late December 1823, the Minutes recorded that they handed over 'books, papers, vouchers, etc' to the committee. The committee men were obviously happy with what they received because they 'resolved unanimously' to 'write a vote of thanks' to the 'late secretaries'.<sup>71</sup> Secondly, over a month after the honorary secretaries resigned, the committee men had still not organised a system for dealing with financial matters. Among the duties for the prospective full-time secretary (whom they had still not hired), they listed 'ascertain[ing] what donations in money have been made at the bankers of the Institution and ... [making] entries thereof in the book.'<sup>72</sup> Thirdly, at the first quarterly meeting in March 1824, Robertson called for the appointment of auditors to check the accounts – an unusual move for an 'embezzler'.<sup>73</sup> Fourthly, the auditors found that far from money being missing, 'the money in the hands of the committee exceeded the receipts entered on their books.'<sup>74</sup> Fifthly, money was passing through the hands of many men who might have pocketed it had they wished. A more likely candidate (provided Place's thus far unsubstantiated accusation is consigned to spite) was James Flather. When, in December 1824, the finances were finally revealed to be in as parlous a state as the membership records, the announcement – whether coincidentally or not – came at the same time that the LMI's paid secretary Mr Flather (a tin-plate-worker) disappeared. His letter to the committee explained that 'fearful of being arrested for the sum [a debt] of 35 pounds', he 'must leave Town immediately, to avoid what I dread above all things, imprisonment'. The fifth Quarterly Report noted that 'during the latter part of Mr Flather's secretaryship, the vouchers produced are not

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<sup>70</sup> Godard, *Birkbeck*, p. 74. Miles, *Place*, p. 94. Stack, *Nature*, p. 85, referenced Place's manuscript for both assertions. Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 96.

<sup>71</sup> MBv1, 29 Dec. 1823.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Feb. 1824.

<sup>73</sup> QMv1, f. 6.

<sup>74</sup> *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 220.



quite complete and a small amount of expenditure thus remains unaccounted for.<sup>75</sup> Sixth, and finally, Place had a motive to vilify Robertson. Robertson was by now an implacable critic of the Institution. If Robertson could be discredited, his criticisms would be undermined.

One of Robertson's main lines of attack could only be substantively refuted by membership records. He claimed that the Institution no longer appealed to independently minded mechanics, and that they were therefore shunning the Institution – dropping their memberships or not joining. In reporting the fourth quarterly meeting in December 1824, Robertson stated his belief that 'not more than one-half' of the 750 strong membership were 'working mechanics'. He referred to his 28 November 1824 article in which he challenged the managers to prove him wrong. They could easily do so by ordering 'a return to be made up from the books'.<sup>76</sup> Robertson believed the committee was withholding information for fear of damaging its bona fides in helping working men. As days and weeks passed with the committee not defending the Institution against Robertson's claim, Place blamed Robertson for the loss of the items which the *MM* editor was demanding be made public.

Finally, at the fourth quarterly meeting in December 1824, the committee announced the formation of a new subcommittee to sort out the bureaucratic mess. In clarifying how it would proceed, the Report (unwittingly) damned their methods thus far. The subcommittee would make arrangements 'for opening a new set of books, on a plan of systematic exactness'. They blamed

the hurry and confusion which were perhaps unavoidable in the original formation of the Institution, and the absence of many documents which might elucidate the early payments of the Members, as well as from the want of perspicuity in the subsequent arrangements of the accounts.<sup>77</sup>

So much for Place's much vaunted efficiency. These words in the publicised Quarterly Report cannot have helped his equanimity. His popularity at the LMI can perhaps be judged by the fact that in August 1826 he consented to have his name put forward for the committee nominations.<sup>78</sup> Whether the current committee thought better of it, or

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<sup>75</sup> MBv1, 22 Nov. 1823. QMv1, f. 69, quoted in *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 301.

<sup>76</sup> *MM*, 3 (1825), p. 192. *MM*, 2 (1824), p. viii.

<sup>77</sup> QMv1, f. 38, quoted in *LMR*, 1 (1824), p. 69. These MS LMI Members' Registers must have formed the basis of Hobsbawm's observation about membership during the 'first three years' – although they do not in fact cover the very first year: Hobsbawm, *Worlds*, p. 257.

<sup>78</sup> Place, 'Affairs', p. 82.

nobody supported the nomination, Place's name never appeared in the coverage of the nominations or elections.

The committee's change of tactics from finessing the state of the records to admitting the chaos coincided with Robertson's switch from support of the LMI to attack. Robertson started criticising the committee in July 1824 after it had accepted Birkbeck's loan and (as he saw it) abrogated the rules on general meetings. After silence on the composition of the membership failed to quiet Robertson, the committee was finally forced at the September and December 1824 quarterly meetings to state that there were no serviceable records.

Thus the notion of rival camps was set up. Place could be seen as supporting management/middle-class control with his determination to make the Rules watertight, his unsympathetic and indeed undemocratic stance towards members who disagreed with him, his demonising of Robertson, his affirmation that Birkbeck was on his side. Place's and Robertson's accounts both encouraged the view that Robertson was the defeated working man's champion. Yet Robertson does not appear to have had a large support group within the LMI. He ceased to be a secretary in December 1823 and might never have joined the Institution. (Or rather, his name does not appear in the first two Members' Registers, covering December 1824 to December 1829.) Robertson's claim that working-class men abandoned the LMI could not be substantiated. As the previous chapter has shown, the membership figures rose dramatically with the opening of the theatre. The analysis of the composition of the membership, however, could not address Robertson's specific complaint because the committee recorded members' occupations and not their class in the Members' Registers. It is only by examining how members defined as 'working class' and 'not of the working class' actually collaborated that light can be shed on the problem of control at the LMI. The following chapters provide some of these, required, details.

## Organising the classes

The LMI provided two educational strands: classes and lectures. The classes were often textbook driven. With one exception which will be discussed, they took place in the classrooms and were designed to allow individual instruction for smaller groups of members. The lectures were formal affairs delivered in the theatre with abstracts generally appearing in the *MC*, *LMR* or *RAS*. Each had its own subcommittee. A flawed policy on classes is often cited as a contributing factor to the LMI's alleged failure, and indeed the failure of the whole mechanics' institute movement. Critics believed that mechanics' institutes focussed too much on lectures which were technical and difficult, and not enough on elementary classes. Because the LMI was the prototype institution, it cannot escape the generalised censure. In his study of these critics, Royle summarised their position: 'the first mechanics' institutes had centred their educational work on the lecture, and this method of teaching had not been successful.' James Hole believed that mechanics' institutes suffered because their members had not been 'prepared, by the discipline and instruction of classes, to receive the full benefits of lectures'. Prothero targeted the LMI specifically. Its 'chief failure lay in the lectures ... Lacking in elementary education, the students needed not long lectures but regularly organised class instruction, yet this was not at first provided.'<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Royle, 'Mechanics' institutes and the working classes', *Historical Journal*, 14 (1971), p. 308. Hole, *Essay*, p. 32. Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 198.

But LMI members apparently did not feel the need for further instruction in these subjects. Although the committee men were unable to keep up with the demand for French and drawing classes, and received petitions for Latin and English classes, they were under no pressure to provide preparatory science classes. The LMI lectures *themselves* were at an elementary level and they were praised for being ‘of the most attractive and valuable kind’.<sup>2</sup> So far were the members from being critical of the classes that, as early as September 1825, a correspondent to the *MM* claimed that the Elementary Schools were ‘excellent’.<sup>3</sup> My study of LMI classes therefore provides a revisionist view of the instruction available as well as the first on-the-ground examination of the members’ requirements.

Lectures were first instituted in February 1824, at the Monkwell Street Chapel near London Wall. The first class was held ten months later. Prothero was also critical of the LMI’s delay in getting the elementary schools up and running, but how much more quickly could the committee have acted? The classes started within three months of the move to Southampton Buildings, which occurred in September 1824. The Minutes and Quarterly Reports show that the committee men had been busy from January to September, finding the building, organising its purchase and putting on lectures at Monkwell Street Chapel. Once they took possession of the building, they had to move in, transfer all the apparatus which had been purchased or donated from Furnivals Inn (where they had initially set up an office), insure the Institution’s possessions, and organise the existing building to suit the Institution’s requirements. Within a few days they had set up the reading room and library filled with donated books. And of course, they were also planning and building the lecture theatre. So the committee was hardly sitting on its hands. That they started classes as early as December 1824 might be considered remarkable.

Organising classes was extremely time consuming, and it became more so as increasing numbers of classes were added. In June 1828, the LMI offered classes in nine subjects. The December 1829 Quarterly Report listed fifteen different classes.<sup>4</sup> The schools subcommittee was constantly balancing up members’ requests and dealing

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<sup>2</sup> See for instance the chemistry lectures: *MC*, 1 (1824), pp. 115-16, 130-31, 138-40, 146-48, 155-57. *MM*, 7 (1827), p. 431 (‘valuable’).

<sup>3</sup> *MM*, 4 (1825), p. 373.

<sup>4</sup> *QMv1*, ff. 303, 410.

with the logistics of classrooms. Because the subcommittee was so responsive to the members' suggestions – and because many members were involved in teaching the classes – a study of the 'schools' (as they often called the classes) provides valuable information about the members themselves. Many of these members were on the management committee at some point, and thus there is information about whether they were considered 'working class' or 'not of the working class'. The comparative influence of the social groups over the years can be gauged in the composition of the schools' subcommittee itself. Formed in October 1824, the subcommittee had no working-class members until March 1826. However by March 1827, there were four working-class members and only two not-of-the-working class men. In March 1829 there were five working-class members, only two not-of-the-working class and one classified as both (see table 6.1).<sup>5</sup> This evidence militates against the argument that the LMI committees became more middle class.

*Table 6.1: The Schools subcommittees based on the Minutes. Full names and details are only given the first time a member serves on the committee.<sup>6</sup>*

Committee	Class/occupation	Name	involvement in classes/lectures
Oct. 1824	'Not of working the class' Actuary	William Frend	gave geography lectures
	'Not of the working class' L. L. D	John Borthwick Gilchrist	
	'Not of the working class' Engraver	James Frederick Blake	
	'Not of the working class' Surveyor	John Atchen Dotchen	gave mathematics lectures
	'Not of the working class' Mathematics teacher	John Reynolds	taught French and geography classes and gave a lecture on mnemonics
	'Not of the working class' Clerk	Edmund R. Fayerman	taught stenography
Sep. 1825	'Not of the working class'	Frend	
	'Not of the working class' Schoolmaster	Samuel Preston	'superintended' a mechanics mutual instruction class and ran the LMI Day School 1831-32
	'Not of the working class' Gentleman	Henry Burnett	in charge of minerals for the mineralogy mutual instruction class
Mar. 1826	'Working class' Carver	Peter Christie (added to Sep. committee)	taught drawing

<sup>5</sup> MBv1, 24 Oct. 1824, 25 Sep. 1825, 20 Mar. 1826. MBv2, 25 Sep. 1826, 26 Mar. 1827, 24 Sep. 1827, 24 Mar. 1828, the first 29 Sep. 1828 (misdated: there were two entries for this date, the first should have been 22 Sep. 1828), 16 Mar. 1829. Mbv3, 28 Sep. 1829.

<sup>6</sup> Appendix D provides full information on the LMI committees.

Sep. 1826	<b>'Working class'</b>	Christie	
	<b>'Working class'</b> Printer	Henry Hetherington	suggested a mutual instruction class in composition
	'Not of the working class'	Gilchrist	
	'Not of the working class' Printer	Richard Taylor	
	'Not of the working class'	Dotchen	
Mar. 1827	<b>'Working class'</b>	Hetherington	
	<b>'Working class'</b> Warehouseman	William Ford	
	<b>'Working class'</b> . Mason	Henry Poole	taught geometrical drawing
	<b>'Working class'</b> Cabinet-maker	Richard Botham	taught geometrical drawing
	'Not of the working class'	Gilchrist	
	'Not of the working class'	Dotchen	
Sep. 1827	<b>'Working class'</b>	Poole	
	<b>'Working class'</b>	Botham	
	Both classes. Variously gentleman, clerk, printing ink manufacturer	Charles Lane	suggested mutual instruction classes and taught an English grammar mutual instruction class.
	Both classes. Draftsman	George Topple	taught geometrical drawing
	'Not of the working class'	Taylor	
Mar. 1828	<b>'Working class'</b> . Book-binder	Barry St Leger	
	<b>'Working class'</b>	Hetherington	
	<b>'Working class'</b> Cabinet-maker	Charles Collar	
	Both classes	Lane	
	'Not of the working class' Optician/mechanical-draftsman	Andrew Pritchard	taught geometrical drawing
Sep. 1828	<b>'Working class'</b>	St Leger	
	<b>'Working class'</b>	Collar	
	<b>'Working class'</b> . Machinist	G. G. Ward	
	<b>'Working class'</b>	Poole	
	Both classes	Topple	
	'Not of the working class'	Pritchard	
Mar. 1829	<b>'Working class'</b> Carver and gilder	E. F. Watson	
	<b>'Working class'</b> . Engineer	William Farmer	taught geometrical drawing
	<b>'Working class'</b> Chemist	Thomas Dakin	student in two mutual instruction classes and lecturer on galvanism
	<b>'Working class'</b>	Poole	
	<b>'Working class'</b> . Engineer	Thomas Kingsnorth	
	Both classes	Topple	
	'Not of the working class' Architectural draftsman	John Davis	
	'Not of the working class' Clerk	John L. Grover	suggested a Latin class
Sep. 1829	<b>'Working class'</b>	Dakin	
	<b>'Working class'</b> . Chaser	Samuel Rothery	

	'Not of the working class'	Davis	
	'Not of the working class'	Reynolds	

The shift to more working-class men on the committees was in line with Brougham's and Birkbeck's stated views that once the working men were ready to take responsible positions, they would naturally rise to them. Even the management committee had more working-class members than usual in September 1829.<sup>7</sup> From mid-1825, Birkbeck was less actively involved on the management committee. Up until then, he had chaired almost every weekly meeting. Of course, he was still working hard for the Institute: giving lectures, advising, and liaising with supporters and lecturers. His contacts on behalf of the Institution ranged from the Duke of Sussex to the debating society-radical John Thelwall (who had been imprisoned in the Tower in 1794).<sup>8</sup> Just how broad church the LMI was can be gauged from two further connections: a clerk who worked with the Archbishop of Canterbury (E. R. Fayerman) was on the same committee as the radical printer Hetherington; and the Institution substituted a *socialist* French teacher for a *royalist* one.<sup>9</sup>

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how the 'working-class' and 'not-of-working-class' committee men interacted. A study of the individual men can also provide a better understanding of working-class possibilities in 1820s London. The details amassed about these men from the LMI experiences, while sketchy, nevertheless provide some insight into their lives. Three men are of particular interest on the schools subcommittee: Peter Christie ('working-class' carver), Henry Hetherington ('working-class' printer) and Charles Lane (identified variously as a 'working-class' and a 'not-of-the-working-class' printing ink manufacturer, a clerk and a gentleman). Peter Christie and Charles Lane both acted as innovative educators. They devised new systems for the classes. Hetherington was an emerging political activist: he and Charles Lane were on the founding council of the radical Metropolitan Political Union formed

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<sup>7</sup> QMv1, ff. 386-87.

<sup>8</sup> MBv1 shows that Birkbeck regularly chaired the management meetings until 30 May 1825. Duke: MBv2, 28 Apr. 1828. Thelwall: MBv3, 1 Jun. 1829.

<sup>9</sup> E. R. Fayerman, a 'not-of-working-class' clerk (MRv1, 112), was elected to the same management committee as Hetherington on 5 Mar. 1825. He was the collector for the Sons of the Clergy, a charity for poor widows chaired by the Archbishop of Canterbury: James Elmes, *A topographical dictionary of London* (London: Whittaker, Treacher and Arnot, 1831), p. 372. For French teachers, see below.

in 1830.<sup>10</sup> Hetherington made suggestions which were considered by some of his fellow committee men too radical, and was joined by Charles Lane in pushing through one of these schemes – the English composition class (see below).

Christie, Lane and Hetherington were among the earliest members of the Institution and may well have been at the Crown and Anchor meeting. Christie's MRv1 membership number was 214, Hetherington's was 904 and Lane's was 337. Christie, the first 'working-class' man on the schools subcommittee, must have been trusted by the senior, 'not-of-the-working-class', management. (The president and all four vice-presidents were drawn from 'not-of-the-working-class' members throughout our period.) He was one of only seven working-class members who ever chaired a management committee meeting – and the only working-class member to have presided over more than one of these. Christie even chaired a specially convened management committee meeting to discuss whether the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty should be allowed to hire the theatre; he cast the deciding ballot. The meeting was effectively called by Charles Lane who was in favour of hiring the theatre to the group.<sup>11</sup> Both Lane and Hetherington actively supported the Radical Reform Association which grew out of the Friends.<sup>12</sup>

Henry Hetherington joined Christie on the schools subcommittee in September 1826. They remained the only two 'working-class' subcommittee members until March 1827. Thirty-one years old when he joined the LMI, Hetherington was praised as 'one of the earliest and most energetic of working men engaged in the foundation of the Mechanics' Institute. His intelligence and zeal procured him the warm friendship of the excellent Birkbeck, the founder of the Parent Institute; and the feeling was reciprocated'.<sup>13</sup> Details of Hetherington's biography can be added from previously unknown LMI information. Ambrose Barker and Thomas Cooper, the two major sources on Hetherington's life, recorded neither the details of any of Hetherington's nine children nor that in March 1826 (when he was thirty-four) he had an apprentice. One of Hetherington's sons and an apprentice were LMI members. Hetherington was

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<sup>10</sup> Rowe, *London Radicalism*, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Christie chaired management meetings on 17 Jul., 4 Aug., 25 Aug., 1 Sep. 1828. For more on the specially convened 17 Jul. 1828 meeting, see ch. 8.

<sup>12</sup> *Age*, 8 Nov. 1829.

<sup>13</sup> Cooper, 'Eloge', pp. 147-48 (including children). Ambrose G. Barker, *Henry Hetherington* (London, Pioneer Press, [1938]).



well enough off to pay his subscription annually from December 1824 onwards (when records began).<sup>14</sup> Christie also had at least one son who was an LMI member, and maybe two if William Christie (at the same address), listed first as ‘apprentice joiner’, was also a son. Peter Christie paid 5s per quarter until March 1825 from which time he also demonstrated greater solvency by paying the full subscription annually.<sup>15</sup>

Charles Lane was younger than Hetherington and Christie. Born in 1800, Lane was in his mid-twenties when he joined and twenty-six when he was first elected to the committee. Described as both ‘working class’ and ‘not of the working class’, Lane was listed at different points as having the occupations of gentleman, clerk and printing ink manufacturer.<sup>16</sup> He was to become a communitarian. A Charles Lane (1800–1870) is known to historians of American transcendentalism for having come over from England with Bronson Alcott in the 1840s and then founding the Fruitlands community near Harvard. But their knowledge of Charles Lane was barely existent before 1840 when he joined John Pierrepont Greaves to found the Alcott House community and boarding school in Surrey. The LMI provides a much earlier connection between Lane and Greaves. At the LMI Charles Lane offered to teach according to principles developed at the Infant School Society of which Greaves was the secretary. Greaves, a member of the LMI in 1825, had just returned from four years working with Pestalozzi in Switzerland. He became ‘the remarkable leader of the Pestalozzian movement in Britain’. Lane’s coming under the influence of Greaves, whom he described as ‘a gigantic mind, bestriding the narrow world like a colossus’, probably explains Lane’s holistic approach to learning which resulted in the LMI mutual instruction classes.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Hetherington’s son, Henry Hetherington jun., was a member for one quarter in Mar. 1826 (MRv1, 2270) and from Dec. 1826 through to Jun. 1827 (MRv2, 1930). Hetherington’s son could not have been much older than fourteen. An ‘apprentice to Mr Hetherington’, Thomas Halt, was recorded as being a member in Mar. 1826 (MRv1, 4368). Subscriptions: MRv1, 904 and MRv2, 229.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Christie jun. was a member for the Mar. 1826 quarter (MRv1, 4226). William Christie was a member from Dec. 1825 to Dec. 1828 (MRv1, 3926, and MRv2, 746). Subscriptions: MRv1, 214, and MRv2, 96.

<sup>16</sup> MRv1, 337 (gentleman). MRv2, 142 (clerk). Elected: Sep. 1825 as a ‘working-class’ printing ink manufacturer, *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 312; Mar. 1826 as a ‘not-of-the-working-class’ printing ink manufacturer, *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 311; Sep. 1827 simply as ‘not-of-the-working-class’, *MM*, 8 (1828), p. 159.

<sup>17</sup> Lane’s background: Harrison, *Owen*, pp. 128-29; W. H. G. Armytage, *Heavens below* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), pp. 138, 173-78, 182-83; Carl Watner, ‘Charles Lane: Voluntaryist’ (<http://www.voluntaryist.com/avpg/intro.html>, accessed 16 Nov. 2011); J. E. M. Latham, *Search for a new Eden* (London, Associated University Presses, 1999), pp. 83, 144, 162, 164, 225-26. Helped Greaves: Harrison, *Owen*, pp. 127-28. ‘Infant’: MBv2, 17 Dec. 1827. Greaves: MRv1, 1790. Armytage, ‘John Minter Morgan’, *Journal of Education*, 86 (1954), p. 550 (‘remarkable’). Lane and

Education based on pupil initiative rather than passive reception of accepted knowledge, could inform both adult and infant education strategies. Lane and the LMI French teacher James Black were both advocates of these new methods.

In their only reference to Charles Lane in the 1820s, American historians credit him with having written *A classification of sciences and arts*. Lane donated a copy of this pamphlet to the LMI and gave a lecture on the subject. Another connection is that Charles Lane in America was an abolitionist as was the LMI Lane who applied for the use of a room in Southampton Buildings for ‘occasional meetings of a committee who had in view the amelioration of the slaves in the West Indies’.<sup>18</sup> Charles Lane was an active reformer at the LMI, in teaching policy and supporting egalitarian movements. He spoke at a Radical Reform Association (RRA) meeting at the LMI and was on the founding council of the Metropolitan Political Union which grew out of the RRA.

It seems likely that the one listing of Charles Lane as ‘working class’ (when he was nominated in September 1825) was a mistake. He was categorised as ‘not of the working class’ in the other elections and his ‘occupation’ was recorded as gentleman in the first Members’ Register. Lane gave his address as Shoreditch in the East End (with its working-class connotations), whereas ‘working-class’ Christie lived in Marylebone (generally considered a salubrious neighbourhood), and Hetherington’s address was in Bloomsbury. Once again, LMI evidence undermines crude geographical analyses of class differentiations.

Christie and Lane both introduced new teaching strategies. Peter Christie devised a streamed system for the drawing classes to cater for the innumerable members who wanted to learn drawing. Lane introduced ‘mutual instruction’ classes in which the pupils became more autonomous. Lane worked with Hetherington to instigate a mutual instruction class in English composition. Lane’s, Christie’s and Hetherington’s initiatives are discussed below.

## **The classes**

The schools subcommittee was a busy one. By June 1829, the committee men were

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Pestalozzi: Latham, *Search*, p. 180. For more on Greaves and Pestalozzi, see Kate Silber, *Pestalozzi* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 295-96. Lane on Greaves: Armytage, *Heavens*, p. 171.

<sup>18</sup> *Classification*: Latham, *Search*, p. 83; MBv1, 19 Dec. 1825. Abolitionist: Watner, ‘Lane’, unpaginated. MBv2, 29 Sep. 1828.

juggling rooms and schedules in order to offer classes in mathematics, arithmetic, ornamental drawing, architectural and mechanical drawing, practical geometry, architectural and ornamental modelling, writing, English grammar, French language, geography, chemistry, experimental philosophy, and mineralogy.<sup>19</sup> Table 6.2 shows the order in which these classes were introduced.

*Table 6.2: When classes were introduced. See text for more details.*

<b>Date introduced</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Teacher and payment</b>
Dec. 1824	Elementary School of Arithmetic	John Collins, paid £35 per annum
Jan. 1825	French	Black taught gratuitously, although members paid 6s 6d for his textbook and 6d each for his workbooks
Mar. 1825	Mathematics	Mr Downes, paid £20 per annum
May 1825	Drawing	Christopher Davy, paid 30 guineas per annum
Dec. 1825	Geography	John Reynolds, committee man, gratuitous
Jan. 1826	English grammar	Samuel Preston, committee man, gratuitous
Mar. 1826	Writing	John Collins, son of arithmetic teacher, gratuitous
May 1826	Practical School of Mechanics: mutual instruction	led by Samuel Preston, gratuitous
Dec. 1826	Chemistry: mutual instruction class	led by Charles Reader, committee man, gratuitous
Apr. 1827	Stenography brief course	E. R. Fayerman, committee man, charged each student a shilling
Summer 1827	Apparatus room opened for members discussions	
Jul. 1827	Grammar: mutual instruction	led by Charles Lane, committee man, gratuitous
Nov. 1827	Elementary grammar: mutual instruction	
Dec. 1827	Latin: mutual instruction	
Nov. 1828	Modelling	Maurice Garvey, member, gratuitous
Mar. 1829	Mineralogy: mutual instruction	Charles Reader, 'secretary'
Jun. 1829	English language and literary composition: mutual instruction	suggested by Hetherington, rules written by Charles Lane

The committee's responsiveness to members' wishes is shown by the speed with which they established French classes, even though these had not been envisaged by the founders when they drafted the Rules. The committee put on French classes before they organised a mathematics class which, along with arithmetic, had been specified in the Rules. (The only Schools specified in the Rules were arithmetic and mathematics as applied to perspective, architecture, mensuration and navigation.) In early January 1825, only a month after the first class in arithmetic had been launched, the committee was preparing a second-storey back room for the first French class, to be

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<sup>19</sup> QMv1, f. 379.

taught gratuitously by James Black.<sup>20</sup> Black was an LMI member who recorded his occupation as ‘teacher of languages’.<sup>21</sup> By March 1825, two more French classes were laid on to accommodate demand. Within five months a fourth class of 60 pupils was introduced. Thus by June 1825 there were 240 French pupils. Two of the classes were taught gratuitously by members on Black’s system. John Reynolds, a ‘not-of-the-working-class’ mathematics teacher, took one of these.<sup>22</sup> The other was run by Mr Jones, likely to be William Jones, the ‘working-class’ plumber who also acted as agent for Robert’s fireproof hood and mouth invention (which allowed firemen to breath in smoke-filled buildings). Described as ‘an active and zealous Member of the Institution’, Jones sorted out the plumbing in Southampton Buildings.<sup>23</sup> Both Reynolds and Jones were on the management committee at the time.

What a contrast French made with the poorly attended arithmetic and mathematics classes. Why was French so popular? The newspapers and the *MM* in 1824 ran many stories about mechanics moving to France to get better-paid jobs. They were reporting on a Select Committee, chaired by Joseph Hume (helped by Francis Place), which was investigating the Emigration Acts with a view to repealing them. Emigration in this case meant emigrating to France. LMI stalwarts Martineau and Galloway were among those who testified that their best workers were being ‘enticed’ to France.<sup>24</sup>

In April 1824, the *MM* published a large extract from a pamphlet entitled ‘Advice to Journeymen Mechanics and others going to France’ under the headline ‘A Journeyman’s Guide to France, with Reasons for Not Staying’. The author provided English artisans with information on ‘the cheapest and most expeditious way’ to get to France, how ‘to obtain an asylum among their own countrymen’ and detailed comparisons of wages and costs of living in England and France. His conclusion was that the English artisan was better off at home.<sup>25</sup>

So important was the prospective repeal of the Emigration Acts that Birkbeck

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<sup>20</sup> Final Rules, p. 5. MBv1, 3 Jan. 1825.

<sup>21</sup> MRv1, 1734.

<sup>22</sup> *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 298.

<sup>23</sup> Jones offered to teach: MBv1, 14 Mar. 1825. Thanked for teaching: *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 93. *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 108 (‘active’). MBv2, 4 Feb. 1828 (plumbing).

<sup>24</sup> *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 12.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

mentioned it in his inaugural address (February 1824). He claimed that the LMI would offer mechanics more reasons to stay in England: ‘by improving the means of production and increasing the sources of his comfort, we render the artizan better satisfied with the fruits of his labour and more strongly attached to his native land’. Certainly the last thing the LMI founders wanted was to encourage artisans to emigrate; because, as Birkbeck put it, ‘with this portion of our population, the strength and the wealth of the nation must depart from our shores’.<sup>26</sup>

Aiding emigration – or worse encouraging working men to gain first-hand knowledge of the French Revolution and its political ramifications – would surely have attracted condemnation. But amongst innumerable criticisms of the LMI, there appears to be only one about the mechanics’ learning French. *John Bull’s* 1827 squib was based on the premise that in learning French, working men were aping their betters and breaking down social barriers. The upper classes would now have to learn ‘Hebrew, Sanscrit, Cingalese, or Malabar’ to maintain their superiority. Perhaps there was something to this. Francis Place lauded his own decision to spend six pence when he was destitute to learn French: ‘my imperfect knowledge of the French language put hundreds of pounds in my pocket’. Unfortunately, Place did not explain exactly how. When Mr Want, a ‘gentleman’ member, complained in August 1825 that, because the French classes were continually hogging the biggest classroom, there were not enough spaces in the drawing class, he merely said that French was not one of the intended lessons. He made no statements against learning French.<sup>27</sup> So it seems safe to assume that there was no suspicion that LMI members were learning French in order to emigrate or in order to fuel revolutionary sentiment.

In an LMI lecture previewing his classes, James Black put forward several reasons for learning the language. While it is questionable whether the reasons advocated by the LMI’s second French teacher, the royalist aristocrat M. Dufief, would gel with member’s motivations, it is probably safe to accept Black’s as representative. Black’s actions made his sympathies with the mechanics clear. His speech began by lauding invention and the education of working men. He was in touch with James Pierrepont Greaves, the secretary of the Infant School Society, an organisation

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<sup>26</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 419.

<sup>27</sup> *John Bull*, 3 Dec. 1827. *TN*, 23 Jul. 1826. Want: MRv1, 2599, 2600 (two men at the same address); *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 333.

patronised by Brougham and Birkbeck to teach poor children.<sup>28</sup> Black's reasons included: that English is derived from the Continental languages and the study of two languages would be mutually beneficial (classes in English grammar and composition were also popular with LMI members); that French was so commonly understood that many French phrases were no longer translated in English publications; that French was spoken all over Europe and that French speakers could travel more easily.<sup>29</sup>

Not surprisingly, Black stressed the importance of being up to date with French inventions. A good track to becoming a successful inventor or improver of machines was to work on French initiatives, perfect them and sell the inventions back to France. Black noted that many 'excellent works of science' were printed originally in French and never translated. Finally he implied that England was behind the rest of Europe because so many of its people did not speak French.<sup>30</sup>

Trying to explain the members' interest in French is complicated by the apparent lack of French publications in the LMI library. Although I have not seen an early LMI library catalogue, surely there should have been more French editions among the donations (recorded in the Minutes and Quarterly Reports). Yet there were only a handful. More worryingly, the management committee exchanged a donated French edition of Humbolt's *History of New Spain* for an English one.<sup>31</sup> Clearly the managers did not expect members to want to read the French copy. The Minutes also recorded various journals to which the committee decided to subscribe. None of these was in French.

The members were prepared to pay a little extra for the French course. Black taught gratuitously, but members had to pay 6s 6d for his textbook and 6d each for workbooks. There must have been separate workbooks because on 30 October 1826, 666 copies of Black's French book were listed as having been sold at 6d each. That the members were quite capable of paying more than just their 5s quarterly subscription is underlined by the fact that seventy-two of Black's pupils (organised by E. R. Fayerman, a 'not-of-the-working-class' clerk) contributed enough to buy their teacher a 10 guinea

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<sup>28</sup> Black introduced an LMI 'working-class' jeweller George Thurnell to Greaves with the result that Thurnell got a job teaching in an Infant School: Hill, *National*, p. 216. Birkbeck and Brougham: *The Times*, 6 Jun. 1825.

<sup>29</sup> *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 165.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* Track: Flora Tristan, *London journal* (London: George Prior, 1980), p. 18.

<sup>31</sup> MBv2, 3 Mar. 1829.

silver snuff box as an expression of their gratitude (June 1825).<sup>32</sup>

It may be that Black's skill as a teacher and the efficacy of his system was a contributing factor to the popularity of his classes. He talked about his 'Paidophilean system of teaching languages', derived from the Latin 'paedo'. Black's method was based on reading a text in French for which each line had an incomplete English translation underneath. Given the sense of the story, the pupil could easily add the translation of the missing word or phrase. Thus the pupil was engaged and interested – a far cry from the dry learning of conjugations and declensions, never mind the 'tedious research' of looking words up in a dictionary. The Infant School Society advocated the same 'elliptical' technique. Samuel Wilderspin's 1825 *Infant Education* devoted an appendix to printing a section of Black's French textbook.<sup>33</sup>

In November 1825, the Institution replaced Black by hiring his son on a salary 'not exceeding 30 pounds per annum'. The committee men struggled to keep up with the demand for French tuition. They announced that Black's son would commence with a class of 120 of those members whose names stood first on the list of applicants. These lucky men could only attend for three months before they had to give way to those lower on the list. The class would 'meet as soon as the large room under the theatre is furnished with desks and forms.' Although the theatre opened in July 1825, this basement room was not available until January 1826.<sup>34</sup>

In April 1827 the committee decided to switch French teachers: from the Blacks who were sympathetic to teaching the working classes to the French royalist N. G. Dufief (who started on 14 June 1827). The reason given was that Dufief 'offered a gratuitous course by which a very considerably saving of funds is affected.' But the course was expensive for the members. They had to pay a substantial 18s for his book before they were allowed to enter the class. *Nature displayed in her mode of teaching language to man ... adapted to the French* opened with a paean of praise to Dufief's

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<sup>32</sup> Books: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 100; MBv1, 30 Oct. 1824. Snuff: *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 42.

<sup>33</sup> Paidophilean: Shuttleworth explained that 'the emergence of scientific child study brought with it a whole new range of Latinate vocabulary to create an aura of greater dignity': Sally Shuttleworth, 'Tickling babies', in Geoffrey Cantor, Gowan Dawson, Graeme Gooday, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth, and Jonathan R. Topham (eds.) *Science in the nineteenth century periodical* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p. 292, n.67. Elliptical method: Phillip McCann and Francis A. Young, *Samuel Wilderspin and the infant school movement* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 149. S. Wilderspin, *Infant education* (London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1825) p. 285. For Black's method see also *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 166.

<sup>34</sup> MBv1, 7 Nov. 1825. *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 186.

mother who ‘armed her vassals at her own expence, and personally led a little army to assert the rights of royalty’ during the Revolution. Dufief proudly asserted that his father was ‘a knight of the royal and military order of St Louis’ and ‘was one of the last and warmest defenders among the nobles of Brittany.’ Dufief himself escaped France at the age of sixteen. For him, the French Revolution was an ‘awful lesson given by an all-wise Teacher to sovereigns and to nations!’ The LMI members had to wade through these opening pages before getting to the French instruction.<sup>35</sup>

Dufief supplied the book to the Institution at 15s on the condition that it was sold to the members at 18s. The 3s profit went to advertising and towards ‘paying for the extra gas light required for the class’. Announcing that those who wanted to learn by Dufief’s system ‘have now that opportunity by becoming members of the LMI’, the advertisement served as a membership drive.<sup>36</sup> These new members would also have to pay 18s for the book. Thus the Institution did well out of the deal, however badly the members fared.

Dufief’s charge does not seem to have reduced the numbers taking the class – but this may have been because new members were joining solely to take Dufief’s class. Long-standing LMI members complained about the price of his book.<sup>37</sup> In fact, the increase in new members joining in September 1827 may be partly down to Dufief’s class. In July 1827, the class was moved into the theatre, ostensibly because it had become too large even for the large classroom under the theatre. In September 1827, the class was reported as extending to 200 pupils, and in December 1827 as reaching ‘nearly 300’ (which would have made it one of the largest classes ever at the institute). But there were other reasons why the class needed to move. The school room under the theatre was an unpleasant place. In the Spring of 1826, a gun-maker had had to withdraw from a drawing class because the ‘cold and damp state of the school room’ made him ill.<sup>38</sup> The French aristocrat Dufief would probably not have been pleased to teach in such an environment. Equally the committee men would have preferred new members’ first experience of the LMI to be in the theatre, rather than in a dismal basement.

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<sup>35</sup> MBv2, 23 Apr. 1827. *MM*, 7 (1827), p. 181. N. G. Dufief, *Nature displayed in her mode of teaching language to man* (London: the author, 1819), pp. v, xxii.

<sup>36</sup> MBv2, 1 Oct. 1827. *The Times*, 6 Aug. 1827.

<sup>37</sup> *MM*, 7, (1827), p. 181.

<sup>38</sup> MBv2, 25 Jun., 2 Jul., 24 Sep. 1827. *John Bull*, 3 Dec. 1827. Damp: MBv1, 10 Apr. 1826.



In March 1828, when Dufief started a new course, the advertisement was changed. Now people could attend Dufief's class without joining the LMI on payment of 12s, to be split between the Institution and himself.<sup>39</sup> Does charging non-members 12s rather than directing them to join the Institution (where their 12s could have bought them much more than a French course) suggest that Dufief envisaged students who would not want to belong to the LMI? An influx of external students for Dufief's course could explain why, after his classes finished, there were only sixty students accommodated in the next French class.

Showing just how eclectic the LMI management was in its choice of teachers, they decided to replace the royalist Dufief with the socialist P. O. Skene in December 1828. And within four months of starting his French classes, Skene was arranging to hire the theatre on behalf of the London Co-operative Society.<sup>40</sup> Skene offered gratuitous classes for a maximum of twenty to thirty pupils so that he could teach each individually. In March 1829, Skene commenced with two classes of thirty pupils each. However, by November the student numbers were too large for Skene to handle and he suggested dividing one of the classes in two, and getting a 'very efficient teacher from among the members of his class to give instruction in one while he instructed in the other'. He would move back and forth between the two rooms to supervise both classes.<sup>41</sup> All the students whom he suggested for this role (and later for covering for himself in his absence), were probably 'not of the working class'. He recommended a solicitor, a gentleman, two clerks, an architect and a goldsmith. In January 1830, Skene stopped teaching.<sup>42</sup>

There are indications of a shift in the social class of the members taking and teaching French. Of the six members who are known to have been involved in Black's original course or interested in his class, five were 'working class': a typefounder, a teinter, a printer, a jeweller and William Jones the plumber who taught one of the classes. Aside from the teinter, who was working class by the nature of his occupation,

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<sup>39</sup> *Atlas*, 2 Mar. 1828.

<sup>40</sup> MBv2, 1 Dec. 1828. See the next chapter for the hiring of the theatre.

<sup>41</sup> QMv1, ff. 364-65. MBv3, 29 Nov. 1829.

<sup>42</sup> MBv3, 19 Oct. 1829, Skene recommended: Jeremiah Sage, architect (MRv2, 154); John Mackenzie, goldsmith (MRv2, 66); Thomas Leddra, clerk (MRv2, 1476). MBv3, 11 Jan. 1829, Skene recommended: John Beckley, solicitor (MRv2, 4800); Henry Burnett, gentleman (MRv2, 329); Richard Daniel, clerk (MRv2, 4444). MBv3, 25 Jan. 1830.

these men are known to be working class from their position on the committee.<sup>43</sup> The typefounder, Benjamin Pavyer, was listed as ‘working class’. Showing how wealthy ‘working-class’ men could be, Pavyer owned his business – or at least ‘Pavyer and King, letter founders’ was a family business.<sup>44</sup> E. R. Fayerman, the clerk who organised the pupils’ gift to Black, was categorised as ‘not of the working class’.

There is no evidence about individual members who took Dufief’s course so we do not know whether the audience was more genteel. If there was a switch in the social class of members from Black’s to Skene’s class, it could be that the aristocratic Dufief attracted middle-class members. Perhaps he actually put off working men? Whatever the case may be for the French class, there is no evidence of any shift in the LMI membership as a whole. Working-class members were active in other classes throughout the period.

### **Architectural drawing and perspective school**

The drawing school opened just after the committee hired teacher Christopher Davy on 16 May 1825 at £31.10 per annum. A month later, Davy joined the LMI as a member.<sup>45</sup> Davy’s *MM* and *RAS* articles (in the form of drawings and explanations) clarify the seminal role of drawing at the heart of the LMI’s mission. His subjects ranged from steam engine improvements to bridge construction, from perspective drawing to church building.<sup>46</sup>

Being able to draw well was vitally important for prospective patentees. How else could they explain their innovations and improvements? George Thurnell (the working-class jeweller who took the French class and went off to teach at an Infant

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<sup>43</sup> Hole, *Essay*, p. 170: factory operators divided into two classes: tenters (or teinters) ‘who only tend ... the material as it passes through the various machines’ and the ‘over lookers’ who supervise. The teinter, Thomas Pearsall (MRv1, 123), withdrew from the French class to take drawing: *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 333. John Langston (MRv1, 3943) was a ‘working-class’ printer elected to the Sep. 1827 committee; he donated a copy of Black’s book (MBv2, 1 Jan. 1828). The jeweller, George Thurnell (MRv1, 255), was nominated but not elected: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 246. Thurnell took Black’s French class: Hill, *National*, p. 216.

<sup>44</sup> Pavyer (MRv1, 763) was nominated but not elected to the committee: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 246. Pavyer distributed cards on French genders: MBv1, 16 May 1825. Critchett and Woods, *The Post Office London directory for 1825* (London: the proprietors, 1825), p. 306.

<sup>45</sup> MBv1, 16 May 1825. MRv1, 2433.

<sup>46</sup> *MM*, 7 (1827): perspective, pp. 168, 303; vaulting, p. 241; steam engines, pp. 304, 337, 354, 385. *MM*, 12 (1830): bridges, p. 1. *RAS*, 4 (1827): Perkin’s engine: pp. 450- 54; London Bridge, p. 439-41.

School) came up against a similar problem when he tried to explain to Birkbeck an improvement he envisaged for a hydraulic engine. His drawing was ‘so badly executed’ that Birkbeck could not understand it and recommended Thurnell learn mechanical drawing and perspective.<sup>47</sup> Luckily the LMI provided the class. Drawing also ‘enabled several members to render their labours more useful to their employers and more productive to themselves and their families’. Another advantage of the drawing school was that the students could save the Institution money by undertaking assignments to produce the diagrams needed to illustrate the lectures (a suggestion made by a member draftsman). The Institution would no longer need to pay outsiders.<sup>48</sup>

But although there were so many advantages to the members’ learning how to draw, the drawing school got underway rather slowly in comparison with the French class. This may have been due in part to French’s popularity and the fact that the French classes had already usurped the only large classroom (the back room on the second floor). At the September 1825 quarterly meeting, Thomas Pearsall, a teinter, commented that he had withdrawn from the French class in order to join the drawing class only to find that ‘the room was crowded with pupils almost to suffocation, and could not accommodate more’.<sup>49</sup> At this point, therefore, French and drawing were running concurrently and French had priority on the large room. Fortunately, the committee was able announce that the room below the theatre was almost ready and ‘would be fitted up as a school-room as soon as possible’ to ‘accommodate at least 90 pupils’.<sup>50</sup> This large basement room was first used on 5 January 1826 when the French class moved in. The drawing class was finally able to use it by April 1826.<sup>51</sup> But the room was not all the drawing students hoped for. ‘Suffocating’ in one of the upstairs rooms might have been preferable to the dank basement.

Although the drawing class started off more slowly than the French class, it probably rivalled it in the numbers of members who had taken its classes by 1830. In June 1826, Peter Christie undertook to teach a third class of forty members. And two months later, Davy reported that his classes had nearly doubled. This could mean he

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<sup>47</sup> Hill, *National*, p. 216.

<sup>48</sup> QMv1, f. 217. Diagrams: MBv2, 29 Oct. 1827.

<sup>49</sup> *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 333.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> French: *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 315. Drawing: MBv2, 10 Apr. 1826.

had up to eighty members in each.<sup>52</sup> In March 1827, the committee admitted that it had not been able to cope adequately with the numbers of men who wanted to take drawing. Christie formulated a new plan to rationalise what was taught and to provide efficiently for more pupils. Christie's plan was for four streamed classes with people moving up from one to the next. The first class would be devoted to 'practicable geometry and the rudiments of perspective'; the second to 'architectural drawing'; the third to the 'application of perspective to architectural drawing'; the fourth to 'ornamental and constructive drawing with other subjects connected with mechanical arts'. Six months were to be appropriated to each class so that all classes could conclude at the same time and members could switch from one to another. The committee accepted the plan and the streamed classes began in July 1827.<sup>53</sup>

From the start, the introductory class was taught gratuitously by members, while Davy ran the remaining classes. The members who offered to teach were mostly 'working class'. All the gratuitous teachers were also on the management committee at some point. The five members who taught the introductory drawing class could have been a microcosm of the membership at large, in as much as their backgrounds and strengths were very different.

Andrew Pritchard, who taught the introductory class from 22 March 1827 to 23 July 1827, was recorded in the Register first as an optician. This was later crossed out with mechanical-draftsman written in. He was only twenty when he joined as one of the first members (MRv1, 364). Elected to the committee, Pritchard was defined as 'not-of-the-working class'. Like Hetherington, he had an apprentice who was a member. Within a few years, Pritchard was feted as the inventor of the diamond microscope, and famous enough to find his way into the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Pritchard was a Sandemanian who became a Unitarian.<sup>54</sup>

Henry Poole, a 'working-class' mason, taught the class from 31 July 1827 to January 1828. He was also one of the first members (MRv1, 119). When he won an LMI prize for an essay on the pendulum in 1829, Birkbeck told the assembled company that Poole was 'an operative, who, when he became a member of the Institute, had

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<sup>52</sup> Christie: *LMR*, 4 (1826), pp. 107-108. Davy: MBv2, 14 Aug. 1826.

<sup>53</sup> QMv1, f. 202. Plan: MBv2, 19 Mar. 1827; QMv1, ff. 217-18; MBv2, 2 Jul. 1827.

<sup>54</sup> Samuel Shaker was listed as Pritchard's apprentice: MRv1, 4073. B. B. Woodward, 'Pritchard, Andrew (1804-1882)', *ODNB*. Diamond: *MM*, 7 (1827), pp. 284-85.

hardly a definite idea of what was meant by geometry, and knew nothing of the philosophical meaning of mechanics'. Now Poole wanted to become a mathematics teacher. Such was Poole's enthusiasm for teaching the geometrical drawing class in 1827-8, that he created a textbook for his drawing students to follow.<sup>55</sup>

George Toppie, a draftsman, was categorised in March 1827 as 'working class' and in September 1828 as 'not-of-the-working class'. Teacher of the class from January 1828 to July 1828, he appears to have had more responsibility on the management committee than either Pritchard or Poole. During the roof crisis, Toppie was a member of the special subcommittee to monitor the roof, and deal with the repairs. He produced a drawing of the problem girder for the special general meeting in February 1828. Toppie's wide-ranging duties included investigating the propriety of buying additional premises in Northumberland Court next to the theatre. He donated drawings worth over £15 to the Institution.<sup>56</sup>

Richard Botham was a 'working-class' cabinet-maker. That he was short of funds may surmised from the fact that he earned 4s a week checking tickets at the entrance to the theatre. Yet, like many members, Botham donated his craftsman's skills for free. He helped to mount the theatre doors and donated four days' service in carpentry which included putting up shelves in the apparatus rooms for the geological specimens. Botham's commitment to the drawing class is reflected in his donating a collection of shapes ('several solids such as cubes, prisms, pyramids') and drawing instruments used in the class: a 'compass with two heads, a cross for drawing the ellipse, a wheel for drawing the cycloid ...' After teaching the class for a year, Botham became so ill (in July 1829) that he announced that he was moving to the country for a month. How unusual was such a move for a 'working-class' cabinet-maker?<sup>57</sup>

The final teacher member (in our period) was William Farmer, a twenty-year-old 'working-class' engineer, who had joined the LMI when he was eighteen. His election to the management committee when he was twenty years old caused consternation among some of the older members who complained that mere boys were being elected. But these complaints were brushed aside, and Farmer fulfilled his role

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<sup>55</sup> Birkbeck: *Examiner*, 6 Dec. 1829. Textbook: MBv2, 4 Aug. 1828.

<sup>56</sup> MRv1, 4323. Roof: MBv2, 27 Aug. 1827 and 4 Feb. 1828. Northumberland: *ibid.*, 24 Nov. 1828. Donation: *ibid.*, 20 Jun. 1828.

<sup>57</sup> MRv1, 3781. Door: MRv2, 28 Jul. 1828. Carpentry: *ibid.*, 26 Nov. 1827. Donation: *ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1828. Ill: *ibid.*, 3 Aug. 1829.

admirably. (Pritchard, who was twenty-two when he became a committee man, escaped censure – presumably because he was two years older and not because he was of a different class.) In June 1830, Farmer was made an honorary member for teaching as well as for making and donating instruments to the Institution.<sup>58</sup>

Thus these drawing teachers represented a cross section of active members: a ‘not-of-the-working-class’ inventor, a mason who hoped to become a maths teacher, a draftsman knowledgeable in architecture, a ‘working-class’ craftsman, and a young engineer.

After drawing and French, English appears to have been the subject most in demand. How a man spoke and wrote was often equated with his position in society – an elitism which was attacked by radicals like Horne Tooke.<sup>59</sup> Perhaps to speak and write well brought similar advantages to those Place found resulted from speaking even ‘imperfect’ French. The centrality of English writing was recognised in the Fellows’ prizes. Two annual £10 awards were established by Reverend Robert Fellowes in December 1825: ‘one for the best model of any new or improved machine; the other, for the best essay on one of the mechanical powers’.<sup>60</sup> (Poole won an essay prize.) Fellowes was an unusual reverend: he had lost his faith and, in 1799, had published an address to the people on the ‘Genius of Democracy’. His prizes were prestigious awards. They were regularly presented by the Duke of Sussex and often led to further patronage and publicity.

During the period, there were three conventional English classes and three taught on the basis of mutual instruction (discussed at the end of the next section). Starting in January 1826, the first conventional class focussed on English grammar. It was taught by Samuel Preston, a ‘not-of-the-working-class’ teacher on the committee. Two months into Preston’s class, the committee organised a ‘school for the instruction of writing’ under John Collins Jun. (the son of the arithmetic teacher). Sixty members

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<sup>58</sup> MRv2, 1690. Election: MBv2, 8 Sep. 1828; *MM*, 10 (1829), pp. 320, 336, 352. Honorary: MBv3, 21 Jun. 1830. At the June 1825 quarterly meeting, it had finally been agreed that any person who gave a course of not less than six lectures or a donation to the value of £10 in money or £15 in books, apparatus, etc. would become an honorary member: LMR, 2 (1825), p. 93

<sup>59</sup> Roy Porter, *Enlightenment* (London: Allen Lane, 2000), p. 460.

<sup>60</sup> LMR, 3 (1826), p. 126. Faith: Joseph McCabe, *A biographical dictionary of modern rationalists* (London: Watts and Co, 1920), pp. 246-47. Democracy: George Holyoake, *The history of co-operation*, vol.1 (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), p. 116.

joined immediately and the class continued until September 1828.<sup>61</sup> Preston's class, however, ended due to lack of interest. Perhaps Preston's students transferred into Collins' class.

In January 1829, Thomas Holmes, a 'working-class' shoe-maker, started a grammar class at the request of his fellow members.<sup>62</sup> Holmes's writing skills had been recognised with a Fellowes prize for his essay on the lever. Although he 'was a perfect stranger in London, and was entirely destitute of capital' when he joined as one of the first members, by March 1827 Holmes was able not only to pay his subscription annually but also to fund the printing of his award-winning essay. The LMI committee magnanimously allowed him to publish under the auspices of the Institution. Ten years later, Holmes commented that he owed his success in a business 'of the highest respectability' purely to his LMI membership.<sup>63</sup>

Another popular course was Maurice Garvey's architectural and ornamental modelling begun in August 1828. Within four months, 'applicants for admission became so numerous as to render it necessary to divide it and Mr Garvey liberally gave his attendance two evenings in the week'.<sup>64</sup> Garvey is another LMI member who provides insights into working men's interests and activities – and the value of LMI membership. He surfaces first in September 1825 when he was writing to the *MM* from Birmingham. At that point, referring to himself as a 'humble mechanic', he was responding to another correspondent who was querying whether a brass picture frame might serve the function of a gilt and carved one. Garvey used his letter – and the *MM* was happy for him to do so – to advertise that he was setting up 'patterns for that purpose' and would soon be able to furnish any *MM* reader with such a frame 'in a superior style' made to any size or design. Garvey moved to London, and joined the LMI in June 1826.<sup>65</sup>

Like the LMI whitesmith John Johnson who gained the front cover of the *MM* for his plan for a tunnel under the Thames, Garvey was fascinated by the engineering

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<sup>61</sup> Preston: MRv1, 303. *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 315; 'Lack', MBv2, 5 Jun. 1826. Collins: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 107.

<sup>62</sup> MRv1, 120. MBv2, 24 Nov. 1828.

<sup>63</sup> Prize: the winner was wrongly identified as Thomas Oldham in *MM*, 6 (1827), p. 527, but correctly as Holmes in *RAS*, 4 (1827), pp. 293-94. Printing: MBv2, 1 Mar. 1827. Hill, *National*, p. 203 ('respectability').

<sup>64</sup> MBv2, 25 Aug. 1828. QMv1, f. 349.

<sup>65</sup> *MM*, 4 (1825), p. 378. MRv1, 4713.

feat of building an under-water tunnel. In 1827, when Brunel was having problems with water breaching the tunnel, Garvey (along with 400 others) sent the engineer of the Thames Tunnel Company a suggestion. ‘One of the best plans’, Brunel reported, was ‘sent to him by a poor cobbler, who, for want of any thing better, closed the letter containing its description with cobblers’ wax.’ This was Garvey. The *RAS* clarified that ‘this ingenious man is an active and useful member of the Committee of the London Mechanics’ Institution, and is by profession (not a “poor cobbler,” but) a clever and intelligent modeller.’ Garvey’s position at the LMI legitimated his standing in society.

Garvey taught modelling until the summer of 1829, when it was taken over by another member, William Boustead, a carpenter. J. Otton, a member carver, suggested streaming the modelling pupils into a junior and senior classes. His offer to superintend the junior class was accepted.<sup>66</sup>

### **Mutual instruction**

The first mutual instruction class in mechanics (May 1826) launched what Birkbeck called ‘the Practical School of Mechanics’. In his speech to the members about the class, Birkbeck stressed the importance of ‘mechanical talent ... [being] properly excited’. Although the rhetoric at the LMI’s preliminary meetings suggested that encouraging inventors was part of its original purpose, the Institution had not (until that point) provided any hands-on opportunities for the members to work on, improve, or indeed invent machines. The LMI had been criticised from the start for not making invention a priority. Recommendations in 1823 (by the pseudonymous ‘G. D. B.’) for a laboratory/workshop-based institution, designed to help inventors with advice, financial support and publicity, were believed to have been bypassed. As ‘T. H.’ put it at the same time, ‘this really useful design [of patronising the inventions of humble mechanics] appears to be overlooked by the projectors of the Mechanics’ Institute’.<sup>67</sup> Later commentators and historians did not focus on encouraging invention as an LMI activity.

Certainly the LMI managers’ first actions were to provide lectures. But, in fairness to them, it took time to get the facilities organised to allow the members hands-

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<sup>66</sup> Boustead: MRv2, 4451; MBv2, 20 Mar. 1829. Otton: MRv2, 4585; MBv2, 6 Apr. 1829.

<sup>67</sup> Birkbeck: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 87. *LJAS*, 6 (1823), pp. 315 (‘G. D. B.’), 323 (‘T. H.’).



on experience. In November 1825, in his first lecture on inventions, Birkbeck proclaimed that the purposes of the LMI would not be ‘completely attained’ until the theatre was filled with the inventions of the members, and the Institution was able to help the members disseminate their inventions ‘through the community’.<sup>68</sup>

Workshops, a chemistry laboratory and an apparatus room (open to the members) were essential before practical instruction could commence. As soon as the lecture theatre was built (July 1825), the committee focussed on opening the apparatus room and allocating space for a laboratory. It took several months to clear the debris of the building works, and it was not until January 1826 that the committee men were able to open the apparatus room. They had, however, started amassing instruments as soon as the Institution was founded. Not only were there many donations, but in March 1824 the managers spent 250 guineas on ‘apparatus, machinery and models’, which was still ‘very far short of their real value’. The management also had ‘mechanical apparatus’ made for the Institution, and in September 1825 reported that ‘considerable additions [had been made] to the Pneumatic and Hydraulic parts of the apparatus, as well as to the illustrative diagrams in general’.<sup>69</sup>

In January 1825, the committee had appointed Thomas Bluett, a ‘working-class’ musical-instrument-maker, to the post of apparatus keeper. (Bluett had been on the first committee.) His duties included not only organising and cataloguing the apparatus, but also preparing experiments for lectures and demonstrating many of the mechanical devices. He was hired initially at fifty guineas per annum (later suggested to be increased to 100 guineas) to ‘keep order’ in what the committee called ‘this valuable part of your property’.<sup>70</sup> The members came to consider Bluett’s knowhow essential to their use of the apparatus room. They complained vociferously when the committee decided to let Bluett go as part of a cost-cutting exercise.<sup>71</sup>

In July 1825, the committee allocated the basement room under the library (adjacent to the large classroom below the theatre) to the chemical laboratory. The

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<sup>68</sup> *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 83.

<sup>69</sup> Moving into Southampton Buildings: *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 331. Regulations for apparatus room: MBv1, 26 Dec. 1825. Donations: *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 219. *LMR*, 2 (1825) p. 331.

<sup>70</sup> MRv1, 501. Hired, duties: *LMR* 2 (1825), p. 92. Salary: MBv1, 17 Oct. 1825.

<sup>71</sup> Memorials to retain Bluett’s services: MBv1, 12 Feb. 1827 ff. On the theatre building committee, Bluett resigned in disagreement with McWilliam’s use of his innovative truss (which ultimately failed): QMv1, ff. 278-79.

managers boasted that ‘some of the first practical chemists in the metropolis’ had given ‘their opinions respecting the best mode of fitting it up and constructing the Furnaces etc’. Five months later, the committee had kitted out two rooms in the basement to serve as experimental workshops. The management invited members ‘to come forward, and assist in manufacturing tools for the equipment’. The secretary had ‘a list of the articles principally wanted’.<sup>72</sup>

By the time Birkbeck announced the practical school, the Institution had started to build a reputation for showcasing inventions. In March 1825 Birkbeck and the committee arranged a demonstration in the theatre (which was still under construction) of John Roberts’ hood and mouth equipment to protect firemen from smoke inhalation. The demonstrations were dramatic and not surprisingly garnered publicity. After a noxious smoke including sulphur dioxide gas had been created, Bluett entered the chamber on his hands and knees to ‘supply more combustibles’ (wet hay and shavings) only to be ‘driven out, apparently half suffocated by the fumes of the burning materials.’ However Roberts in his hood device was able to remain in the room for ‘exactly thirty-six minutes’. 150 gentlemen attended the first demonstration which was covered in the *LMR* and the *Courier*. A second demonstration was given a week later for such dignitaries as Major General Ogg, Professor Van Breda of Ghent, Sir Peter Laurie, and Mr. Pettigrew, surgeon to the Duke of Sussex. Several representatives of the Society of Arts were present at both demonstrations. The LMI’s sponsorship was crowned with success when ‘the unassuming inventor’ received a silver medal and fifty guineas from the Society of Arts. (William Jones, the working-class plumber who presided over the French class, was Roberts’ agent for the sale of his mouthpiece.)<sup>73</sup>

In May 1826, the LMI could truly foster ‘humble genius’, and was ready to open the practical school. It had the equipment, the space, the expertise, the publicity machine, and the managers were building a reputation for aiding inventors.

Mutual instruction was the teaching method employed in the new school. The term implies that the students would be in charge of their own instruction. But too much autonomy might smack of a debating society – an association which the management was at pains to avoid. The committee’s first mention of mutual instruction

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<sup>72</sup> Laboratory: MBv1, 13 Jul. 1825. *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 331. Workshops: *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 124.

<sup>73</sup> First: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 362. *Courier*, 26 Mar. 1825. Second: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 370. Jones: *LMR* May 1825, p. 15. Medal: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 430. Birkbeck claimed some credit for Robert’s success: *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 185.

came amid signs of trepidation. It was only after ‘very mature deliberation’ that the management decided to offer mutual instruction classes. If mutual instruction meant that the members met unsupervised, the committee’s caution is understandable. As the *Quarterly Review* asserted in 1825: ‘Men who come together, professedly to discuss the mystery of their own craft, may digress into the mystery of politics, or the more serious mysteries of religion.’ In 1825, the *LMR* reported that in France, ‘the Minister of the Interior, has, in his wisdom, suppressed all the schools of mutual instruction’.<sup>74</sup>

Indeed the evidence suggests that the committee was opposed to letting members congregate without responsible supervision. In February 1825, Robert Clarke, (the clerk who demanded an investigation into the poor state of the roof and joined the campaign against letting the theatre for political purposes) recommended opening a conversation room. Although keen to support the members’ requests for classes, the committee refused to move on this suggestion. Six months later, sixty-nine members, led by the ‘working-class’ watch-maker D. E. Wheeler, petitioned for a conversation room. The theatre had just opened and space for various classes was at a premium. Whether space could have been found for a conversation room or not, the committee responded that ‘for want of rooms’ they could not oblige.<sup>75</sup> In June 1827, when Hetherington suggested ‘monthly discussions be held in theatre on history, literature and natural philosophy open to all members’, John Ethell, a ‘working-class’ paper-hanger, wrote that he ‘feared’ such meetings ‘would be attended with injurious effects to interests of the Institute’. The plan was rejected. While the committee was concerned about the lack of supervision, members were wary of giving away trade secrets – or (as the ‘working-class’ jeweller George Thurnell put it) enabling ‘their masters ... to pick their brains as they do their bones’.<sup>76</sup>

So where did the idea of mutual instruction in mechanics come from? Charles Lane, described by Armytage as a Pestalozzian, was the instigator.<sup>77</sup> Pestalozzi’s emphasis was ‘on the conception of natural growth. Development is likened to a growing tree, and the educator to the gardener.’<sup>78</sup> The principle Lane probably stressed

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<sup>74</sup> ‘Mature’: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 108. [Sumner and Coleridge], ‘Mechanics’, p. 414. *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 170.

<sup>75</sup> MBv1, 21 Feb., 1 Aug. 1825. Wheeler: MRv1, 444.

<sup>76</sup> MBv2, 25 Jun. 1827. Thurnell: Hill, *National*, p. 216.

<sup>77</sup> MBv1, 15 May 1826. Armytage, *Heavens*, p. 138.

<sup>78</sup> Silber, *Pestalozzi*, p. 242.

(in recommending the classes be taught by mutual instruction) was self-motivation. The goal was to let the student develop at his own pace in an environment which allowed him to stray off the set lesson and explore questions which interested him.

Although Lane managed to introduce a ‘mutual instruction’ mechanics class in May 1826, it was only gradually that the term came to mean self-taught. In fact it was not until the mutual instruction chemistry class (instigated by Lane six months later) and English classes (organised by Lane and Hetherington in July 1827) that the pupils were actually in charge of the lessons. The first mechanics class was under the supervision of Samuel Preston, the ‘not-of-the-working-class’ school teacher. The subject matter derived from Charles Toplis’s mechanics lectures which were running concurrently.<sup>79</sup> (The surgeon Toplis was an active and committed vice-president from March 1828 to 1839.<sup>80</sup>) After each lecture, Toplis’s equipment and experiments were left out for the students to study. The men made models of the apparatus and sought to come up with improvements to the machinery. In announcing the class, Birkbeck stated that the goal was to excite ‘mechanical talent’.<sup>81</sup> Thus the members were not just on the receiving end of a set curriculum. Although they remained under Preston’s supervision, the students gained a larger degree of independence.

The chemistry mutual instruction class was run by the bookseller C. J. Reader. Although he was categorised as ‘working class’, his father was able to get pieces published in the fashionable *Literary Gazette*, possibly because he was a distributor of the journal. (‘Working class’ was not synonymous with lack of influence.)<sup>82</sup> The chemistry class operated along lines more easily associated with mutual improvement. Firstly, Reader himself was not a teacher or expert; he was on a par with his fellow students. The class had ‘full use’ of the apparatus room and it appears that Bluett, the apparatus keeper, was the students’ main source of knowledge. Certainly, the students were dismayed when Bluett was dismissed. Secondly, the classes were run by the

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<sup>79</sup> Chemistry: MBv2, 14 Aug. 1826. For English classes, see below. Preston: MBv1, 15 May 1826.

<sup>80</sup> MRv1, 1690. 1839: Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 135.

<sup>81</sup> Lane explained how the class would work: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 77. Birkbeck also explained: *ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>82</sup> MRv1, 209. Reader informed the committee that his father could get ‘short notices of the proceedings of the Institute’ into the *Literary Gazette* (MBv3, 5 Jan. 1829). The *Gazette* was founded in 1817, as a “‘puffing journal’” by a ‘fashionable West End publisher’: Topham, ‘Limbird’, p. 83. The booksellers who distributed the *Gazette* often had a financial stake in it: Beverly E. Schneller ‘Jerdan, William (1782-1869)’, *ODNB*.

pupils. Each member in rotation, took the ‘office of lecturer and either read a portion of a Text Book (Henry’s *Chemistry*) selected by the class’ or prepared ‘an original lecture’. Charles Reader organised similar mutual instruction classes in experimental philosophy and mineralogy.<sup>83</sup>

That these mutual instruction classes inspired student autonomy is confirmed by an exchange which took place between the committee and Reader. The background to the controversy was two fold. Firstly, mutual instruction students paid over and above their subscription unlike the students in most of the conventional classes. Readers’ chemistry class paid for lighting and heating the room – as though they were renting the facility.<sup>84</sup> Whether these charges were levied purely to raise money or were part of Lane’s strategy to encourage independence cannot be determined. Secondly, the management liked to keep tabs on the classes to see what the students were up to. The Minute Books show that in September 1827 Reader complained that the committee was spying on the chemistry class by sending a member to observe its activities. The committee responded by lifting the charges on the room (presumably to give it the right to snoop). Reader replied that the class preferred to pay. He wrote that the committee’s resolution respecting ‘the warming and lighting of the laboratory would be productive of confusion in the chemical class’. But the committee maintained its position. It seems likely that the charging ceased and the committee felt able to visit the class when it wanted.<sup>85</sup> (Interestingly when the Latin mutual instruction class was launched in March 1828, the committee did not require the students to pay for heating and lighting’.<sup>86</sup> Presumably they wanted to be able to monitor the class without facing any show of independence.)

Lane not only introduced the mechanics and chemistry mutual instruction

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<sup>83</sup> Organisation of class: MBv2, 4 Dec. 1826. *Chemistry*: QMv1, f. 341. Bluett: MBv2, 12 Feb. 1827. Experimental philosophy: MBv2, 11 Feb. 1828, 14 Jul. 1828. Mineralogy: MBv2, 16 Mar. 1829.

<sup>84</sup> MBv2, 4 Dec. 1826.

<sup>85</sup> MBv2: 3, 10 Sep., 18 Nov. 1827.

<sup>86</sup> QMv2, f. 291. In 1827, the clerk J. L. Grover (MRv1, 4769) led a petition to start a mutual instruction class in Latin (MBv2, 8 Oct. 1827). Latin had been recommended to the committee sporadically over the years. Lane, a Latin reader himself, recommended Bacon’s *Novum Organum* as the ‘Mechanics’ Bible’ to the members, although he noted that no good translation was available: *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 275. John Lowe Wheeler introduced Latin terms into his LMI botany lectures: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 323. Skene, secretary of the Co-operative Society, offered to teach the members Latin: MBv2, 1 Dec. 1828. When the committee men instituted the class they commented that it ‘will be useful to a great number of the members who may not exercise mechanical trades’: QMv1, f. 258.

classes, he taught an advanced mutual instruction class in grammar (1827).<sup>87</sup> Whereas a mutual instruction class in grammar was uncontroversial, Hetherington's suggestion of mutual instruction in composition was warily received in May 1829. The problem was the topics that the members might address. Given his experience of failing to establish monthly discussions on history, literature and natural philosophy (turned down in June 1827), Hetherington this time got together a petition requesting a mutual instruction class which would include 'literary composition'. When the management committee came to consider Charles Lane's rules for the class, they also had before them a letter from W. Ford (probably the 'working-class' warehouseman previously on the committee) requesting that 'no subject except that of English Grammar' should be included in the class. After 'a discussion of considerable length', Lane's rules were finally passed, but with the proviso that there could be no religious or political topics. Lane's and Hetherington's radical connections suggest that they would have been disappointed by the ruling. The committee had already limited the number of pupils who could attend to 'not more than thirty'.<sup>88</sup>

Once the class was up and running the management committee was proud of it. The September 1829 Quarterly Report described how composition was taught: 'Each member in rotation prepares & reads to the Class an Essay, a subject previously agreed upon by the Class, & after the Essay has been read, the Members of the Class generally proceed to discuss the subject in three points of view; first as to the matter or sentiments contained in the essay; secondly as to the style or language employed; & lastly as to his manner of communication or his elocution.'<sup>89</sup>

In fact, the committee was particularly pleased with the way mutual instruction classes encouraged members to think for themselves. They stated that LMI facilities were 'greatly advanced by a mental & moral energy, prevailing only where circumscribed forms, & immoveable orders, have neither suppressed nor sophisticated the free efforts of the mind.' They attributed that energy specifically to their mutual instruction classes.<sup>90</sup> But this liberating approach was not limited to the classroom. As

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<sup>87</sup> MBv2, 13, 20 Aug. 1827. Andrew Pritchard notified the committee that Lane's class was over: *ibid.*, 17 Dec. 1827.

<sup>88</sup> Petition: MBv2, 18 May 1829. Ford's concern: *ibid.*, 15 Jun. 1829. 'Thirty': *ibid.*, 26 May 1829.

<sup>89</sup> QMv1, f. 397.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 407.

the following chapter explores, many LMI lecturers encouraged the members to test scientific assertions for themselves and to take nothing on trust no matter how authoritatively it might be presented.

## The LMI lectures

Various claims have been made about lectures at mechanics' institutes, but no one has actually studied the content of the lectures. This first analysis of the content has been facilitated by the growing availability and ease of access to the artisan and technological journals of the 1820s. Historians have generally pointed to the range of topics (mechanics, chemistry, hydrostatics, etc) and then drawn conclusions about the contents based on general views of the movement. Derived either from contemporary nineteenth-century sources or later accounts, these views were based on assumptions about the social function of the movement. Shapin and Barnes' 'Science, nature and control: interpreting mechanics' institutes' and Maxine Berg's *The machinery question and the making of political economy* provide two particularly detailed accounts.<sup>1</sup> They are based on the principle that the middle classes took over the institutes in an attempt to inculcate certain values in the minds of working-class men.

Although Berg and Shapin and Barnes were analysing the mechanics' institute movement as a whole, it is useful to use their analytical frameworks to get a handle on how the LMI defined and presented knowledge. Shapin and Barnes believed that generally the lecturers at the institutes taught only 'pure' rather than 'applied' science, even though they employed 'utilitarian rhetoric' praising the artisan inventor.<sup>2</sup> Imbued with natural theology, these God-given principles were presented as knowledge which

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<sup>1</sup> Berg, *The machinery question* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 145-78.

<sup>2</sup> Shapin and Barnes, 'Science', pp. 48-49.

Flexner, *London Mechanics' Institution*, ch. 7, p. 184



was not to be questioned. Their argument was that the middle-class patrons and managers wanted a docile workforce and felt this subject matter was the best way to influence the workers to behave.<sup>3</sup> Agreeing on the middle-class goal, Berg nevertheless asserted the opposite: the institutes claimed to teach theory but in fact dealt only in practical science. For both accounts, the empty claim was made to entice working men. Berg's argument was that radical working men wanted to be properly educated (in theoretical science) so as to compete with their 'betters', whereas the middle-class managers did not want to share such knowledge. In Shapin and Barnes' account, the men wanted to learn 'clearly useful knowledge' but employers wanted to guard that knowledge for themselves.<sup>4</sup> Although Berg disagreed with Shapin and Barnes as to what was taught, she agreed that the purpose of the education was to produce better workers. For Berg, this was a new class of worker to run the new machinery.<sup>5</sup>

Colin Russell's account in *Science and social change* offered a different analysis. He believed that science was taught for its progressive value. The advance of science demonstrated how each generation improved on the theories, discoveries and inventions of their forebears.<sup>6</sup> To support Russell's view, LMI lecturers would have needed to portray science as adaptable and constantly evolving.

Berg's, Russell's and Shapin and Barnes' analyses provide useful signposts for the following discussion of LMI lecture content between February 1824 and October 1826. This cut-off date was determined by the end of the *London Mechanics' Register's* run.

The *LMR* is the primary source for lecture content. Before the journal started in November 1824, the *Mechanics' Chronicle (MC)* printed abstracts, but it only ran from 28 August – 13 November 1824. Later the *RAS* covered the lectures extensively from mid-1826, although by November 1828 it tended to list the lectures rather than report on their content. (The *MM* did not reproduce abstracts of the lectures beyond Birkbeck's February 1824 inaugural lecture.) These sources have drawbacks. Firstly they did not reproduce the entire lecture. For lectures lasting from an hour to an hour and a half (lectures started at 8.30 pm and the Institution closed at ten), there are

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 32 (social control), 51 (theology).

<sup>4</sup> Berg, *Machinery*, p. 146, 149-51. Shapin and Barnes, 'Science', p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> Berg, *Machinery*, p. 152.

<sup>6</sup> Colin Russell, *Science and Social Change* (London: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 171-73.

Flexner, *London Mechanics' Institution*, ch. 7, p. 185

generally summaries of 2000-2700 words which probably scale up to 15 or 20 minutes.<sup>7</sup> Secondly, they rarely included the audience response (a crucial element of any lecture), although many letters, querying the information conveyed, were printed. The journal's viewpoint naturally influenced what it included in its reports.

As table 7.1 shows, the main topics for lectures in the first three years were inventions, chemistry, mechanics, pneumatics and hydrostatics, electricity, astronomy, and geology. Focussing on shared subject matter across the different lecture series, this chapter examines the ethos of the lectures, and the background assumptions of the lecturers. It does not therefore study the presentation of individual topics whether chemistry or mechanics. It focusses on how the LMI lecturers approached the following areas: theoretical science, practical science, patriotism, natural theology, and political economy.

### **Theoretical science at the LMI**

The belief that mechanics' institutes did not question the basis of science was central to both Berg's and Shapin and Barnes' contention that the institutes were managed by the middle classes for the purpose of controlling the working classes. Shapin and Barnes offered three reasons why knowledge was presented as fixed: working men were not up to abstract thought; working men were not to be encouraged to question the world; and middle-class men wanted to keep useful knowledge to themselves in order to maintain their superior position. Berg took the view that the managers were solely interested in producing a new kind of worker to man the machines and therefore taught only what was practically required to achieve that goal. She believed that only radicals and autodidacts among the working classes – whom she distinguished from the mechanics' institutes' clientele – studied theoretical science.<sup>8</sup>

Whatever the case may have been elsewhere, theoretical science was regularly explained to the LMI mechanics. John Tatum compared the theories of Huygens and Newton on the luminosity of light. Birkbeck discussed 'the expansion of gases during

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<sup>7</sup> *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 8, reported that Cooper concluded his lecture at the usual hour, half-past nine. Other lecturers overran. Birkbeck was criticised for speaking 'considerably beyond an hour': *MM*, 9 (1828), p. 30. Birkbeck's translation of Dupin's address to the Paris mechanics was reproduced in full. Extending over three *LMR* editions, the speech ran to about 10,000 words which probably equates to a seventy-minute speech: *LMR*, 1 (1825), pp. 345-59, 371-75, 386-89.

<sup>8</sup> Shapin and Barnes, 'Science', pp. 46-48, 50-51, 68. Berg, *Machinery*, pp. 169-70.

*Table 7.1: Summary of lectures for which details are available in first three years*

The topics covered between February 1825 and September 1826 are listed chronologically according to the first lecture delivered in the subject area. See appendix L for notes on the lecturers.

**Mechanics (natural philosophy)**

1824: 20 February – 30 April weekly: John Millington, 11 lectures on elementary principles  
 1825: 29 July and 5 August: George Birkbeck, 2 lectures on principles of mechanical science  
 [1825: October: John Millington due to start another mechanics course, but did not do so]  
 1826: 19 May – 11 August: Charles Toplis, 12 lectures on mechanics  
 1826: November: John Millington commenced course on mechanics

**Pneumatics and Hydrostatics**

1824: 15 April: George Birkbeck started course on elastic and inelastic fluids  
 1825: 12 August – 23 September: Charles Frederick Partington, 7 lectures on pneumatics & hydrostatics  
 1825: 21 December – 25 January 1826: John W. Gowring, 6 lectures on pneumatics (plus 1 on magnetism)  
 1826: 27 January – 3 February: John Tatum, 2 lectures on aerostation

**Chemistry**

1824: 21 April – ?June: Richard Phillips, probably 10 lectures  
 1824: 6 October – 12 January 1825: John Thomas Cooper, 13 lectures  
 1825: 26 January, 23 February: John Thomas Cooper's public examinations  
 1825: 6 May – 3 May: George Ogg, on chemical attraction and the chemical properties of common air  
 1825: 30 September – 20 January 1826: John Thomas Cooper, 16 lectures  
 1826: 13 October: John Thomas Cooper, on chemical attraction

**Mathematics and Geometry**

1824: 11 June, 16 July, ?23 July: John Atchen Dotchen two or three lectures erratically spaced

**Inventions: practical mechanics (experimental philosophy)**

1824: 18 and 25 August: George Birkbeck, 2 lectures on the steam engine  
 1825: 20 May: Joseph Jopling on his new invention to draw curvilinear lines  
 1825 15 June: John Lewthwaite on blowpipes  
 1825: 16 and 23 November: George Birkbeck on telescopes and mechanical instruments  
 1826: 9 June: Birkbeck, on the power-loom and machines connected with weaving  
 1826: 18 August – 7 October: George Birkbeck, 8 lectures on mechanical inventions

**Astronomy (natural philosophy)**

1824: 24 September – 15 October: William Newton, 4 lectures on astronomy  
 1825: 27 May – 24 June: John Wallis, 5 lectures on astronomy  
 1826: 5 April – 10 May: John Wallis, 6 lectures, each one given twice in the same week

**Electricity (experimental philosophy)**

1824: 29 October – 24 December: John Tatum, 9 lectures on electricity  
 1825: 30 March – 15 April: George Birkbeck on galvanism, voltaic electricity thermo-electricity  
 1825: 13 April – 8 June: John Lewthwaite, 8 lectures on electricity  
 1826: 24 February – 31 March: John Tatum, 8 lectures on electricity

**Optics (natural philosophy)**

1825: 21 January – 11 February: Charles Frederick Partington, 4 lectures  
 1826: 10 – 17 February: John Tatum, 2 lectures

**Stenography**

1825: January: announced but no record found of its having taken place  
 1825: 22 June: J. Dangerfield

**Phrenology (natural science)**

1825: 2 – 16 February: William Allen, 3 lectures

**Geology and mineralogy**

1825: 18 February – 4 March: George Ogg, 3 lectures on geology  
 1826: 31 May – 12 July: George Ogg, 6 lectures on geology  
 1826: 19 July – 30 August: George Ogg continues with 7 lectures on mineralogy

**Botany (natural science)**

1825: 11 March – 8 April: John Lowe Wheeler, 4 lectures

**Heat (natural philosophy)**

1825: 22 April – 29 April: George Ogg, 2 lectures

**Geography (natural sciences)**

1826: 8 February – 15 March: William Frend, 5 lectures

**Political Economy**

1826: 13 September – 4 October: Thomas Hodgskin, 4 lectures on the productive powers of human labour

**Single lectures:**

Acoustics, George Birkbeck: 1825, 14 January

Winds, George Birkbeck: 1825, 19 January

Mnemonics, John Reynolds: 1825, 16 March

Dupin's lecture to the mechanics of Paris read in translation, George Birkbeck: 1825, 23 March

Classification of Human Knowledge, Charles Lane: 1826, 1 February

combustion'. Charles Toplis expounded on the laws which govern the 'motion of a body through space'. Matthew Allen explained Gall and Spurzheim's theories of phrenology.<sup>9</sup> The argument that only gentlemen could learn abstract science was therefore refuted in practice as it was rhetorically. John Millington affirmed that 'the temple of science was open to every one who chose to employ the labour and perseverance requisite.' There was no distinction between 'head' and 'hand' mentalities. Furthermore, the lecturers rejected the notion that it was subversive to teach working men theoretical science. Referring to 'the supercilious eye of self-imagined superiority', Toplis confessed himself 'at a loss to conceive' how teaching 'the abstract principles of sciences' could 'subvert the order of society'.<sup>10</sup>

Even more interesting, and unexpected, science was sometimes presented as debatable. It could and should be carefully considered before acceptance. John Wallis explained that theories (in his case astronomical theories) were often wrong even when they were successful in explaining events: 'our ancestors predicted decollations and eclipses, though their hypothesis was incorrect.' Theories about the moon's influence on the earth were a current subject of controversy. William Newton did not believe that the weather was affected by the moon and William Frend doubted the moon's ability to alter the tides – although Frend added that people should decide for themselves. Even Isaac Newton was on occasion found wanting. William Newton explained that Isaac Newton, by basing his theory on the discounted belief that the sun was 'actual fire', had miscalculated the heat a comet would experience near the sun. Discussing optics,

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<sup>9</sup> Tatum: *LMR* 3 (1826), p. 281. Birkbeck: *RAS*, 4 (1827), p. 181. Toplis: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 72. Allen: *LMR*, 1 (1825), pp. 232-33. Lewthwaite: *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 118.

<sup>10</sup> Millington: *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 432. Toplis: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 71.

Charles Partington emphasised the conjectural nature of Newton's 'hypothesis'. But this was fair enough because as time passed, men discovered more than philosophers of an earlier period had known. John Lewthwaite drew the obvious but contentious conclusion that current knowledge would also be surpassed: 'in all probability, matter differently modified, or under different circumstances, may possess properties which are yet undiscovered.'<sup>11</sup> This was surely the progressive view of science which Colin Russell expected to find promulgated at mechanics' institutes.

More controversially perhaps, the lecturers openly criticised 'gentlemen high in the scientific world'. Tatum claimed that such gentlemen had denied 'that a balloon would ascend, when inflated with this gas'. They had apparently not realised that there 'there are two kinds of carburetted hydrogen gas, one of which is only about half the weight of atmospheric air.' Birkbeck showed that 'an ingenious and justly esteemed philosopher' had produced an inconsistent theory of matter when he claimed that particles were 'impenetrably hard' and 'infinitely divisible'. Birkbeck continued 'this is in fact saying they are divisible and not divisible at the same time'. Wallis claimed that Dr. Smith based his explanation of why the sun and moon appear larger near the horizon on a 'supposition' contrary to 'a universal fact, in which the most illiterate as well as the most learned concur in opinion'. The *RAS* delighted in denigrating self-declared experts: 'Birkbeck clearly proved, that expansion [of gases] does take place during combustion; a fact which appears to be perseveringly disregarded by persons who profess a perfect acquaintance with the subject.'<sup>12</sup>

Birkbeck praised the 'inquiring spirit of the age' which pervaded 'the whole rational creation'. A recurring theme was that the men should think for themselves. In his phrenological lectures, Allen's goal, he said, was 'to excite every one of you to dig in his own mine, which I assure you is the best, the richest, and the most productive mine in the world'. John Reynolds, George Ogg, Frend, and Tatum all professed their privilege to reach their own conclusions. Reynolds believed that dogs had memories and would continue to do so 'until I have been more fully informed'. Ogg 'did not adopt any particular [geological] theory as his own opinion, but endeavoured to select what was most rational from the whole of them.' Frend claimed that he 'scarcely ever

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<sup>11</sup> Wallis: *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 403. Frend: *ibid.*, p. 203. Newton: *MC*, 1 (1824), pp. 102, 133 ('comet'). Partington: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 197.

<sup>12</sup> *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 118 ('gentlemen'). Birkbeck: *RAS*, 4 (1827), p. 165. Wallis: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 38. *RAS*, 4 (1827), p. 181.

knew an instance of an appeal to the wisdom of our ancestors, except from a want of argument, or for the purpose of supporting some falsehood or trickery.’ He liked to form his own judgements ‘according to the dictates of common sense.’ Tatum also ‘did not like to travel in the beaten road when it might be avoided with advantage.’ If he found that a theory ‘was not supported by facts, he considered himself justified in adopting a different opinion, and raising his own theory on the foundation of direct experiments.’ He encouraged the members of the LMI audience to do the same: if they doubted any of his ‘principles or opinions ... he would candidly advise them to search for themselves until they should be satisfied.’<sup>13</sup>

This presentation of science as negotiable was diametrically opposed to the way science was discussed at the learned societies. Here gentlemen members wanted science to be perceived as ‘straightforward and objective knowledge’. Furthermore they wanted to establish their own credentials which would be much harder to do if there were public dispute over their inductions. Lecturers therefore were not questioned. Rather than risking journalists adding interpretations of their own, the gentleman institutes sent out authorised abstracts of the lectures.<sup>14</sup>

The Geological Society was considered the most liberal in London because it allowed discussion at the end of lectures.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless these were closed sessions among a limited group of members, and no records were kept of these parts of the meetings.<sup>16</sup> In a rare instance when information leaked out, two journal editors were chastised for printing the dispute. The fear was that “‘johnny raws’”, as one member ‘described the general public, might be confused and think that after all these years, nothing had been decided, and that all was still debate and dispute’.<sup>17</sup> There was also an underlying belief that questioning science was linked to questioning society. When the Geological Society allowed a minimal amount of dispute within its private meetings, many considered this a bold move ‘in the wake of contemporary social and political

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<sup>13</sup>Birkbeck: *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 418. Allen, *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 262. Reynolds: *ibid.*, p. 339. Ogg: *ibid.*, p. 312. Frend: *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 339. Tatum: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 138.

<sup>14</sup> Martin Rudwick, *The great Devonian controversy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 25. James Secord, *Controversy in Victorian geology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 21-22.

<sup>15</sup> Secord, *Controversy*, p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> Rudwick, *Devonian*, p. 26.

<sup>17</sup> John C. Thackray, *To see the fellows fight* (London: British Society for the History of Science, 2003), p. viii.

unrest'.<sup>18</sup>

How different things were at the LMI. The *LMR* printed innumerable letters from members questioning, doubting and disputing with the lecturers. The members indulged happily in theoretical discussions. When a member raised a concern in the journal, another often added his views. One exchange of letters concerned the 'weight of bodies, the attraction of gravity, [and] the centrifugal force'. 'T. S.' offered an opposing theory to that of the lecturer on what would happen if a cannon ball could be dropped into a tunnel bored 'completely through the earth'. In his lecture, John Wallis had maintained that the ball would arrive almost at the opposite surface before being drawn back to the centre. It would then 'continue to vibrate backwards and forwards, till it ultimately remained immoveable at the centre.' 'T. S.' showed with diagrams and mathematical equations that the ball would not pass the centre but rather would become lighter as it approached the centre where 'it would possess no weight being equally attracted in all directions, and would ... remain there stationary'. Another writer, 'not being a mathematician' did not supply diagrams but felt that although there would be 'gradual diminution of attraction, and its entire cessation on the ball arriving at the centre', the ball would pass the centre through momentum 'in the same way as a carriage, by the momentum acquired in running down one inclined plane, will run up another' – and therefore oscillate as Wallis predicted.<sup>19</sup>

'H. R. W.' reported in the *LMR* that by repeating one of Tatum's experiments and by devising experiments of his own, he could show that in the instance in which Tatum claimed electricity was caused by evaporation, it was in fact caused by a chemical reaction.<sup>20</sup>

John Cooper, the chemistry lecturer, found his reputation impugned – a good reason not to allow disputes to spill over into the public press. 'A Member M. I.' wrote to the *MC* that Cooper had made an 'egregious error' in his calculation of the 'specific gravity of gases'. A similar letter, signed Jas. Edwards, appeared in the *Chemist*.<sup>21</sup> Because this was the time of the switch from the *MC* to the *LMR*, the controversy was also covered there. According to the *Chemist* (edited by Thomas Hodgskin), after

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<sup>18</sup> Secord, *Controversy*, p. 15.

<sup>19</sup> *LMR*, 2 (1825), pp. 126, 141, 162-63.

<sup>20</sup> *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> *MC*, 1 (1824), p. 151, *Chemist*, 2 (1825), p. 107.

correcting the mistake, Cooper ‘expressed something like displeasure and regret ... that any notice should be taken of his lectures in the periodical publications of the day’, and added that, although he would fulfil his obligation to the LMI, ‘he should do it with much less pleasure if attacks were made on him which were injurious to his reputation as a chemist’. The *Chemist* felt Cooper ‘should have been thankful for being reminded of his omission, not angry that he is not infallible.’ The *MC* also believed that Cooper should have been ‘pleased, rather than offended’ – and noted that ‘a remark of Dr Birkbeck was challenged in the same number, to which he has sent us a reply, which will appear in our next. This is, as it seems to us, the proper use of the press.’ When the *LMR* got in on the act, it commented: ‘Mr. Cooper explained the oversight most satisfactorily, and remarked upon the tone of the article in which the criticism was given ... We have only to add that the reputation of Mr. Cooper, as a theoretical, practical, and experimental chemist, stands too high to be shaken by the calumny of a disappointed scribbler.’ Richard Phillips, the previous chemistry lecturer, refused to allow his lectures to be printed even though the management committee pressed him to do so. A member of the Royal Society, Phillips may have subscribed to the view that lectures were private affairs.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps Cooper wished momentarily that the LMI had the same policy as the gentleman societies. Despite the upset, however, Cooper did give another series of lectures at the LMI.

Sometimes letters were sent directly to the lecturers or to Birkbeck. Although they had not been printed in the first instance, when the lecturer addressed the queries, these were then reported. John W. Gowring (the schoolmaster member), in his lecture on pneumatics, expressed mild displeasure at receiving an anonymous letter addressed to him personally. Nevertheless, he attempted to tackle the issue it raised. ‘L. M. M. I.’ doubted Gowring’s explanation as to why water precipitated in a container of air when the pressure was lowered by pumping out the air. He felt this could not be a mechanical function but had to involve a chemical reaction. Maintaining his original position, Gowring was not prepared to go into the whys and wherefores of how water was held because ‘it was not his province to determine’. Andrew Pritchard pitched in with theories of the ‘caloric’ (a hypothetical elastic fluid, to which the phenomena of heat

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<sup>22</sup> *Chemist*, 2 (1825), 128. *MC*, 1 (1824), p. 160. *LMR*, 1 (1825), pp. 26-27. Phillips: MBv1, 24 May 1824; Frank A. J. L. James, ‘Phillips, Richard (1778-1851)’, *ODNB*.



were attributed) which having been divided could no longer hold the water.<sup>23</sup>

Occasionally letters came in from people who had not attended the lectures, but merely read the abstracts in the *LMR*. Birkbeck addressed one of these at the end of a geological lecture. Extrapolating from Ogg's observations about the changing composition of rocks through the ages, the writer suggested that as the ancient Egyptians had been able to carve granite – when current masons could not – the granite must have been softer then. Birkbeck did not subscribe to this theory.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, the members took up many points of interest in the pages of the friendly journals. In this respect the LMI was more like a debating society. There seems to have been an accepted equality between the lecturers and the members (even if the lecturers sometimes balked). If Berg were right that only radicals and autodidacts taught theoretical science, one would have to conclude that the LMI members and management were radicals and autodidacts. Although there was a cross section of atheists like Place, Christian freethinkers like Hetherington, co-operators like Skene, communitarians like Lane, radicals like Frend, and Unitarians like Pritchard and Taylor, they were probably not a majority. However that may be, this institutional openness seems indicative of sympathy between the management and the members.

### **Experimental philosophy and inventions**

Questioning the tenets of natural philosophy complemented the innovative thinking which was encouraged when dealing with mechanical improvements. Just as the lecturers could present theories as negotiable and contingent, so the apparatus and machinery were portrayed as perpetually improvable. Looking at the lecture content, I have identified five strands that encouraged the audience to innovate.

1. As they did when discussing theoretical science, the lecturers presented the history of their subjects in experimental science. Naturally such histories illustrated how improvements had been made in the past and by implication indicated the necessity of further improvements – a sharp contrast to the learned societies' approach where 'reference to previous studies being corrected or rejected was usually kept to a minimum'. To underscore his claims about the progressive uses to which science was

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<sup>23</sup> Gowring: MRv1, 1480. *LMR*, 3 (1826), pp. 179, 223-24, 251.

<sup>24</sup> *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 296.

put, Russell pointed to the emphasis on the history of the science in contemporary books.<sup>25</sup>

2. The machinery which was used in the lectures was almost always attributed to someone. Seeing the personal achievement in each invention encouraged members to contemplate their own ability to accomplish similar feats. Partington commented that Mr Leslie's Photometer to measure the intensity of light was 'a new and ingenious mode of constructing lenses' which would particularly interest the members because it had been invented by 'an uneducated mechanic'. Among many other name checks, Partington praised Mr Parker of Fleet Street for his 'remarkable burning lenses' to concentrate light and heat, and the Tellurion (an orrery) designed by the LMI secretary Peter Christie. Toplis's lectures also provided examples. The LMI vice-president commended 'Mr. Nettlefold's improved screw for ordinary purposes', and explained 'the construction of Mr. Redmund's Patent Hinges, to which the principle of the circular wedge is very ingeniously applied'.<sup>26</sup>

Inventions and discoveries were happening at that moment. Cooper noted that platinum was 'almost a new discovery'; both its 'chemical history' and its uses remained to be fully understood. Importantly, people were making their names and fortunes. There was even a case of a recent invention which it was claimed might lead to new mathematical theories. Joseph Jopling gave an LMI lecture on this apparatus which he had invented for generating curved lines. Invaluable for 'architects, shipwrights, engravers, and many others' the machine 'will suggest a variety of inquiries in reference to new and curious curves, whose properties have not, as yet, been investigated'.<sup>27</sup>

As Millington said, constant improvements showed 'that much still remained to be accomplished'.<sup>28</sup> The members of Millington's audience surely understood themselves to be integral to furthering these improvements and accelerating the nation's progress.

3. Most importantly, the lecturers showcased and promoted new apparatus by

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<sup>25</sup> Secord, *Controversy*, p. 23. Russell, *Science*, p. 172.

<sup>26</sup> *LMR*, 1 (1825), pp. 199 (Christie), 216 (Leslie), 234 (Parker). *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 206 (Nettlefold, Redmund).

<sup>27</sup> Discovery: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 41. History: *Annals of Philosophy*, 6 (1823), p. 198. Jopling: *LMR*, 2 (1825), pp. 52-57.

<sup>28</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 434.

working men. Birkbeck introduced a range of working men's inventions: from an improved compass designed by a hairdresser (Mr Pope) to a machine to prevent the annoyance of smoke from chimneys invented by a smith in Spa Fields (Mr Ayliffe). In his lecture on the blowpipe, Lewthwaite explained the 'very ingenious construction' of a Hydraulic or Hydropneumatic blow-pipe, 'invented by a humble artizan named Tofts.'<sup>29</sup>

Often the inventors were invited to demonstrate their devices themselves. James Marsh, a wheel-wright, described how his 'portable collection of apparatus' enabled the 'possessor to extend his researches in electro-magnetism'. Birkbeck's praise for Marsh's 'ingenious apparatus' included the important fact that it could be purchased at a 'very moderate price'. In his lectures on optics, Partington introduced a 'working shoemaker', Mr Francis, who explained his researches to improve 'the form of spectacle-glasses, and adapting them to the mechanical structure of the human eye'. Francis was 'a plain and unassuming workman' who 'addressed the assembly ... in very clear and intelligible language, though evidently unpolished by the refinements of education.' Perhaps it was due to his exposure at the LMI and in the *LMR* that within ten months Francis was described as 'once a shoemaker, although now entirely engaged in optical pursuit.'<sup>30</sup>

Given the LMI emphasis on members' producing new inventions or modifications, it is not surprising that members' apparatus was often showcased. For instance, Partington demonstrated the working models of steam engines by the 'working-class' tin-man William Thomas who was currently on the committee. Partington spoke 'very highly of Mr. Thomas's models, which ... he said were the most perfect he had ever seen; they were also unusually cheap, a complete set being sold for £20, which, made of different materials used to cost £200'.<sup>31</sup>

Discussing the 'alteration of motion', Birkbeck displayed George Pollard's 'machine for grinding colours'. An LMI member and engineer, Pollard had already obtained a patent. The *LMR* gave Pollard excellent publicity: his apparatus 'displayed considerable ingenuity on the part of the inventor. The machine regulates the process of triturating materials ground with oil, and also protects the workman from noxious and

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<sup>29</sup> Pope: *LMR*, 2 (1825) p. 392. Ayliffe: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 380. Tofts: *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 130.

<sup>30</sup> Marsh: *LMR*, 1 (1825) p. 390. Francis: *ibid.*, pp. 249-50; *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 66 ('shoemaker').

<sup>31</sup> *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 361.

injurious effluvia.’ Mr Evans, a member since the Institution’s founding, also profited from the publicity effect for his distilling apparatus. Birkbeck noted, and the *LMR* repeated, that Evans’ ‘first efforts had been directed to an improvement in the mode of roasting coffee, in which he had so far succeeded, as to establish an extensive trade in that article.’ Another ‘working-class’ committee man, Peter Legros, a clock-maker, was called to the stage to explain the construction of his ‘eight-day clock’ (a clock that runs for eight days without needing to be rewound).<sup>32</sup>

Improvements to weaving were extremely topical so it is not surprising that Fanshawe’s ‘highly improved newly-patented machinery for spinning, doubling, and throwing by one operation’ was ‘the most interesting to mechanics’ during Birkbeck’s sixth lecture on inventions. A member of the committee, and a ‘not-of-the-working-class’ silk-embosser, Fanshawe was present to put the machine in motion.<sup>33</sup>

4. One of the standard themes was that a humble background was no hindrance when it came to inventing and gaining recognition. Thus, ‘Mr. Partington impressed upon the minds of his hearers the great moral lesson, that the possession of high birth and fortune, or even the ordinary advantages of education, are not essential to the development of real talent.’ Birkbeck equally took ‘as the moral of his tale, that genius ... sheds its beams on every individual, without regard to rank or occupation’. Nor did inventors necessarily need connections or money to profit from their ingenuity. Birkbeck asserted that members would ‘be amply rewarded, even without the assistance of an exclusive privilege, or the protection, as it is termed, of a patent. The public, the British public at least, rejoice in the opportunity of securing to genius the fruits of its labours.’<sup>34</sup>

5. These lectures were not only about instructing the audience, or even encouraging its members to try their hand. Equally important, the LMI was part of a network that promoted inventions in London. With its quasi-house magazines, the *MC* and then the *LMR* and the *RAS*, the LMI’s imprimatur reached a wide audience – wider than the scientific societies which kept their activities private and than other popular institutes which did not have the benefit of similar journals.

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<sup>32</sup> Pollard: MRv1, 4235; *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 85. Evans: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 333. Legros: MRv1, 928; *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 76.

<sup>33</sup> Fanshawe: MRv1, 2880; *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 363.

<sup>34</sup> *LMR*, 1 (1825), pp. 249 (Partington), 392 (Birkbeck). *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 84.

Right from the start inventors were keen to get LMI backing, and that LMI support was useful to their careers. As previously noted, John Roberts profited from the early demonstrations of his hood and mouth piece to protect firefighters. The manufacturers of a new rotary engine, currently in the process of being patented, had already discussed its principles with Birkbeck and promised that on receiving the patent, they would (as Birkbeck announced) ‘immediately construct an illustrative working model for the service of this Institution’. When an Aberdeen currier sent his new telescope to London to be demonstrated at the Astronomical Society, Birkbeck arranged to showcase it a few days later. Birkbeck even demonstrated a model that had been designed for the King.<sup>35</sup>

Birkbeck’s series of eight lectures on inventions, delivered from August to October 1826, were a great opportunity for inventors.<sup>36</sup> And Birkbeck took his duties seriously, as can be seen from his three attempts to demonstrate successfully Brown’s controversial gas vacuum engine.<sup>37</sup> The example of Brown’s engine shows not only Birkbeck’s persistence to get a machine to work, but also the personal support he was prepared to give to an invention which had been dismissed by other experts. Originally patented in December 1823, the engine (designed to work on ‘the combustion of hydrogen gas’) was at first welcomed as a cheaper and more flexible alternative to the steam engine. Such was the early enthusiasm that the King had requested a model be made for him (the model Birkbeck used). But by August 1825 – a year before Birkbeck’s lecture – Partington along with many others believed that ‘whatever advantages the apparatus possessed, were more than counterbalanced by its disadvantages.’<sup>38</sup> Standing up for the underdog, Birkbeck believed that Brown faced ‘a situation of peculiar difficulty’, in introducing a machine intended to rival the steam engine. Brown ‘had to contend against prejudice, and against the most powerful machine that had ever been invented.’<sup>39</sup>

The engine could not be made to work during two lectures, and indeed at the second attempt it scattered ‘innumerable fragments of glass ... in every direction to a

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<sup>35</sup> Rotary: *MC*, 1 (1824), p. 23. Currier: *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 66. King: *LMR*, 4 (1826), pp. 301-302.

<sup>36</sup> *LMR*, 4 (1826): pp. 284-87, 299-303, 323-26, 331-34, 347-50, 361-65, 378-82, 394-98.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 301-302, 324-25, 331-32.

<sup>38</sup> *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 223. Partington: *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 378.

<sup>39</sup> *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 331.

considerable distance' and injured Birkbeck's hand.<sup>40</sup> Birkbeck and the inventor knew that it was vital to the machine's future that it work at the LMI and convince that audience (and its attendant publications) of its efficacy. As Birkbeck said, if 'so large a number of intelligent minds' delivered a bad verdict on the machine, Brown was 'fully sensible' that this would considerably damage 'the apparatus in the estimation of the public'. The inventor's son operated the machine on its third, successful, demonstration. When the machine was 'put in motion ... the correct and efficient manner in which its action was carried on, with the singular appearance caused by the incessant flashes of the inflamed gas from the cylinders, excited the highest pleasure in the minds of the audience, who testified their approbation by reiterated cheers.' After this success Birkbeck concluded on an optimistic and patriotic note: Brown's engine would contribute to 'maintaining the pre-eminence of this country in the only warfare in which ... it would ever again be engaged, – the warfare of genius and industry, which ought to be waged with every great, independent, enlightened, and enterprising nation'.<sup>41</sup>

## **Patriotism**

Embedded within these scientific lectures and addresses were wider contemporary concerns. They manifested in talk of patriotism, natural theology and political economy, all of which locked the addresses into specific political cultures. It is not surprising to find patriotic sentiment at the LMI, but it is interesting to see how it was framed in an institution so full of Quaker, Unitarian and radical teachers. The lecturers did not praise the country for its hierarchical society in which men worked in an orderly manner under their masters. In fact all the lecturers revelled in the opposite conclusion: that the working man and the mechanic could accomplish almost anything by themselves.

When awarding England the premier place among nations, the lecturers stressed the education and application of England's operatives. Cooper asked 'What country can compete with England, where every operative mechanic is now become a man of science?' Contrasting England with Ancient Egypt, Frend blamed the fall of

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 324.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. 331-32.

Egypt on the priests' efforts to maintain power by keeping knowledge to themselves: 'we may congratulate ourselves on living in an age and a country where an opposite principle prevails.' Also speaking of Egypt, Birkbeck believed that English ingenuity could have built the pyramids.<sup>42</sup>

Reading out Dupin's lecture to the French mechanics provided Birkbeck with an unusual panegyric to the English mechanics. Dupin complained of the ridiculous rhetoric about the French mechanic ('they repeat to us, even until we are disgusted, that we are the first people in the world'), just as Tom Telltruth had criticised the rhetoric at the LMI's founding for exaggerating the achievements of the British mechanic. Dupin's reason was that everyone knew that Britain was the best nation because of the education of their mechanics. What could have been a better, apparently unbiased, way to reiterate a claim which Tom Telltruth had labelled 'clap-trap' than to read out Dupin's address? Toplis recapitulated the theme: England was the 'envy and admiration of the world' because of 'our advancement in mechanics'. Based on this premise, Cooper maintained that from 'a national point of view, her [England's] greatest boast, we hesitate not to say, ought to be "The Mechanics' Institution."' <sup>43</sup>

This triumphalist flag-waving did not develop into 'complex' nationalistic appeals with political intent.<sup>44</sup> But it did stress a Whig meliorist approach. Russell pointed to the link between scientific education (with its progressive potential) and civic pride. For him the role of science at mechanics' institutes was 'chiefly to minister to local patriotism'. While the competitiveness that Russell discussed was between different provincial institutes, at the LMI it was on a national level with the French as the main adversary to be outdone.<sup>45</sup>

The country's resources were also blessed. According to Toplis, no other country was likely to outrival England in machinery because this country enjoys 'every possible advantage', particularly plenty of water to power the steam engines. Frend referred to 'the discovery of our coal-mines, about 300 years ago, [which] has contributed more to the improvement and embellishment of this kingdom, than all the

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<sup>42</sup> Cooper: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 8. Frend: *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 310. Birkbeck: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 296.

<sup>43</sup> Dupin: *LMR*, 1 (1825), pp. 371, 386. Telltruth: *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 195-96. Toplis: *RAS*, 4 (1827), p. 29. Cooper: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 8.

<sup>44</sup> For differences between patriotism and nationalism, see Gerald Newman, *The rise of English nationalism* (London: Macmillan, 1997), p. 52.

<sup>45</sup> Russell, *Science*, p. 173.

labours of the 2000 preceding years could effect without this assistance.<sup>46</sup>

Taking an international view, Frennd used different approaches to glorify the English. India was ‘never so well governed as since it has been under the dominion of its present rulers’, the East India company. Egypt would soon have returned to its former glory if ‘England had kept possession of this country, and a portion of the wealth of London had been devoted to this object.’ Frennd hoped that Australia, ‘recently discovered’, would profit from colonisation by England.<sup>47</sup>

### **Natural theology and its many functions**

Some of the lecturers – in an institution espousing radicalism – combined man’s practical ability to master nature with his understanding of scientific principles to emphasise man’s God-given perfectability. As Birkbeck intoned at the July 1825 opening of theatre: ‘from perfection to perfection, man will at length, however remote the period, justify the declaration, that he is “Half dust – half Deity.”’<sup>48</sup>

Other lecturers appear to have made no allusion to God at all. Here of course the medium through which the lecture content is filtered becomes important. In this case the medium is primarily the *LMR*. The evidence suggests that the editor would have included references to God wherever he could. The journal’s coverage of Tatum’s electricity lectures added an extensive footnote (by the editor) to draw out religious connections which the lecturer had omitted. The editor made a direct connection between electricity and morality by quoting – at length – from *Bryan’s Lectures*. Here is a small sample.

Let us therefore conclude our observations on the magnet by religious and moral inferences. We find the most evident effects of Infinite Wisdom cannot be traced to their first principles by finite reason: why, then, should we attempt to understand the nature of spiritual existences, or discredit the truths of revelation, the sublimity of which must and should be beyond our conception and comprehension?

The *LMR* editor trumpeted his conservative credentials by suggesting that equating the principles of Richard Carlile and Thomas Paine with those of the LMI was like equating ‘Jaggernaut with the Deity’. He was delighted that the LMI had turned down a request to hire the theatre from the apostate Revd Robert Taylor ‘with contempt, and

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<sup>46</sup> Toplis: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 269. Frennd: *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 339.

<sup>47</sup> *LMR*, 3 (1826), pp. 203, 310, 358.

<sup>48</sup> *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 186.



even with disgust'.<sup>49</sup>

The LMI was operating in a society dominated by Anglicanism, established and still privileged (a sore point among the growing number of Dissenters). To doubt Anglicanism was to doubt the state. The conservative ruling elite thought Anglican tenets, therefore, needed to be carefully fostered, particularly among the working classes and particularly after Peterloo. They wanted people to believe that the hierarchical status quo was God-given. Not surprisingly, therefore, the LMI's omission of formal religious instruction to complement their science brought censure from the *Blackwood's* and the *Quarterly Review*<sup>50</sup> – but to the Quakers, Unitarians and radical freethinkers these were private matters, not to be publicly inculcated.

Some of what was uttered at the LMI was threatening to the authorities, and one did not have to look to Hetherington to see it. When, for instance, Birkbeck referred to atoms and 'mutual forces', he found no need to mention an instigating and guiding Author. He said:

it will probably be rendered apparent that the material world is reducible to atoms, actuated by forces depending merely on their mutual distances. From such simple elements – the different arrangement of their particles, and their multiplied interior combinations – this sublime scene of the universe derives all its magnificence and splendour!<sup>51</sup>

Although this statement is not necessarily materialistic, given Birkbeck's sympathy with the old radical George Thelwall, an extreme mental materialist, and his promotion of Southwood Smith, one could begin to read more into it. At the LMI, there might have been less of the Broughamite 'safe' science which Topham envisaged, probably correctly, at mechanics' institutes in general. Building on Shapin and Barnes' arguments, Topham defined safe science specifically as containing 'no dangerous materialism'.<sup>52</sup> But Birkbeck and the LMI certainly did not want to be branded 'subversive'. There was a way in which the lecturers could maintain their seemingly 'materialist' explanations within a religious framework. Natural theology, seeing God proved by nature, provided the escape route. The *LMR* was a great advocate and reported that as the LMI members 'progressively advance in the paths of science, [they]

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<sup>49</sup> Tatum: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 56. Carlile, Taylor: *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 255.

<sup>50</sup> [Bird and Coleridge], 'Mechanics', p. 421

<sup>51</sup> *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 248.

<sup>52</sup> Jonathan Topham, 'Science and popular education in the 1830s', *British Journal of the History of Science*, 25 (1992), p. 407.

discover at every step additional motives for admiring the wisdom of the great Creator of the Universe'.<sup>53</sup>

Dangers, however, remained. Wallis explained that his 'endeavour to reduce' astronomy 'to laws strictly mechanical ... has by some been supposed to verge towards atheism'. He maintained that 'the fact of motion conducts us beyond material agency' and thus

enables us with the firmest step to trample on the mean and unphilosophical system of the atheist. In referring therefore the celestial motions to mechanical principles, we do but suppose the Deity to employ principles of his own ordination, according to laws which he himself determined.<sup>54</sup>

Seeing God's work in nature could serve any number of purposes. In itself it carried no particular moral punch. Like the different versions of political economy, there were various interpretations of natural theology. In the hands of the Church, it could be used to uphold the status quo: God had fitted everything to its place. Conversely natural theology could be given a radical twist à la Southwood Smith and used to suggest that current institutions or men were going against God's plans (which as we shall see Birkbeck hinted). Its natural aspect could be emphasised with discussion of natural laws and principles, or its divine aspect could be invoked. The latter had perhaps a greater element of injunction but both could be used for social control, i.e. the listener must obey the laws (whether specified primarily as nature's or as God's).<sup>55</sup>

Given that religion was so important in society, one might think there was an LMI policy, but there does not appear to have been. Lecturers here, as elsewhere, operated according to their own lights. It is true that no lecturer espoused anti-religious or overtly materialist views – nothing to match the Hetheringtons of the audience. But, again, given the Quaker and Unitarian backdrop, some lecturers refused to bend the knee to religious sensibilities (provided my understanding of the *LMR* editorial policy is correct). Some lecturers like Partington, Wheeler and Gowing were not reported as making any reference to the manifestation of God through nature (bar one Partington reference: 'if Providence vouchsafe him the discovery of an unknown star'). Others included one reference only: in Tatum's twenty-one lectures there is one comment in

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<sup>53</sup> *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 426.

<sup>54</sup> *LMR*, 2 (1825), pp. 154-55.

<sup>55</sup> John Hedley Brooke, *Science and religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 192-97, 222-25. For High Church and Evangelical uses in the 1830s, see Topham, 'Science', pp. 420-29; for radical and Unitarian uses, see Desmond, *Politics*, pp. 193-235 and *passim*.

his optics lecture on God's design of the eye; Toplis made only one reference, as did the Unitarian Cooper in the course of thirty reported lectures.<sup>56</sup>

Of the lecturers who mentioned natural theology, to what use did they put it? Birkbeck's inaugural lecture provided an excellent summary. There were three basic tenets: men could learn from a study of nature; God had made using reason pleasurable; looking at nature brought men closer to God. The notion that using reason was more pleasurable than indulging the senses was central.

The Author of nature has wisely annexed a pleasure to the exercise of our active powers, and particularly to the pursuit of truth, which, if it be in some instances less intense, is far more durable than the gratifications of sense.

Toplis assured the members that they could enjoy pleasures 'higher than that of the sensualist' from 'studies of the purest abstraction'.<sup>57</sup>

There was one recurring theme at the LMI, and it is an interesting one. This was the claim that God had empowered man to stand above nature, almost at His right hand, and to be infinitely perfectible. Matthew Allen told his audience that man was 'like the key-stone of a noble arch' occupying an 'all-important place in the order of nature' and 'endowed with dominion over the rest of animated creation.' Birkbeck concluded his lecture on galvanism by asserting that the 'researches of science' had given man such power 'over the material universe' that if he succeeded 'in arresting the turbulent movements of the restless ocean ... the dominion of man over the world of waters might be pronounced entire and complete.' For Newton, 'the sublime science [of astronomy] places us, as it were, at the right hand of Nature, viewing with the eye of intellect her sublime, though simple, operations.' The *LMR* editor added a quotation from Chalmers to his coverage of Partington's optics lectures in connection to telescopes (where the lecturer was reported as making no reference to God). The footnote reported that there were no limits to what man would accomplish: he would eventually see cities on other planets, all these worlds under the 'high authority' of 'the Mighty Being'.<sup>58</sup>

Cooper, Toplis and Ogg pointed to God's having created the world for man's benefit. Cooper adapted the argument to his chemical audience by saying that the 'Almighty Disposer of things' had kept the different elements separate initially so that

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<sup>56</sup> Partington: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 237. Tatum: *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 296. Toplis: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 167. Cooper: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 8.

<sup>57</sup> Birkbeck: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 419. Toplis: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 100.

<sup>58</sup> *LMR*, 1 (1825), pp. 230 (Allen), 380 (Birkbeck). Newton: *MC*, 1 (1824), p. 82. Partington: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 248.

they remained ‘inactive’ until man was advanced enough to use them without harming himself. In his lectures on geology, Ogg concluded that ‘every arrangement connected with the formation of the earth is intended for the benefit of mankind.’ Frennd connected the coal deposits with Britain’s greatness. And Toplis told his audience that the ‘Author’ of man’s destiny had ‘laid before his rudest footsteps the implements of all his future greatness.’<sup>59</sup>

Surely these examples point to a use of natural theology which liberated rather than oppressed. But there was a controlling element: men, specifically the members in the audience, needed to behave in certain ways to experience these privileges. Primarily they needed to use their reason. In his lecture on phrenology, Allen explained that ‘the mind of man’ was a ‘stupendous production of divine power’ and that man needed to be ‘ruled by the faculties which link him to heaven, and not by those he has in common with animals.’ Allen equated overexcitement, the opposite of reason, with insanity. Controversially, he used the example of the French Revolution, and went so far as to quote the Tory *Quarterly Review*’s analysis of the ‘state of morbid excitement, during which the contagion of murder spreads with as much rapidity and certainty as the plague’ and individuals possess ‘as little control over their actions as the raving maniac.’<sup>60</sup> LMI members would not want to have been considered raving maniacs, although they might well have supported the ideals of the French Revolution.

Improved habits would naturally result from the use of reason. Cooper hoped that the men would stop ‘contentedly trotting on in the jog-trott manner of their forefathers ... and become useful and distinguished members of society’. These expectations were heavily reinforced through normative descriptions of the audience. Gilchrist, for instance, praised his listeners for being ‘attentive and orderly’. Allen congratulated his audience for having exercised their ‘powers’ and ‘virtues’. Partington was pleased to be surrounded by ‘a thousand persons, eager in the pursuit of knowledge,’ and Wallis delighted in ‘addressing an audience consisting of scientific individuals, or of those who were desirous of becoming so.’<sup>61</sup>

Unlike Cooper, who hoped his listeners’ habits would improve, the *LMR*

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<sup>59</sup> *LMR*, 1 (1825), pp. 8 (Cooper), 314 (Ogg). Frennd: *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 339. Toplis: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 167.

<sup>60</sup> Allen: *LMR*, 1 (1825), pp. 230, 259, 261.

<sup>61</sup> Cooper: *MC*, 1 (1824), p. 115. Gilchrist: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 69. Allen: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 261. Partington: *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 381. Wallis: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 3.

celebrated the improvement as already having occurred:

The journeyman and the apprentice no longer spend their leisure hours in the improvident dissipation of their gains, but in drinking deeply from the fountain of human knowledge. The mind being thus expanded, not only the morals of this useful and influential body are improved, but their conduct in society, and their external appearance give evidence of the change that has been effected.<sup>62</sup>

When Birkbeck read out Dupin's speech, he in effect praised the audience for the characteristics which Dupin attributed to the English working man. English artisans entertained 'a profound conviction of the great utility of scientific knowledge'; most had the ability to 'to read, write, and cypher'; many could even 'draw correctly the machines or the objects which they construct'; furthermore they read instructive technical works. Dupin also praised the 'moral' uprightness of the English artisan. In an effort to prod his French audience into better behaviour, Dupin went so far as to assert that the 'vice of drunkenness' had disappeared, and now the (English) artisans were prudent. They used savings banks, and were even better clothed: 'their dress is neater, and their linen cleaner.'<sup>63</sup> The wishful-thinking behind some of these descriptions is revealed by the fact that the neighbours of the LMI often complained about the rowdiness and mess caused by members when they left the Institution.<sup>64</sup>

Gilchrist, Frend and Charles Lane emphasised the importance of tolerance in rhetoric which combined old Enlightenment radicalism and modern communitarianism. Our closeness to each other, compared to the distance between the planets, led Gilchrist to reflect that we were all brothers and should 'dwell together in harmony'. Frend advised against considering 'the customs and manners of your own country as a rule for others'; rather you should 'give to every individual, as well as yourselves, a right to think, to act, and to judge' for themselves. Emphasising his point, Frend suggested that there might be 'a black university in the unexplored regions of Africa' where it was believed 'that the blacks are the superior, and the whites the inferior part of the creation.' Accepting that there were areas in which men did not agree and that they should not be forced to do so, Lane reduced the importance of morality in his classification of knowledge because 'we could never persuade men to agree universally in that respect.'<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 8.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 371, 373.

<sup>64</sup> MBv2, 23 Oct., 4 Dec. 1826.

<sup>65</sup> Gilchrist: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 69. Frend: *LMR*, 3 (1826), pp. 308, 355. Lane: *ibid.*, p. 276.

Allen, perhaps not surprisingly given that phrenology was particularly accused of being a materialist science (a point Allen was keen to refute), may have provided the most overt comment on worshipping God:

The sum of duty in man is to exercise his feelings to the utmost in a social and relative capacity, and at the same time to exercise his talents; for we are not only to feel, but to think aright, – not only to feel and to think, but to apply all these to practice. This is to love the Author of our being.<sup>66</sup>

What the lessons of natural theology (as propagated at the LMI) did not expect, however, was that man bow down to a corrupt clergy or to an oppressive government. Birkbeck made this clear in his two public lectures: his inaugural address and his lecture at the opening of the theatre. During the latter on 16 July 1825, Birkbeck used an extensive quotation from the radical Benthamite Unitarian Southwood Smith's *On Divine Government* to show that God did not approve of 'corrupt systems of religion', 'tyrannical' governments or vested interests which hampered the work of philanthropists. To combat the first, God had raised a Luther, for the second, a Washington, and for the third, a Howard.<sup>67</sup> Even though Birkbeck affirmed that politics had no place at the LMI, quoting from this notorious radical book (published in 1816) was surely a political statement. Agreement with Southwood Smith confirmed Birkbeck's radical leanings. (Later in 1827-8 the SDUK saw conflict between radical Benthamites like Southwood Smith, advocating a materialist view of life, and conservative Broughamites like Charles Bell, upholding design. That Bell and Brougham were in the ascendancy may have been part of the reason why Birkbeck did not join the SDUK until it became necessary for him to do so in connection to his work with mechanics' institutes. Birkbeck's dislike of Bell was recorded in Bellot's history of University College.<sup>68</sup>)

Birkbeck had made similar comments in his February 1824 inaugural address. Once again, he overtly disavowed politics only to draw out the political implication of science. Extending the members' reasoning capabilities, the LMI would encourage the men to be loyal to a 'wise and well-constructed system of legislation.' This time he quoted the eighteenth century champion of popular rights, 'Junius', to maintain that the

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<sup>66</sup> *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 261.

<sup>67</sup> *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 184.

<sup>68</sup> Southwood Smith and SDUK controversy: Desmond, *Politics*, pp. 200-206; Topham, 'Science', pp. 416- 419. H. Halle Bellot, *University College London* (London: University of London Press, 1929), p. 196.

loyal subject would obey voluntarily and cheerfully as long as ‘justice is impartially administered at home’. Implicit was the suggestion that if the laws were not just, the populace would be within its right to disobey them. The *Morning Chronicle* agreed with Birkbeck that when men ‘appreciate the abstract truths of science, they can only be governed by reason, and will easily see through the common-place cant of common-place politicians’. Equally ‘the leaden bands of superstition’ will no longer constrain them<sup>69</sup> – and they will join in the progress of society.

Of course the audience could out-rationalize the lecturers. There was even the odd complaint about the natural theology on the podium. Wallis reported that he had received a letter from a member who was ‘offended and disgusted’ by what the lecturer called the introduction of a ‘moral reflection’ in his previous lecture on astronomy. The *LMR*’s report of the offending lecture shows that Wallis presented a stronger version of natural theology than the members were used to hearing. Wallis went so far as to conclude: ‘It is the fool which hath said in his heart there is no God.’ When Wallis referred to the complaint, he took the opportunity to stress that ‘admiration’ for nature ‘enlarges the mind, and frees it from the trammels of Atheism’.<sup>70</sup> Almost a year earlier, Wallis had dwelt in more detail on natural theology than the other lecturers. He had recognised that an understanding of the mechanical laws of nature could bolster atheism.<sup>71</sup> There appear to have been no complaints then. But there is a profound difference between saying a way of thinking ‘verges towards atheism’ and saying a man is a fool if he is an atheist. So it may be that it was Wallis’s wording which caused the problem. His comments certainly went against the prevalent idea that each member should think for himself, and make up his own mind.

The fact is that the Institution purveyed many theological outlooks: from Ogg promoting the Mosaic account of creation in his geology lectures to the old London Corresponding Society radical Frennd praising oriental atheism in his geography lectures. Admiring Chinese ingenuity in building the great wall of China, Frennd asserted that ‘if it were true that such a people were a nation of atheists, it would be the greatest compliment that could possibly be paid to atheism’. Frennd seemed to be

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<sup>69</sup> *MM*, 1 (1824), pp. 420-21. *Chronicle* quoted in *MM*, 2 (1824), p. 125.

<sup>70</sup> *LMR*, 3 (1826), p. 426.

<sup>71</sup> *LMR*, 2 (1825), pp. 155-56.

suggesting that if reason showed that atheism was the right path, so be it.<sup>72</sup>

Finally it is worth noting that the communitarian Charles Lane in his classification of knowledge placed law and government in the highest category of importance and usefulness, with theology and morals coming second. Theology and morals, he explained, were a matter of individual opinion whereas law and government rested on logic and philology. As we would expect from a good LMI lecturer, he added that anyone was ‘at liberty to alter these divisions’.<sup>73</sup>

Natural theology as expressed by these lecturers does not appear to conform to Shapin and Barnes’ understanding of how the subject was used in mechanics’ institutes in general. Perhaps London was different in this regard. ‘Models of nature’, they explained, were ‘invoked to set limits on the possibilities of human action’. In accepting the ‘rational organization of nature’, the mechanics were to accept the status quo: ‘the rational organization of society’.<sup>74</sup> Although it is self-evident that rhetoric does not necessarily match the ulterior motives of a speaker, Birkbeck’s quotes from Southwood Smith and ‘Junius’ are hard to square with a socially repressive purpose.

If, as Shapin and Barnes suggested, science and natural theology were used in many institutions to ‘constrain’ the working men and ‘stultify their imagination’, is it possible to infer that this liberating natural theology was more radically based?<sup>75</sup> Although no lecturer drew openly anti-religious conclusions from the mechanistic science presented, the fact that many lecturers appear not to have mentioned the Creator may mean they were sympathetic to a self-generating nature with its republican overtones. There was a belief that many scientific men paid lip service to religion just to stay on the right side of conventional society.<sup>76</sup> If mentioning the Almighty was an absolute necessity to maintain respectability, and if I am right in thinking the *LMR* would have included any reference to religion, can we conclude that those lecturers who were not reported as making religious comments did not value that kind of respectability?

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<sup>72</sup> Ogg: *LMR*, 1 (1825), pp. 311-12. Frennd: *LMR*, 3 (1826), pp. 355-56.

<sup>73</sup> *LMR*, 3 (1826), pp. 277-78.

<sup>74</sup> Shapin and Barnes, ‘Science’, pp. 36, 51.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>76</sup> John Hedley Brooke, ‘The natural theology of geologists’, in L. J. Jordanova and Roy S. Porter (eds), *Images of the Earth* (Chalfont, Buckinghamshire: British Society for the History of Science, 1979), p. 47.



There appears to have been a rapport between the management, the lecturers and the working-class members. At the LMI, this rapport was maintained, in part at least, by the kind of progressive science which Russell envisaged being propagated at mechanics' institutes. Shapin and Barnes believed that controversial topics (like political economy) could not be aired in mechanics' institutes because the audiences were so suspicious of the managements. They hypothesized that value-neutral science may have been selected for teaching the working classes because 'elite groups continually found themselves obliged to curtail and tone down what ideally they would have wished to convey to the working classes, in a vain attempt to gain credibility'.<sup>77</sup> As the next section confirms, the LMI once again appears to have been an exception.

### **Political economy**

Enthusiasm for machinery must have been integral to any man's thinking who joined the Institution. Encouraging the improvement and use of machinery was a central plank of political economy, and it is therefore not surprising that political economy should come up in LMI lectures on science and invention. (Thomas Hodgskin's lectures specifically on the 'productive powers of human labour' are discussed only briefly.) For Toplis, machinery 'had contributed to our prosperity' and would 'make want and penury' a thing of the past. Birkbeck introduced the topic at some length in March 1825 when he gave Dupin's lecture. Here Dupin claimed that the progress of machinery was not the 'enemy of the working class', and that even machinery 'which appears directly to interfere with the employment of human power' actually serves 'to procure more ease to the labouring classes'.<sup>78</sup>

In June 1826, just a few months after attacks on power-looms in the industrial midlands had destroyed more than £16,000 worth of property, Birkbeck devoted a large section of a lecture on a newly patented power-loom to political economy. Power-looms were the archetypal machines for putting large numbers of people out of work. They had been the focus of the Luddite attacks in 1812. Birkbeck announced the lecture on 19 May 1826, just three weeks after Manchester had experienced riots the like of which had never before been seen 'in broad day, and in the centre of a great town'. He

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<sup>77</sup> Shapin and Barnes, 'Science', pp. 55, 63.

<sup>78</sup> Toplis: *RAS*, 4 (1827), p. 28. Birkbeck: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 358.

would not only be demonstrating De Bergue's power-loom but would also be discussing the machine's economic and social ramifications. Noting that the 'power-loom had already experienced the fate of a great many kinds of machinery on their first being introduced' and querying what possible 'evil such machinery might be able to inflict', he announced that he would be considering 'how far this species of machinery was calculated to extend the comforts, and contribute to the benefit of the manufacturers'.<sup>79</sup>

Birkbeck's lecture was topical not only because of the recent riots but, more closely to home, because there was a general feeling that the power-loom was about to be introduced into London silk manufacturing. Indeed the very fact that Birkbeck was lecturing on the loom gave 'new impulse to the rumour'. According to an operative weaver who wrote to the *MM*, weavers felt that Birkbeck's imprimatur carried such weight that the looms would 'be adopted immediately by the masters.'<sup>80</sup>

When the day came, the lecture theatre was 'crowded to excess in every part' (*LMR*). The *RAS* considered the meeting 'one of the fullest assemblages we recollect to have witnessed'. Both journals gave more coverage to this lecture than normal. The *LMR* report extended to 4700 words and the *RAS*, with illustrations, to 5854 words. It appears that LMI members were eager to hear Birkbeck's thoughts on this controversial topic.<sup>81</sup> This is not to say that other audiences were so keen. Some potential members of the Spitalfields Mechanics' Institution were displeased by a lecture Birkbeck gave them in favour of machinery (discussed below).

During his LMI lecture, Birkbeck addressed the question of whether the power-loom saved too much labour and was a 'calamity' for the workmen. Unlike previous lectures in which Birkbeck presented his material descriptively, here his tone was persuasive. He noted that some working men believed that the loom benefited only the 'capitalist' and the 'consumer' while the 'labourer or producer was ... injured'. But experience 'distinctly and universally' proved this not to be the case: 'the very benefit which ... accrued to the capitalist, is a benefit always inseparable' from the working

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<sup>79</sup> Manchester: J. L. Hammond and Barbara Bradby Hammond, *The skilled labourer* (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1919), pp. 126, 128 (quoting a contemporary source). Birkbeck: *RAS*, 4 (1827), p. 43.

<sup>80</sup> *MM*, 6 (1827), pp. 102-103. Published when there were two versions of the *MM* due to Robertson's dispute with Knight and Lacey. This unsigned letter appeared in the series run by Robertson and published by Hunt and Clarke.

<sup>81</sup> *RAS*, 4 (1827), pp. 82-92. *LMR*, 4 (1826), pp. 115-21.

man. In proof, Birkbeck read out four propositions from John Marshall's 'The economy of social life' (1825): 1) Whatever improves labour increases production and therefore the demand for workers. 2) The proprietor only profits from his wealth when he reinvests it and therefore employs more people. 3) Permanent demand for labour depends on the increase of capital. 4) The use of machinery adds to efficiency and therefore increases the fund available to pay workers. The 'only mode' in which capital could be 'extensively productive' was in the purchase and use of machinery.<sup>82</sup>

Despite the fact that the Spitalfields weaving trade 'slipped into a disastrous depression' in 1826, Birkbeck dismissed fears that some would lose their jobs. Job loss would only be a temporary inconvenience; new (and better) jobs would soon appear. He quoted extensively from James Steuart's *Inquiry into the principles of political economy* (1767) which concluded that introducing machinery was 'absolutely indispensable, according to modern policy, according to experience, and according to reason'. Calling on the authority of James Mill, Birkbeck also dismissed fears that a 'glut in the market' would result: 'a nation's power of purchasing is exactly measured by its annual produce' so that 'the more you increase the annual produce, the more, by that very act, you extend the national market, the power of purchasing, and the actual purchases of the nation.'<sup>83</sup>

Seeking to convince his audience, Birkbeck claimed that if he did not believe the benefits of machinery to capitalists and labourers were 'perfectly reciprocal' and that high wages would eventually result from the use of machinery, 'I would at once renounce all the notions which I have ever entertained, in favour of the productions of mechanical invention'. To help the members become fully cognizant of political economy, Birkbeck announced that Mr Gibson, the silk manufacturer president of the Spitalfields Mechanics' Institution, had donated twenty copies of McCulloch's 'Essay on the Rate of Wages' (*An essay on the circumstances which determine the rate of wages*, 1826) to the LMI library.<sup>84</sup>

Finally, Birkbeck resorted to natural theology. As he had used natural theology to bolster the position of the reformer who found the government tyrannical or the clergy oppressive, Birkbeck now used divine laws to bolster his preferred view of

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<sup>82</sup> *LMR*, 4 (1826), pp. 119-20.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

society: The ‘circumstances which relate to the distribution of wealth ... display the beauty and harmony of the ordinances of the Universe.’ Having established to his own satisfaction that everyone profited from machinery, Birkbeck went on to claim that ‘no arrangement could have secured to sensitive and intelligent existences, a larger share of happiness, than that reciprocity of benefit which has been permitted to flow from the operation of Genius, where it has been left unobstructed and free.’ Thus he came round to the usual paean of praise to the perfectability of man.<sup>85</sup>

There is evidence to suggest that Birkbeck hoped that some members of the LMI audience might purchase De Bergue’s loom. He stressed that the loom could be operated by hand as well as by steam and did not require a large manufactory with a steam engine. Thus, a weaver with his family could become a power-loom weaver. With ‘a wheel in a corner of his room, and one of his children or a common labourer to turn it, he can superintend two or more looms, and thereby double his daily earnings: and so [on] in proportion to the number of his family, and the capacity of his weaving apartment.’ Equally, someone with no weaving experience could immediately produce quality fabrics.<sup>86</sup>

Costs were given to encourage the men. The looms were to be made available ‘cheap to workmen’ at £15 each. Itemising costs for a potential buyer, the *RAS* showed that in two years, a silk weaver with three De Bergue’s looms, turned by a lad at 9d. a day, would show a profit of £48, or, if he could use a member of his own family, a profit of £60. The *RAS* informed its readers that the looms could be purchased from Messrs Taylor and Martineau.<sup>87</sup>

Birkbeck had mooted the idea of working men becoming ‘capitalists’ before – in his introductory lectures to raise enthusiasm for a Spitalfields Mechanics’ Institution (March 1825). The Spitalfields audience was not impressed (according to Place) when Birkbeck proclaimed that the introduction of machinery would enable the manufacturers to pay the workers more, and that these earnings, managed carefully, would enable a ‘labourer’ to become a ‘capitalist’. Birkbeck believed that ‘the fact of the occurrence of capitalists among the labouring classes, which is comparatively recent, is decisive of the question respecting the operation of machinery upon the

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., pp. 118-19.

<sup>87</sup> *RAS*, 4 (1827), p. 90.

demand for labour.’ He cited the example of a northern weaver who had earned considerably more when he moved into a machine-operated manufactory.<sup>88</sup> Birkbeck’s emphasis here was on the working man having capital, rather than using it to buy machinery – perhaps because the majority of Spitalfields weavers were so impoverished that it would take too long to save enough money to buy a machine.

The contrast between how two audiences responded is indicative of how the introduction of machinery affected different sectors of the working classes. The LMI audience was not composed of experienced weavers. There were only three weavers and one tenter who belonged to the LMI at this time (plus Mr Fanshawe, the silk-embosser). Birkbeck knew he was not addressing weavers because he joked that, with the power-loom, he could weave a piece of cloth as fine as anything a Spitalfields weaver could produce (and more quickly). The *LMR* reported that he got a laugh for this remark which would surely have raised a howl of despair from the Spitalfields audience.<sup>89</sup>

The LMI members, who were being shown how they could become successful weavers, would have been right to feel empowered. Birkbeck had glossed over the new and better jobs that awaited the working men with the introduction of machinery. Writing specifically about the introduction of the power-loom between 1822 and 1832, Babbage explained that although the total number of workmen had increased by a third, ‘the two thousand persons thrown out of work are not exactly of the same class as those called into employment by the power-looms’.<sup>90</sup> Here was the rub. The Spitalfields weavers were not likely to get the new jobs – unless, as Birkbeck no doubt hoped, they took advantage of the proposed institute and gained from becoming members.

Given the weavers’ desperate situation – certainly they did not have money to buy looms (which is no doubt why Birkbeck described their advancement in easy stages) – it is hard to see how destroying what trade they had was going to be helpful to them. Place’s diary account of the weavers’ reactions to the new institute was typically caustic: they knew the institute would be ‘injurious’ to them right from Birkbeck’s first speech in favour of machinery. ‘All argument was useless’ because

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<sup>88</sup> Spitalfields lectures: *LMR*, 1 (1825), pp. 327, 345.

<sup>89</sup> *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 118.

<sup>90</sup> Charles Babbage, *On the economy of manufactures* (London: C. Knight, 1832), p. 412.

Flexner, London Mechanics’ Institution, ch. 7, p. 213

these weavers are by far the most ignorant ~~dirty~~ narrow minded ill paid miserable set of journeymen tradesmen in the metropolis, and what is still lamentable, they are very numerous, they will improve very slowly, for their self sufficiency and conceit is equalled only by their ignorance ~~and filthiness~~.<sup>91</sup>

The weavers' tragic circumstances encourage a gut reaction that anyone advocating machinery was an unsympathetic middle-class ideologue. Nevertheless, according to Birkbeck, Spitalfields weaving had not moved on for 100 years, 'whilst machinery has been acquiring greater perfection around you'. He warned that 'in another year you will have to compete with the silk manufactory of France, under several disadvantages.' After Birkbeck's LMI lecture, the weaving 'operative' writing to the *MM* expressed his belief that the merits of introducing the power-loom were 'understood by very few'. He went on to publish the translation of a letter from 'one of the first manufacturers in France'. Its detailed assessment praised every aspect of De Bergue's loom which was 'suitable to the weaving of all kinds of Stuffs either of wool, cotton, silk, and flax.' Although describing himself as a 'doomed' weaver, the operative saw the advantages of the machine. Given that working conditions had changed irrevocably, Birkbeck's help (in the form of the institute) does not have to be seen as an effort at middle-class hegemony.<sup>92</sup>

Berg appears to equate the mechanics' institute movement's enthusiasm for machinery with an orthodox political economy which valued capitalist profits above the working man's standard of living. But there were many kinds of political economy. Radicals and co-operators who opposed orthodox political economy were nevertheless in favour of machinery. They blamed the social system for society's ills and not the machinery or even the masters. Berg considered Hodgskin a 'radical lecturer' who 'called into question all the ideals espoused in the rhetoric of the Mechanics' Institute Movement'. Yet Hodgskin was supportive of the LMI, Birkbeck and Dupin. In his September 1826 LMI lectures on the productive powers of human labour, Hodgskin waxed lyrical about 'the astonishing increase of national power which has accrued to this country from the invention of the steam-engine'. He took for granted that the 'invention of useful machines, and the various improvements which abridge labour' were a positive development. He even quoted McCulloch with whom he agreed that 'more discoveries will be made according to the degree in which more individuals are

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<sup>91</sup> Place, 'Affairs', p. 45.

<sup>92</sup> Birkbeck: *LMR*, 1 (1825), p. 326. Unnamed operative: *MM*, 6 (1827), pp. 102-103.

placed in a situation to make them.’ Hodgskin praised the educating of the humble artisan who would now be able, unlike his ancestors, to make ‘more numerous, and, it may be, the more important discoveries ... at no distant period.’ Hodgskin dedicated the book which he published based on these lectures to Birkbeck, and worked with Birkbeck on the translation of Dupin’s *Mathematics practically applied to the useful and fine arts*.<sup>93</sup>

Political economy, like natural theology, could serve many ends. Considering how political economy was presented within the context of the other curricula strands – the negotiable science, the stress on thinking for oneself, the empowering natural theology, the practical help given to artisan inventors – there seems little reason to doubt it was intended to serve progressive ends. And the working men at the LMI appear to have accepted Birkbeck’s political economy in that light. Birkbeck did not limit them to working for others, but encouraged them to become their own masters. In fact, the lecturers actively encouraged working-class independence. There are no signs in the curriculum of middle-class managers usurping the LMI and diverting it from its initial radical purpose of empowering working men.

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<sup>93</sup> Berg, *Machinery*, p. 172. Hodgskin lectures: *LMR*, 4 (1826), pp. 342-44; Thomas Hodgskin, *Popular political economy* (London: Charles and William Tait, 1827), pp. iiv-xv. Dupin: Place, ‘Affairs’, p. 161.

## Controversies over letting the theatre

The LMI committee rented the theatre to various bodies allegedly in order to raise funds to pay off the debt to Birkbeck and even (they mooted in an 1826 advertisement) to purchase the freehold of Southampton Buildings. A central tenet of their policy was that there was no connection with any of the parties engaging the theatre beyond that of landlord and tenant.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless there are good reasons to consider these meetings integral to the ethos of the LMI. The people who hired the theatre generally knew one or more of the committee men. They often wanted to address the working classes and almost certainly chose the venue in order to reach the working men among the membership. Committee men and other members regularly attended these meetings, which formed a significant part of what the venue offered. The public meetings garnered more press coverage than the LMI's own events. And certainly these external meetings caused the greatest arguments and dissension among the members. For many, therefore, the Institution must have been more closely associated with these external events than with the institutional scientific lectures.

Almost all the groups who requested the use of the theatre had political or religious agendas. Indeed it is hardly surprising that they should have, given the tenor

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<sup>1</sup> Advertisement: *Examiner*, 12 Feb. 1826. Landlord: for instance copy for prospectus, MBv3, 13 Apr. 1830.



of the times and that it was an avowedly working-class venue. Wealthy associations who supported the Tory government were unlikely to choose the LMI – and indeed they did not. The *Age* referred to the ‘uncongenial hole at the London Mechanics’ Institute’ and claimed that groups who used the theatre could as well hold their meetings in Palace Yard, famous for the huge radical reform meetings addressed by Henry Hunt.<sup>2</sup> The connection of the LMI with Hunt was borne out when Hunt became a regular speaker there in 1828.

The years 1825 to 1830 were politically fraught with the supremacy of the Anglican Church and Tory government increasingly threatened. People denied and ridiculed Church dogmas. Although extremists were incarcerated on charges of blasphemy and sedition, the authority of the Church remained under attack. Agitations for religious freedom became more widespread, better organised and more vociferous. Finally, in April 1828, the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts allowed Dissenters to hold civil and public office. Then the long-term agitation of Daniel O’Connell’s Catholic Association, with support from Burdett, Canning and others, resulted in the Catholic Emancipation Act a year later in April 1829. Radical campaigns for universal suffrage threatened the government from another direction. Dissenters, Catholics and radicals often joined forces to demand reform. Equally they often disagreed with each other over how reform should be implemented.

The committee found itself embroiled in all these issues – no less than in the rise of the co-operative movement and the growing appeal of Robert Owen’s anti-capitalist vision – as different groups requested the theatre for public meetings. A study of the committee’s decisions provides an unparalleled opportunity for analysing the internal workings of the LMI, as well as the Institution’s position within London society. Analysing the LMI Minutes and the press reports of some of these events underscores yet again that there was no simple mechanic-to-clerk or working-class-to-middle-class trajectory at the LMI. Particularly, this research reveals a close connection between the London co-operators and the LMI in late 1829 and 1830 when the London Co-operative Society was launching the British Association for the Promotion of Co-operative Knowledge – a connection which seriously undermines suggestions that the LMI management was out of touch with working-class activities. The London Co-

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<sup>2</sup> *Age*, 15 Jan. 1826.

operative Society was largely run by working men and co-operative endeavours were at this point a key working-class concern.

### **Renting: first experiences**

The newly built theatre opened in July 1825. In January 1826, Dr Gilchrist drew up an advertisement to announce that the theatre was available for public meetings on *all* days of the week (when not used by the Institute).<sup>3</sup> The influential committee men and founders initially saw no problem with letting the theatre on Sundays, even though the Sabbath was vital to conservative views of religious observance. These men were not Anglicans. Birkbeck had been a practising Quaker, Place an outright infidel. Henry Hetherington, member of the first five-man subcommittee to organise hiring out the theatre,<sup>4</sup> was a Christian freethinker. William Friend, who with Hetherington attended the meeting which approved the advertisement, was a Unitarian. Dr Gilchrist, in the chair at the meeting, and writer of the advertisement, was an active supporter of the apostate Revd Robert Taylor, soon to be dubbed by Henry Hunt the ‘devil’s chaplain’. Charles Toplis, destined to become a vice-president in 1828 and probably the most prominent organiser of the Institution for the next few years, was also at the meeting.

Before the committee’s decision to let the theatre on Sunday could bring any public condemnation, it was attacked by the members at the February 1826 quarterly meeting. The immediate problem was who should be allowed to use the theatre on Sundays. The issue was raised by John Gloyn, a Whitefriars clerk, who was not mollified by vice-president Robert McWilliam’s assertion that the theatre would only be let to those ‘whose objects were not contrary to the established religion of the country.’<sup>5</sup> Proving that clerks could be as radical as anyone else, Gloyn proclaimed that if ‘*preachers of Christianity*’ were to use the theatre, ‘it ought also to be open to *its opponents*.’ He associated the committee’s attitudes with the recent *LMR* diatribe against those attending a Paine birthday celebration, who were described as being ‘associated for the purposes of blasphemy and sedition’. This was the editorial which had contended that linking mechanics’ institutes with Paine was like comparing

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<sup>3</sup> MBv1, 23, 30 Jan. 1826.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 25 Jul. 1825.

<sup>5</sup> Gloyn: MRv1, 159. Meeting: *LMR*, 3 (1826), pp. 317-18.

‘honesty and thieving’ or ‘Jaggernaut with the Deity’.<sup>6</sup> The committee men were quick to distance themselves from the *LMR* editorial. Charles Lane (a Christian freethinker soon to be on the committee) and Richard Taylor (a Unitarian on the provisional and first committees) joined in the discussion at the quarterly meeting.<sup>7</sup>

How could Gloyn so spectacularly mistake the views of the committee men and LMI leading lights? It seems that, early on at least, the management was doing an excellent job of maintaining a position in accordance with the governing mores. Before the advertisement had appeared, the committee had turned down a request from the Revd Robert Taylor to use the theatre for meetings of the Christian Evidence Society.<sup>8</sup> Although some committee men supported Taylor, he was clearly too controversial for the fledgling institution to associate with. Two years later, Taylor would be jailed ‘for a conspiracy to overthrow the Christian religion’.<sup>9</sup> His attacks on Church dogma ridiculed the absurdities of the Biblical stories. Gilchrist, Place and Joseph Hume would be active in his defence.<sup>10</sup> The Minutes recorded that Taylor’s request was ‘politely declined’.

Such were the decisions on overtly religious matters in the opening months of hiring out the theatre. The first person, however, to whom the LMI let the theatre, on 26 September 1825, was Robert Owen. Owen knew many LMI men personally and had just been made an honorary member for his £10 donation.<sup>11</sup> Place and Owen had been friends since 1813 when (according to Place) Owen had asked him to read and correct *A new view of society*. LMI supporters (the Duke of Sussex and John Smith M.P.) and officials (William Tooke and Robert McWilliam) had been backing Owen since 1819. Richard Taylor, who attended the 26 September meeting, was an Owenite at least in the 1830s and Birkbeck was sympathetic to Owen by January 1829.<sup>12</sup> The purpose of the meeting was to introduce Owen’s new social system of co-operative communities to the

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<sup>6</sup> *LMR*, 3 (1826), pp. 255-56 (editorial), 318.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> MBv1, 12 Sep. 1825.

<sup>9</sup> *Comet*, 1 (1832-3), p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> Gilchrist, Place: Place, ‘Affairs’, p. 245. Hume: *ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>11</sup> MS ‘List of honorary members of the London Mechanics’ Institution’.

<sup>12</sup> Place: Wallas, *Place*, pp. 63-64. ‘Supporters’: Gregory Claeys (ed.), *Owenite Socialism: Pamphlets and Correspondence*, vol. 1, 1819-1825 (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 24-25. Taylor: Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 253. Birkbeck: Harrison, *Owen*, p. 41.

‘mechanical class of society’.<sup>13</sup> The LMI was the ideal venue and must have been chosen in order to address its membership. The tenant at least felt that he had a joint purpose with the landlord.

Owen based his system on an Enlightenment understanding of human nature. Man was a creature of circumstance. Improving those circumstances and teaching individuals to respect and help each other was the only way to improve society. Punishment could never work, because, being the product of his environment, man was not personally responsible for his actions. Sectarianism in general was particularly criticised for fostering false notions of right and wrong and a ‘total want of mental charity among men.’<sup>14</sup>

This meeting attracted a huge attendance. In the hall, the ratio of co-operators to LMI members is not known, but an astonishing majority of 1,300 to 4 agreed that a co-operative community should be established to test Owen’s theory preparatory to introducing the new system more widely.<sup>15</sup> Although the London Co-operative Society itself did not hire the theatre again until May 1829, the tenets of Owen’s co-operative system were often expounded and investigated.

Another LMI event turned out unexpectedly to have a strong co-operative element. In November 1826, placards around London proclaimed a meeting of the ‘first importance to all the mechanics in the United Kingdom’. According to *The Times*, ‘the ambiguous wording’ resulted in the LMI theatre being ‘thronged to suffocation’. Again there was a direct appeal by an outside organisation to the LMI constituency. The purpose of the meeting was to spread the word about the working-class journal, the *Trades’ Newspaper*. But *The Times* noted that another topic was mooted early on ‘possessing a still greater degree of interest’: Owen’s plans for ending the distress of the working classes. A speaker read out a long extract from William Thompson’s *An essay on the distribution of wealth* (1824), which turned out to be ‘nothing more than a repetition of what had been advanced before in the same place by Mr Owen, of New Lanark – namely the establishment of the co-operative system’.<sup>16</sup>

The *Trades’ Newspaper* had grown out of the campaign to repeal the

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<sup>13</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 27 Sep, 1825.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Owen, *A new view of society* (London: Longman, 1817), p. 107.

<sup>15</sup> *Morning Post*, 1 Oct. 1825.

<sup>16</sup> *The Times*, 3 Nov. 1826.

Combination Acts. Francis Place claimed credit for orchestrating the evidence presented to the Select Committee under Joseph Hume's chairmanship. Place had encouraged men from various trades across the country and many of his London friends, including Richard Taylor, John Martineau and Bryan Donkin (also active in founding the LMI), to give evidence.<sup>17</sup> John Gast and other working men were keen to strengthen this loose association so that it would become a lasting force for the improvement of working conditions. They channelled their efforts into establishing a newspaper to provide 'a common organ' for exchange of opinion and to 'uphold the interests of the working classes, as before all others entitled to consideration and protection.' No other than J. C. Robertson was the paper's first editor.<sup>18</sup>

When the newspaper was founded in July 1825, *John Bull* equated it directly with the LMI and London University. These three bodies were the result of the 'exertions of the Liberty Boys and Revolutionists, in the cause which is to subvert the order of things'. The *Trades' Newspaper* provided the means 'through which the inflammatory venom of the revolutionary school may be conveyed and circulated amongst the working classes.' *John Bull* associated the paper with Burdett and Brougham. It feared that working men would be 'fevered into licentiousness and revolution by the infernal machinations of Puritans, regicides and republicans.' And of course there were connections between the newspaper and the LMI, not least in the form of Robertson and Place. John Gast had collaborated with Birkbeck and McWilliam to set up the Rotherhithe Mechanics' Institution in November 1825.<sup>19</sup> But there was an even tighter link in Autumn 1826: George Adam, a 'working-class' carpenter, was on the committees of both organisations. It was he who had requested the use of the theatre for the *Trades' Newspaper* meeting.<sup>20</sup>

The desire to educate the working classes was a shared short-term goal of the *Trades' Newspaper* and the London Co-operative Society. Ultimately their aims were different: the co-operators were motivated by communitarian values, a desire to change

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<sup>17</sup> Donkin was at the 8 Nov. 1823 private meeting to launch the LMI: Place, EH, f. 247. Donkin was not a member, but three of his engineers were (MRv1: David Clark, 309; William McCombie, 310; William Brewitt, 375). Prothero, *Artisans*, pp. 175-76.

<sup>18</sup> *Laws and regulations of the Trades' Newspaper association* (London: J. Limbird [1825]), pp. 4, 11 (Robertson), 12 (Gast).

<sup>19</sup> *John Bull*, 18 Jul. 1825; Rotherhithe: *Morning Post*, 29 Nov. 1825.

<sup>20</sup> MBv2, 30 Oct. 1826

the social structure more profoundly than the *Trades' Newspaper's* trades union goals. Nevertheless at this point they were useful to each other. The co-operators provided a ready-made audience (over 1,000 people had attended their previous LMI meeting) for the paper. And the paper was an ideal vehicle to spread the co-operators' message to the 'industrious classes'. Diffusing information (through the press, public lectures and publications) was a central objective of the London Co-operative Society.<sup>21</sup>

This *Trades' Newspaper/Owenite* meeting was the first LMI event that resulted in a letter of complaint to the committee. Mr Stone, who had planned to give a lecture on the stability of floating bodies, now refused 'lest he should be identified with a public meeting connected with the *Trades' Newspaper*'. The committee's reply would become their standard response. Birkbeck wrote that the committee 'found it necessary to let their Theatre occasionally for Public meetings ... but that in no instance had such meetings any connection with the Institution.'<sup>22</sup>

What exactly did Birkbeck mean by a 'connection with the Institution'? It is evident that the men on the committee had connections with the men who hired the theatre and that people hired the theatre specifically because of its constituency. It is also clear that members attended these public meetings; they even spoke at them. The specific nature of the connection is the intriguing element.

### **Political meetings**

The most overtly political meeting before July 1828 was the 15 May 1827 'meeting of operatives' to agree a congratulatory petition to the King on his appointment of George Canning as Prime Minister. The meeting was chaired by Joseph Hume, a prominent LMI backer who had addressed the December 1824 anniversary meeting. Along with Hume, Gilchrist was thanked at the end of the meeting. Gast spoke from the audience.<sup>23</sup> Canning's appointment was hugely controversial. It had divided both the country and the reformers. Tories considered that Canning had sold out their principles by allying himself with Whig and Radical MPs. Cobbett and Hunt accused Burdett and Hobhouse

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<sup>21</sup> *Rules for the observance of the London Co-operative Society* (London: Whiting and Branston, 1825), p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> MBv2, 6 Nov. 1826.

<sup>23</sup> *Examiner*, 20 May 1827. *CWR*, 62 (1827), pp. 457-59.

of betraying the cause of universal manhood suffrage by joining Canning. The most divisive issues of the day were Catholic emancipation and the reform of Parliament. Canning was in favour of the first, but vehemently opposed to the second.<sup>24</sup> The meeting itself was far from plain sailing. In fact according to Cobbett's account, the audience opposed the King's decision.<sup>25</sup>

Canning's appointment ushered in developments which had a profound impact on the LMI's letting policies – particularly by giving momentum to Catholic emancipation and by reuniting Hunt and Cobbett. Within a year the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, supporting O'Connell and supported by Hunt, were regular customers. Soon Cobbett would join Hunt at the LMI when (after the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed) the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty rebranded themselves the Radical Reform Association.<sup>26</sup>

A month after the Canning event, the LMI hosted a meeting to petition Parliament for a reform of the patent regulations. It was hardly surprising that the LMI, with its ready-made constituency, was the venue of choice. What is surprising is that the LMI management ended up running the meeting. Again the advertisement announced a general cause that appealed to the mechanics: 'a meeting of those who were desirous of effecting the "emancipation of mechanical genius"'. The *Standard* reported that consequently there was 'considerable number of gentlemen assembled'. But the chairman did not appear. After about an hour, Birkbeck entered 'with six or so others' including the barrister Benjamin Rotch, who had seconded one of the resolutions at the 11 November 1823 meeting to establish the LMI. This group probably included Birkbeck's LMI colleague Charles Toplis who spoke later in the meeting. Birkbeck was there as a spectator but he ended up having to convince Major Shaw to chair the meeting and the LMI president proposed the first resolution. Toplis moved that a petition be presented to both Houses of Parliament asking for the appointment of a committee to inquire into state of the patent laws. He thought that the 'present system was totally inadequate and ought to be immediately remedied.' *John*

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<sup>24</sup> *CWR*, 62 (1827), pp. 451-52. John Belchem, *'Orator' Hunt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 188-89.

<sup>25</sup> *CWR*, 62 (17 May 1827), p. 471.

<sup>26</sup> See the following account.

*Bull* labelled the event a ‘Political meeting to repeal the Law of Patents’.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, not only did the committee men know the organisers, they often took active parts in the events. Sometimes the members themselves organised the external meetings. For instance Gilchrist chaired a meeting of the Gymnastics Society to raise interest in founding a school based on exercise.<sup>28</sup> But being a committee man did not mean that one would automatically be able to hire the theatre. On 12 May 1828 Hetherington requested the theatre on Sundays ‘for a few respectable tradesmen and others to hold a friendly Christian conference’. This was Hetherington’s group ‘commonly called Free-thinking Christians’, who opposed Church of England dogma. But although Hetherington was present at both committee meetings that discussed his request, it was turned down. Later in 1828 he fell out with his co-religionists, after they refused admission to a Jew, and published a pamphlet in which he described the group as ‘a society of the most skilful and consummate hypocrites of the present day.’<sup>29</sup> Whether the committee’s concern was over the Sunday request or over the general tone of the group is unclear. On 14 July, the committee turned down another Sunday request this time from a ‘baptised congregation’.<sup>30</sup>

Two weeks later, however, on 21 July 1828, the committee men made a decision which transformed their operations – both in terms of policy and in terms of income. They agreed to rent the theatre to the Association of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty for regular meetings. When the LMI committee allowed the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty (Friends) to use the theatre, they welcomed a politically active organisation into Southampton Buildings. After the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed in March/April 1829, the Friends became the Radical Reform Association (RRA). A largely working-class organisation, it embraced a protestant wing and a central Catholic constituency including many Irish working men. W. E. Andrews, a Roman Catholic radical, was a prominent organiser. Speakers at the LMI Friends and RRA meetings were to include the radical orator Henry Hunt, famous for addressing the mass meeting that became the Peterloo massacre, and the Catholic barrister Daniel

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<sup>27</sup> Rotch: *MM*, 1 (1824), p. 192. *Standard*, 6 Jun. 1827. Short notices in *Morning Post*, 6 Jun. 1827, and *John Bull*, 11 Jun. 1827.

<sup>28</sup> *Examiner*, 26 March 1826.

<sup>29</sup> MBv2, 12 May, 19 May 1828. Cooper, ‘Eloge’, p. 147 (Jewish). Pamphlet quoted in Barker, *Hetherington*, p. 5.

<sup>30</sup> MBv2, 14 Jul. 1828.



French, who had been castigating Anglican priests for years and been labelled a Jacobin by *John Bull*. Emanuel Dias Santos, who contacted the LMI on behalf of the Friends/RRA, was, according to Belchem, a ‘prominent parish reformer and an envoy to the people of Paris in 1830’. The *Standard* ‘calculated’ that Santos was ‘a Portuguese Jew’. For these men, Catholic Emancipation was the first step in a campaign to achieve a much wider range of political reforms.<sup>31</sup>

Dias Santos’s letter requesting use of the theatre was read at the committee meeting on 14 July 1828, only nine days after the prominent Catholic Daniel O’Connell had been elected to the County Clare constituency. Because Catholics could not be members of Parliament, O’Connell’s election brought matters to a head. A few days before the election, Hunt had declared that O’Connell’s ‘contest in Clare was not a Catholic, or an Irish, but a national question.’<sup>32</sup> It is hard to imagine a more febrile moment at which the committee could have had to decide about letting the Friends use the theatre.

A staunchly establishment organisation would not have let their theatre to such a group. But the LMI was founded by radicals and dissenters. Several of them actively supported the Friends and the Irish cause. Gilchrist, while leader of a Scottish radical group, joined ranks with the Irish under the banner ‘Shamrock, Thistle and Rose’. The goal, supported by Hunt, was to gain rights for the unrepresented peoples in Scotland, Ireland and England. Prothero traced Gilchrist’s connection to the Friends back to the Queen Caroline affair in 1820-1 when Gilchrist headed the ‘Shamrock, Thistle and Rose’ committee in her support.<sup>33</sup>

LMI leading lights Richard Taylor and Alexander Galloway were also involved with the Friends. According to Hunt, both were at a Friends’ meeting in October 1829

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<sup>31</sup> ‘Jacobin’: *The Truthteller*, 17 Feb. 1827. Santos: *Standard*, 18 Sep. 1827, Belchem, *Hunt*, p. 190. Background on the Friends and RRA: *ibid.*, pp. 190-99. My account of the Friends/RRA is largely pieced together from newspaper coverage: *The Truthteller*, 17 Feb. 1827; *Standard*, 23 Jul., 14 Aug., 18 Sep. 1827; *Morning Post*, 3 Jul. 1828. Announcement of first LMI Friends meeting: *CWR*, 66 (1828), p. 96. Accounts of LMI Friends events: *ibid.*, p. 155; *Morning Chronicle*, 22 Jul. 1828; *Age*, 28 Jul. 1828; *Morning Post*, 3 Sep. 1828; *John Bull*, 8 Sep. 1828; *Morning Chronicle*, 8 Oct. 1828; *Standard*, 14 Oct. 1828; *Lion*, 3 (1829), pp. 293-94. Accounts of RRA meetings: *Standard*, 14 Jul. 1829 (name change from Friends to RRA); *Morning Post*, 15 Jul. 1829; *CWR*, 68 (1829), p. 85; *Morning Post*, 5, 6 Aug. 1829; *CWR*, 68 (1829), p. 320; *Age*, 20 Sep. 1829; *Examiner*, 27 Sep. 1829; *Standard*, 5 Oct. 1829; *Lion*, 4 (1829), pp. 449-52, 513-19; *Morning Chronicle*, 20 Oct. 1829; *Examiner*, 25 Oct. 1829; *Sheffield Independent*, 7 Nov. 1829; *Age*, 8 Nov. 1829, *Morning Chronicle*, 16 Feb. 1830; *Bell’s Life*, 21 Feb. 1830.

<sup>32</sup> MBv2, 14 Jul. 1828. *Morning Post*, 3 Jul. 1828 (‘contest’).

<sup>33</sup> Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 143.

to organise a dinner for the great Irish campaigner R. L. Shiel.<sup>34</sup> Taylor was on the LMI committee when the Friends' request came in. Galloway had been on the LMI's provisional committee and we can document his connections with the committee in March 1829 when he supplied iron-work to the LMI.<sup>35</sup>

Gilchrist, Taylor and Galloway are evidence of close affiliations between the LMI and the Friends/RRA. They undermine Birkbeck's claim that there was no relationship beyond that of landlord and tenant between the Institution and its lessee. But even closer connections can be found. By back-projecting from future associations, three men at the actual committee meetings can be identified who almost certainly had sympathies for the Friends/RRA radical agenda – and may even have been members of those organisations. These are Charles Lane, Henry Hetherington and G. G. Ward. Along with Dias Santos and C. J. Hand (another LMI member), all three men were on the founding council of the Metropolitan Political Union, an organisation set up in March 1830 to campaign for radical reform. The Union was promoted by Henry Hunt at the RRA meetings at the LMI. At one of these RRA meetings, the *Age* reported that 'Mr Lane' recommended that people subscribe one penny each to fund a campaign to send their own representative to the House of Commons. That this was the plan of the Metropolitan Political Union suggests that this Mr Lane was indeed Charles Lane.<sup>36</sup>

Further circumstantial evidence connecting 'Mr Lane' to Charles Lane is provided by Lane's association with Hetherington and G. G. Ward on the LMI committee and the MPU. Both Lane and Hetherington actively supported the RRA: Lane as a speaker (November 1829) and Hetherington as speaker and secretary. The *Age* identified Lane as a Christian freethinker along with Hetherington.<sup>37</sup>

Charles Lane is particularly important because his was the first name on the letter demanding a special committee meeting to discuss the Friends' proposal. If this Charles Lane were the same man who spoke at the RRA meeting, he and his co-signatories must have been in favour of letting the theatre to the Friends. The very fact that he had to call a special meeting suggests that the regular meeting was inclined to

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<sup>34</sup> *Standard*, 30 Oct. 1828.

<sup>35</sup> MBv2, 8 Dec. 1828. QMv1, f. 360.

<sup>36</sup> MPU: Rowe, *London Radicalism*. Hand: MRv2, 4333, listed as 'gentleman'. Hunt: *Morning Chronicle*, 16 Feb. 1830. *Age*, 8 Nov. 1829.

<sup>37</sup> Lane: *Age*, 8 Nov. 1829. Hetherington: *Lion*, 4 (1829), pp. 514-17.

reject the request. The Minutes do not relate the discussion beyond reporting that the secretary was to find out the purpose of the RRA meeting.

What was going on behind the scenes? Lane's letter arrived two days after the regular committee meeting and the special meeting was convened the following day.<sup>38</sup> The committee men must have been put to some inconvenience to rearrange their plans at the last minute. Why was this such an urgent matter? And would not influential LMI men have had to intercede to short-circuit regular committee procedures? One reason for the special meeting could have been that the Friends wanted a quick decision. Their first LMI event occurred only four days later (within a fortnight of O'Connell's election).<sup>39</sup> Were Charles Lane and leading LMI men privy to their desires? What happened at the special meeting tends to support the view that forces outside the committee men themselves were at work.

Nineteen committee men turned up on 17 July 1828. The secretary had discovered that the meeting was intended to support Daniel O'Connell and his principles. When the motion was put that the Friends be allowed to hire the theatre, a show of hands revealed the committee men split nine for and nine against. Robert Clarke, later to be vocal against the renting of the theatre to political and religious groups, was on this committee and likely to have opposed the motion. It was suggested that the chairman, Peter Christie, should have the deciding vote. But when Christie, the 'working-class' carver so actively involved in the drawing classes, said that he would vote against the motion, a ballot was requested and agreed upon. Why? if not to ensure that the motion be passed. The result was ten votes for the motion, nine votes against. With Christie voting against, at least one member (maybe more) changed his vote when it was a secret ballot.<sup>40</sup> The same kind of anomaly occurred over a year later when a vote was taken on whether the RRA meetings were 'injurious' to the Institution's reputation and should thus be terminated. Here, although the vote appeared to agree that the meetings should cease, no action was taken and the meetings continued (discussed below).

The same men who had turned down Hetherington's request to use the theatre for a meeting of freethinking Christians, agreed to rent the theatre to a politically

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<sup>38</sup> Santos request: MBv2, 14 Jul. 1828. Special meeting: MBv2, 17 Jul. 1828.

<sup>39</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 22 Jul. 1828.

<sup>40</sup> MBv2, 17 Jul. 1828.

active, proselytising group that was involved in issues of immense controversy. Could it be that it was known that Birkbeck and other influential LMI men like Galloway, Taylor and Gilchrist were in favour of these meetings going ahead? If there were a feeling (certainly articulated by many of the later critics of the LMI) that discussion of politics was essential to working men's education, then these meetings (largely of working men, according to Place) provided a useful forum which could be separated from the LMI's core business.<sup>41</sup> An examination of the committee's actions towards the co-operators – in direct opposition to some of the members' wishes after May 1830 – shows even more vividly the management's determination (even as committee men changed) to support a working-class radical agenda.

The committee's decision to allow the Friends to use the theatre had two major ramifications. The Institution became embroiled in political controversy, and it garnered a great deal of bad publicity. When the Friends turned into the RRA a year later, their meetings continued with no new agreement (13 July 1829). The RRA's purpose, to achieve 'universal suffrage, vote by ballot and annual Parliaments', appealed to a much wider constituency. Whereas the Friends meetings were poorly attended, one RRA event saw 1,000 people turned away. Five months after the RRA's first meeting, Birkbeck accepted that the Institution had suffered by 'imputation' from letting the theatre to the RRA. But the committee did not alter its position and the RRA continued to use the theatre.<sup>42</sup>

Cobbett's LMI lectures (from November 1829 to March 1830) almost certainly also resulted from the committee's decision about the Friends. Cobbett was briefly a speaker at RRA meetings before he fell out with the organisation over Daniel French's republican approach to reform. There was no recorded discussion of allowing Cobbett to use the theatre which may indicate that the committee men regarded his talks as a continuation of his RRA presence. The *Morning Chronicle* noted that 'hundreds' of people were turned away from his first lecture on 26 November 1829.<sup>43</sup>

The Friends and RRA meetings were presented in the (no doubt biased) press as disreputable gatherings at which speakers inflamed a largely Irish Catholic audience,

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<sup>41</sup> D. J. Rowe, 'Class and political radicalism', *Historical Journal*, 13 (1970), p. 33.

<sup>42</sup> Suffrage: *ibid.* '1,000': *CWR*, 68 (1829), p. 320. Birkbeck: *Morning Chronicle*, 5 Dec. 1829.

<sup>43</sup> Cobbett at RRA meetings: *Morning Chronicle*, 14 Jul. 1829; *Standard*, 14 Jul. 1829; *CWR*, 68 (1829), pp. 85, 320; *Morning Post*, 3 Aug. 1829. *Morning Chronicle*, 27 Nov. 1829.

members of which shouted each other down and rioted. Even Cobbett's lectures required police intervention. The discussions were on contentious issues which polarised the population – not only Tory from Whig from Radical but also one reformer from another as each sought to achieve the goal by different means. At the first Friends' meeting, Hunt claimed that rightfully 'all Ireland ... [should] be bristling with pikes and bayonets' and that the only way to improve the situation was for everyone to 'join the ranks of Radical Reformers'. But Hunt was wary of O'Connell for having abandoned the 40s freeholders in the hope of gaining Catholic emancipation in 1825, and O'Connell's vacillation on the point soon caused major ructions at the Friends' LMI meetings. When O'Connell's decision to declare himself a 'constitutional reformer' rather than a 'radical reformer' was condemned by French and supported by Revd Spooner, the audience became so animated that the chairman reported: 'the owners of this Institution call our conduct a public disgrace, and think we had better adjourn.' Were members of the management there as part of the assembly or solely as 'landlords'?<sup>44</sup>

After Cobbett denounced French's republican views at the RRA's 7 September 1829 meeting, antagonism between French supporters and Cobbett supporters flared regularly. Although Cobbett had ceased to attend the meetings, adherents of his views caused so much disruption at the 5 October 1829 meeting, that the newly formed police had to be called. They had only been on the beat for seven days. Hunt noted the irony and commented that 'the new police ... were not altogether useless; instead of interrupting the meeting they had carried off the fellows who had occasioned so much disturbance.' This meeting was chaired by 'Mr Skene', probably P. O. Skene: LMI French teacher from December 1828 through January 1830; a paid-up LMI member from December 1828 to June 1829; and then honorary member. P. O. Skene was also the London Co-operative Society secretary who communicated with the LMI on their behalf to book the theatre.<sup>45</sup>

At Cobbett's own LMI meeting on 10 December 1829, a 'packed body of about forty Irish labourers' refused to allow him to speak and the police were again called

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<sup>44</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 22 Jul. 1828 ('bristling'). Hunt on O'Connell at Friends' event: *CWR*, 66 (1828), p. 155. French attacked O'Connell for calling for 'constitutional' rather than 'radical' reform at the 1 Sep. Friends' event: *Morning Post*, 3 Sep. 1828. 'Owners': *ibid*.

<sup>45</sup> Sep. event: *CWR*, 68 (1829), pp. 322-50; *Age*, 20 Sep. 1829. Hunt on Cobbett's 'resignation': *Examiner*, 27 Sep. 1829. Oct. event: *Standard*, 6 Oct. 1829.

out. Cobbett believed the Irishmen had been hired specially for the purpose.<sup>46</sup> There was no love lost between the various factions for reform.

As coverage often focussed on the Irishmen in the audience, prejudices against Irish Catholics need to be taken into account. Such was the hysteria about the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act that even the Prime Minister's speaking at a St Patrick's dinner was equated with the meetings of the LMI's 'radical ragamuffins'. But it was not only the Tory press that was critical. Richard Carlile considered the Friends 'a practical Irish bull. It talks of civil and religious liberty, and meets for dissension.' In October 1829, he noted that the RRA was merely a change of name for the same 'Catholic' organisation. Carlile went on to compare the monthly LMI meetings to 'an Irish row, short of blows, and little short of blows'.<sup>47</sup>

Not all meetings appear to have been so hectic – or perhaps some of the objectionable behaviour was in the eye of the beholder. Cobbett's account of the 7 September 1829 RRA meeting was positive. According to him, although the audience came from all ranks of society, it was a united group (in approving what he, Cobbett, said).<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, about three weeks later (and only six days before the police were called to the 5 October meeting), the committee men, at a meeting chaired by Charles Lane, registered the increasing disruption. They had just received a letter of complaint from members of the drawing class which met in the classroom underneath the theatre. The teacher of the class, Christopher Davy, confirmed that the noise of the meeting 'prevented him from being heard by the pupils' and that the 'stamping [caused] a shower of dust and blacks to fall from the ceiling on their drawings'. The committee demanded that Santos keep the audience in check and Santos promised to make every effort to do so.<sup>49</sup>

Although LMI managers allowed the meetings, they continually tried to distance the Institution from the events. They devised special wording that should be put in any advertisements and also demanded approval of external organisers'

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<sup>46</sup> *Standard*, 11 Dec. 1829. Letter from Cobbett in *Morning Chronicle*, 14 Dec. 1829. *CWR*, 68 (1829), p. 783.

<sup>47</sup> St Patrick's day: *Standard*, 18 Mar. 1830. *Lion*, 3 (1829), p. 293. *Lion*, 4 (1829), p. 449.

<sup>48</sup> *CWR*, 68 (1829), p. 332.

<sup>49</sup> MBv3, 28 Sep., 30 Sep. (special meeting), 26 Oct. (Santos response) 1829.

advertisements.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, confusion remained. In September 1829, the *Morning Chronicle* noted that the public might well think that the RRA and the LMI were connected. It hastened to inform its readers that there was no connection whatever between them beyond the one renting the theatre to the other.<sup>51</sup>

But newspaper articles like the one comparing the St Patrick's dinner to an LMI event made no distinction: 'radical ragamuffins at the Mechanics' Institute' could easily refer to LMI members. Cobbett in July 1829 talked of 'the Southampton Street debaters' tying the RRA directly to the Institution.<sup>52</sup> When the *Morning Post* reported that Lord Eldon had received a petition 'purporting to be from a Mechanics' Institute, signed by Henry Hunt and others', the connection became tighter and more political. In September 1829, the *Age* printed a letter from the RRA secretary carrying the address 'Committee-room, Mechanics' Institute'.<sup>53</sup> How much closer could these organisations appear to be?

Several committee men were sympathetic to – indeed involved with – the RRA. Probably many other members were also. It would certainly be odd, given the size of the meetings, that they were largely working-class affairs and that they were convened at the LMI, if LMI members had not attended. Indeed much of the later criticism of the LMI at this period centres (perhaps unjustly as it now turns out) on its lack of provision for political discussion.

Is it going too far to suggest that the managers allowed the meetings to continue partly because so many members attended them? The committee (no doubt like the rest of the membership) was split over allowing the RRA to use the theatre. It seems safe to assume that committee men actively involved with the organisation were in favour of the meetings. Lane and Hetherington were both referred to as supporting the RRA in one of the *Age*'s attacks on the association. The article's vituperative tone shows why other committee men (and many other members) wanted to distance themselves as quickly as possible from the RRA. Employing Mark Anthony's rhetorical technique in

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<sup>50</sup> MBv2, 6 Nov. 1826 (approval), 2 May 1827 (special wording), 3 Mar. 1828 (Standing Orders for managers included rule about copy approval). MBv3, 13 Apr. 1830, on the prospectuses that included the wording 'the Institution has no other connection with any of the parties engaging the theatre than that of Landlord and Tenant'.

<sup>51</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 24 Sep. 1829.

<sup>52</sup> *Standard*, 18 Mar. 1830 ('ragamuffins'). *CWR*, 68 (1829), p. 89.

<sup>53</sup> *Morning Post*, 8 Apr. 1829. *Age*, 20 Sep. 1829.

Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, the *Age* denied that the RRA's goal was the very goal the paper believed it to entertain: 'to overthrow the Constitution of the British empire' – for, as Anthony had said of Brutus, Hetherington and Lane were 'honourable men'.<sup>54</sup> On 19 October 1829, the anti-RRA faction succeeded in forcing a discussion of the propriety of letting the theatre to the RRA.<sup>55</sup> All the committee men were summoned to be present at the next meeting on 26 October 1829.

The Minutes record that Lane was at both meetings (the one that summoned all committee men and the meeting of the 26<sup>th</sup>). Hetherington (currently secretary of the RRA) and Ward came to the second meeting. Joseph Styles, a 'working-class' carpenter newly elected to the committee in September 1829 and a known radical was also at the second meeting.<sup>56</sup> According to Prothero, Styles was a 'a leading man among the carpenters, was in the First Pimlico and then the Westminster co-operative societies'. In September 1831, Styles was secretary of the Westminster Union of the working classes and actively campaigning for the release of Revd Robert Taylor.<sup>57</sup>

The motion for discussion was that the RRA meetings were 'calculated to injure the Institution seriously in the estimation of the Public' and that they should therefore 'be discontinued'. As with the first vote which allowed the Friends to use the theatre, this vote was contested and confused. The motion was put and voted on by ballot. The Minutes reported that the motion against the meetings was agreed. But the meetings were not cancelled. When the result of the ballot was made known, several members said that 'they had voted for the motion by mistake when they intended to vote against it and requested that the motion might therefore be put to the vote again'. The chairman, Thomas Snowden Peckston (a 'not-of-the-working-class' civil engineer) refused.<sup>58</sup>

The vote was not retaken, but it was agreed not to act on the motion. Later in the same meeting, the men returned to a discussion of Santos's demand for a cheaper rate. However they could reach no decision for the reason that the men who were against the RRA had left the meeting early. The decision was thus deferred for two

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<sup>54</sup> *Age*, 8 Nov. 1829.

<sup>55</sup> MBv3, 19 Oct. 1829.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 Oct. 1829. Styles: MRv2, 526. Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 256.

<sup>57</sup> *Prompter*, 1 (1830-31), pp. 826-27.

<sup>58</sup> MBv3, 26 Oct. 1829.



weeks. Clearly no committee man thought that the apparent decision to stop the RRA meetings was going to be acted upon. Why would this be? unless there were background knowledge that the powers at the LMI wanted the meetings to continue.

On 9 November 1829, the motion was rescinded and it was resolved to continue the discussion three weeks' later. The Minutes do not reveal any further discussion. The next mention of Dias Santos was on 8 February 1830 when it was recorded that he had paid for rent of the theatre through to 18 January.<sup>59</sup> The RRA continued to hire the hall until May 1830 when the committee bowed to pressure from LMI members at large.

So was there an understanding that Birkbeck and other leading LMI members wanted the radical group to remain? Some committee men balked, but in the end they knew they would have to agree. If Birkbeck and others had given their nod to the group, why? There are two reasons to weigh up. First, financial gain: This was the reason which Birkbeck and the committee always advanced, but the gain was nowhere near as great as they implied. Second, educational and political gain: Gilchrist, Taylor and Galloway were closely connected to the Friends. Others may have been also. Birkbeck was a close friend of Hetherington's during this period. If these men approved of the general intent of the RRA, which was composed according to Place 'almost entirely of working men', might they have thought the meetings a useful adjunct to the LMI's formal schedule?

When Birkbeck came to defend the LMI at the 5 December 1829 annual meeting, he claimed once again that the Institution had no connection beyond that of landlord and tenant and that the principles of the Institution and the RRA 'were so decidedly uncompromisingly distinct and opposite, that it would not be more rational to jumble the two together, on account of their sometimes occupying the same theatre, than because the parties lived in the same island, or were immersed in the same atmosphere'.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, while their purposes may have been distinct – and even opposite (one being actively political, the other actively not), they could have been complementary.

*John Bull* took the view that the theatre was 'let out for the purpose of political discussion and party assemblies'.<sup>61</sup> That the political meetings were anti-Establishment

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Nov. 1829, 8 Feb. 1830.

<sup>60</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 5 Dec. 1829.

<sup>61</sup> *John Bull*, 8 Sep. 1828.

– and not considered ‘injurious’ by the committee to the reputation of the LMI – tends to support the view that many committee men and influential LMI backers approved of the cause. Were these meetings not injurious because it was right that working men should consider these matters? Politics was an essential part of their lives.

On 8 November 1829, the *Age* believed that the LMI was ‘the place where the brethren “most do congregate”.’ Prothero confirmed that until 1830, the LMI was ‘the chief radical meeting place’ in London.<sup>62</sup> And yet Prothero claimed that the committee advocated an aspiring middle-class ideology. Surely there is something fundamentally at odds with claiming the committee stifled working-class autonomy while it allowed the theatre to be let to ultra radical groups. When the lens is adjusted and many backers of the LMI and many committee men are seen as active radicals – or at least sympathetic to the cause – the picture comes into focus; the two halves of the LMI’s activities make sense. But it does require abandoning the theory that the committee men acted as a block of middle-class advocates who stifled the desires of working men.

### **Robert Owen and the Sunday Lectures**

In January 1830, Robert Owen launched a campaign in England to promote his ‘Science of Society’ characterised by cultural determinism. He wrote to London newspaper editors requesting space in their columns to explain how his new science would transform the lives of different sections of the populace. Thereafter addresses appeared tailored to such groups as ‘the operative manufacturers and labourers’, ‘political economists and utilitarians’, ‘the religious of every denomination’, and ‘Infant School Societies’. In his address to ‘Whigs, Tories and Radicals’, Owen explained that their ‘real individual interests’ lay in uniting to ‘create arrangements competent to form, from infancy, for every individual, a superior physical, mental and moral character’.<sup>63</sup> Owen believed that ‘deficiency in moral and political knowledge’ accounted for the gross disparity in English living conditions and he set out to educate the various sectors of society in order to bring about change.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> *Age*, 8 Nov. 1829. Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 276.

<sup>63</sup> ‘Mr. Owen. To the Gentlemen who direct the London Press’, *Morning Post*, 5 Jan. 1830; Robert Owen, *The addresses of Robert Owen* (London: Hunt, 1830), pp. 21, 29, 31, 37; ‘Mr. Owen. To the Whigs, Tories and Radicals’, *Morning Post*, 29 Jan. 1830.

<sup>64</sup> Owen, *Addresses*, p. 9.

On 12 April 1830, Owen initiated a new phase of his campaign with a public meeting at the City of London Tavern. Here he announced that, because his subject was so extensive, he intended to deliver two series of public lectures: one to take place on Sundays at the LMI for those ‘who are unavoidably occupied during the week’ and the other at the elitist Almack’s for those ‘who have leisure on other days’. In essence, one series would be for the ‘industrious’, the other for the ‘upper classes’. Almack’s in St James’s was such an exclusive venue that it had once turned away the Duke of Wellington for being inappropriately attired.<sup>65</sup>

Much to *John Bull*’s outrage, Henry Hunt, Robert Taylor and Richard Carlile were among the principal speakers at Owen’s event. Their presence supports Harrison’s belief that Owen, beginning at about this time, was changing his emphasis from communitarian endeavours (backed by wealthy philanthropists) to radical working-class initiatives. His switch is not surprising. Not only had his communitarian experiments in America failed, but he found on his return to England (in 1829) that working-class organisations were increasingly popular and active in demanding reform. According to Harrison, Owen now thought that working men might be ‘the agency’ to bring about the New Society. Indeed Owen’s advertisement for his first lecture at Almack’s made clear that his purpose was to alert the ‘Upper Classes’ to changes which were being initiated by the ‘industrious classes’ and were likely to happen whether the aristocracy agreed or not.<sup>66</sup>

Owen’s friends and followers at the LMI were both communitarians looking to rural agricultural solutions and urban co-operators interested in labour exchanges and bazaars. The London Co-operative Society was loosely allied to the LMI before Owen’s Sunday lectures. Not only had it organised Owen’s first LMI talk back in 1825, but from April 1829 the Society was a regular user of the LMI theatre. P. O. Skene (the LMI French teacher) had requested the theatre on behalf of the London Co-operative Society on 20 April 1829. The committee responded enthusiastically and offered Skene lower rates in thanks for his French instruction. Because no special subcommittee was

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<sup>65</sup> Announcement: ‘Mr Owen. Public Meeting’, *Examiner*, 11 Apr. 1830. Account: *John Bull*, 19 Apr. 1830; LMI and Almack’s: ‘Mr. Owen’s Meeting’, *Morning Chronicle*, 13 Apr. 1830. See also ‘Mr. Owen’s Public Meeting’, *Standard*, 14 Apr. 1830, ‘Mr. Owen’s Public Meeting’, *Morning Post*, 15 Apr. 1830. Almack’s: Francis Sheppard, *London 1808-1870* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1971), p. 350.

<sup>66</sup> *John Bull*, 19 Apr. 1830. Harrison, *Owen*, pp. 195-96, 203; Owen, ‘To the Reflecting and Intelligent of the Upper Classes’, *Morning Post*, 7 May 1830.

set up, it seems likely that the committee was not divided on whether to allow the co-operators use of the theatre.<sup>67</sup>

Proving the growing popularity of working-class organisations, Skene's request to the LMI two months later was from a larger body, the London Association for the Promotion of Co-operative Knowledge. By October 1829 he was chairing a meeting of the British Association for Promoting Co-operative Knowledge (BAPCK) which reported that the 'number of co-operative societies' was increasing rapidly. According to John Cleave (speaking at the LMI), the branch to which he belonged (the 'First Westminster') boasted 200 members with £180 capital. The report of the April 1830 BAPCK meeting shows how pertinent the organisation's activities were to LMI working men. The group discussed the 'best methods of keeping accounts in the Co-operative Stores'; appointed a subcommittee to spread the word about the moral and political advantages 'accruing to the adopters of Co-operation'; and explained the need for 'the labour of Co-operators' to go 'into one grand Bazaar, or National Bank of Manufacturers' before the 'issue of labour notes' could be effected.<sup>68</sup>

Henry Hetherington, an early supporter of Owen's, had been involved in the short-lived 1821-2 working-class community at Spa Fields in London.<sup>69</sup> By 1830 he was becoming a better-connected radical publisher and distributor. Along with John Cleave, another politically active bookseller and publisher, Hetherington not only spoke at co-operative meetings but was listed in Owen's 1830 *Lectures on an entire new state of society* (presumably these LMI lectures) as one of the book's distributors. The book was published by J. Brooks, the extreme atheist who was indicted for blasphemy with Robert Taylor. Owen's choice of these men to promote his work, or his acquiescence in their so doing, is a further indication of Owen's new alliance with the radical working classes.<sup>70</sup>

Hetherington had just resigned from the committee (citing lack of time as his

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<sup>67</sup>Skene: MBv2, 20 Apr. 1829.

<sup>68</sup> MBv2, 8 Jun. 1829. *Report of the proceedings at the second quarterly meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Co-operative Knowledge* (London: Cowie & Strange, nd), pp. 4, 7. *Report of the proceedings at the fourth quarterly meeting of the British Association for Promoting Co-operative Knowledge* (London: British Association for Promoting Co-operative Knowledge, nd.), pp 3-4, 7.

<sup>69</sup> The community comprised twenty-one families who lived 'individually but arranged their housekeeping, eating and education on a communal basis': Edward Royle, *Victorian infidels* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974), p. 45.

<sup>70</sup> Robert Owen, *Lectures on an entire new state of society* (London, J. Brooks, 1830), title page. Brooks: *Lion*, 1 (1828), p. 65.

reason) when the LMI received a request to hire the theatre on Sundays from John Minter Morgan, the prominent Owenite. Although it appears that Morgan originally planned to give the lectures himself, they were in fact delivered by Owen. Morgan was a wealthy philanthropist particularly interested in communitarian developments. That he represented a different group from Skene's co-operators may be inferred from his simultaneous request to use the committee room weekly for meetings of 'a small society of about forty members'.<sup>71</sup> These people were probably more interested in the communitarian side of Owen's thinking. In his 'Remarks on the practicability of Mr. Robert Owen's plan to improve the condition of the lower classes', Morgan recommended establishing the poor in agricultural villages based on principles of mutual co-operation. Here they would acquire 'industrious habits, employment and religious instruction'. Morgan believed that Christianity lay at the heart of Owen's communitarian vision: 'whether Mr. Owen will acknowledge it or not, he is indebted to our religion for the most valuable principles in his combination.' In 1822, as a member of the British and Foreign Philanthropic Society, Morgan had been active in seeking to start an Owenite Community near Motherwell and he became a major subscriber to the Orbiston community in 1826 (both in Lanarkshire).<sup>72</sup> Morgan was an admirer of James Pierrepoint Greaves. He published Pestalozzi's letters to Greaves, and eventually bought Alcott House which had been run by Greaves and Charles Lane.<sup>73</sup>

Just before the LMI committee deliberated on Morgan's request, the Bishop of London had published a letter to the inhabitants of London and Westminster, on the 'profanation of the Christian Sabbath'. The Bishop described 'Sunday news-rooms' as 'moral dram-shops, where doses of the most deleterious poison are imbibed by thousands of persons, who ought to be engaged in reading and hearing the Word of God.' He also censured assemblies which met to discuss science or literature – topics which had 'no direct, nor intended reference to the proper business of the day'. At the moment when the management came to make its decision, Sabbath breaking was in the

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<sup>71</sup> MBv3, 8 Feb., 1 Mar. 1830. Morgan background: Harrison, *Owen*, pp. 32-36, 128; Armytage, *Heavens*, pp. 130-32, 174, 209-11; Armytage, 'Morgan', pp. 550-52.

<sup>72</sup> John Minter Morgan, *Remarks on the practicability of Mr. Robert Owen's plan* (London: Samuel Leigh, 1819), pp. 4, 23, 45 (Owen), 49.

<sup>73</sup> 'Letter from Charles Lane', *Spirit of the Age*, 1 (1850). Latham, *Search*, p. 154.

Flexner, *London Mechanics' Institution*, ch. 8, p. 237

news. Not even omnibuses and stages were supposed to run ‘on that holy day’.<sup>74</sup>

It was against this background that, on 1 March 1830, the LMI managers appointed a subcommittee to get more information from Morgan about exactly what kind of Sunday meetings he envisaged. The selection of the men for this committee must have predetermined their decision that the Sunday lectures be permitted. With one exception (Charles Lane), the men on the subcommittee were all ‘working class’. Lane and Ward (two known sympathisers with anti-Establishment causes) were joined by John Gregory (‘working-class’ ornamental painter), John Linsell (‘working-class’ plumber), and James Curtis (‘working-class’ pianoforte-maker). In autumn 1830, Curtis was to write to the committee several times recommending that it rescind the resolution to ban political and religious talks.<sup>75</sup>

When Morgan met Lane along with the rest of the subcommittee in March 1830, Morgan and Lane may well have known each other, at least through their connections with Greaves. Or perhaps this meeting was the beginning of a fruitful relationship exploring educational and communitarian ideals. Morgan explained that he planned a full day’s programme which meant that Sunday was the only possible day the working men could attend. The mornings would be devoted to ‘lectures on the moral and social duties of man, founded on the laws of his nature, and essential to a superior order of society’; the afternoons to ‘a class, for instruction in the true principles of society, by question and answer’, and the evenings to ‘lectures on anatomy and physiology, also on astronomy, geography, chemistry, and the various branches of natural history’.<sup>76</sup>

When the subcommittee recommended allowing the Sunday events to proceed at the 8 March management meeting, newly elected committee men were taking their seats for the first time. Among these was the ‘not-of-the-working-class’ clerk Robert Clarke who was to play an important role in the campaign to stop political meetings and terminate the Sunday lectures. Robert Clarke may have tipped off Robert Reynolds, a ‘working-class’ engraver who had only just joined the LMI, to the committee’s decision. Clarke may also have recommended Reynold’s subsequent action:

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<sup>74</sup> C. J. Blomfield [Bishop of London], *A letter on the present neglect of the Lord’s day* (London, B. Fellowes, 1830), pp. 3, 16, 27-28. *Age*, 4 Oct. 1829 (omnibuses).

<sup>75</sup> MBv3, 1 Mar., 25 Oct., 8 Nov. 1830.

<sup>76</sup> John Minter Morgan, *Letter to the Bishop of London* (London, Hurst, Chance & Co., 1830), which included Morgan’s address to the LMI on 6 May 1830, p. 39.

requisitioning for a special general meeting. Clarke had himself used the same technique in September 1827 calling for a meeting to discuss how funding the repairs to the roof could be accomplished without using the Institution's savings.<sup>77</sup>

It was only a week later, before any Sunday lectures had been given or advertised, that the committee men received Reynolds' first letter requesting that they defer judgement on letting the theatre on Sundays until they had heard the members' views. He reminded the committee that the purpose of the Institution was to promote 'science and useful knowledge and not the dissemination of political or religious subjects.' The committee men, of whom Clarke was one, replied that they believed 'that the occupation of the lecture room on Sundays by reputable tenants would be beneficial to the welfare of the Institution'. They believed that calling a general meeting would be counterproductive because the topic was emotive and members would allow their feelings to get in the way of sound judgement.<sup>78</sup>

On 29 March the committee received a second letter from Reynolds – signed by 137 members – stating that in conformance with the Rules they were calling the meeting themselves. The committee again stonewalled. It claimed that only it had the discretionary power to call special general meetings, and that it had no intention of doing so. The committee men could not have expected any serious opposition from the membership because at the same meeting they agreed to Owen's request – Owen having now taken over the arrangements from Morgan – for a slightly reduced fee for these Sunday lectures.<sup>79</sup>

Robert Reynolds, however, was undaunted. On 16 April the committee received a letter informing them that Reynolds and forty others had called the meeting themselves. They quoted the section of the Rules which entitled them to do so. The meeting would be on 27 April. The management had no choice but to acquiesce. While Reynolds' concern in his first letter was restricted to Sunday lectures, by the time he announced the general meeting, his complaint was broader. All religious and political events were in his sights.<sup>80</sup>

Nevertheless the Sunday events were the catalyst. No matter how critical

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<sup>77</sup> MBv3, 8 Mar. 1830. Reynolds was elected to the committee in March 1831.

<sup>78</sup> Mbv3, 15 Mar. 1830.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 29 Mar. 1830.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 16 Apr. 1830.

external speakers had been of government and Church in weekday lectures, letters of complaint had not appeared. Indeed in late March or early April, when Robert Clarke was on the committee, and they had received Reynolds first letter, the committee had sanctioned a meeting of working stonemasons which not only attacked the Church mercilessly, but organised a petition which Hume presented to the Commons.<sup>81</sup> At another meeting on Friday, 18 January 1830 (which Prothero considered the acme of radical expression), Julian Hibbert, a self-described atheist, declared that ‘any Church upheld by the compulsory exactions of tithes, church-rates, and fees, is unjust and tyrannical in principle’. Hetherington (then on the LMI committee) added that Church revenues could be reduced by five million per annum in order to give 200,000 people 10s a week. Among the anti-Priestcraft speakers were Richard Carlile, the Revd Robert Taylor, and the atheist Owenite Pierre Baume, himself an LMI member who offered the Institution lectures on French literature.<sup>82</sup> These meetings were profoundly hostile to the Church, but they did not happen on Sundays. Because neither was mentioned in the Minutes, it can only be assumed they were allowed to go ahead with no discussion and that no letters of complaint were received.

The advertisement for Owen’s Sunday lectures, on the other hand, brought an immediate response. William Tooke, the Institution’s honorary solicitor, wrote to the committee begging them to reconsider. He juxtaposed the ‘hitherto blameless character of the Institution’ with the proposed ‘direct violation of the respect due to the constituted authorities’. A ‘Clergyman’ writing to the *MM* stressed the legal point. By charging a shilling at the door, Owen breached the Toleration Act which forbid taking money for admission to a public meeting on a Sunday. *John Bull*’s invective reached a new height:

if these prophane and political ravings are allowed to be delivered in the theatre of a mechanics institution (built, as it was *pretended*, for very different purposes) during the hours of divine service on Sundays ... the character of the country, of her Church and her Government, IS GONE.<sup>83</sup>

In the event, Owen gave two Sunday lectures before the general meeting – and a further three before the committee terminated his engagement. The *British Co-operator* reported that 800 persons attended his first lecture. How many of these were LMI

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<sup>81</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 8 Apr. 1830.

<sup>82</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 19 Jan. 1830. Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 276-77. Hibbert: McCabe, *Biographical*, p. 344. Baume: MRv2, 4988. MBv3 26 May, 1 Jun. 1829.

<sup>83</sup> MBv3, 20 Apr. 1830. *MM*, 13 (1830), pp. 142-43. *John Bull*, 19 Apr. 1830.



members? If Harrison were right that ‘the intelligent London artisans’ who belonged to the LMI were the ‘class’ from which Owen ‘drew a following in the 1820s and 1830s’, there must have been many.

Owen was told on 17 May that he could no longer use the LMI. The Sunday lectures moved to the San Souci theatre off Leicester Square.<sup>84</sup>

The members who had called the special meeting eventually won the day but they had a struggle on their hands. Disagreements resulted in heated disputes, almost riotous behaviour, and a meeting that ran over two evenings. Birkbeck did not chair the first of these because he had been accused of partiality on renting the theatre due to his desire to raise money and be reimbursed.<sup>85</sup> But he chaired the second, at which he expressed outrage at the members’ previous misbehaviour. He was, he said, so ‘shocked by the disgraceful manner in which the discussion was conducted, that I instantly resolved to sacrifice all personal considerations and join my friends in office, in their endeavour to prevent a repetition of such degradation.’<sup>86</sup>

The result of the vote at the second meeting showed that 141 members attended. Out of a membership of 950, just under 15 percent voted at the meeting. 100 members supported the motion to cease the ‘evil’ practice of hiring the theatre for political or religious purposes. Forty-one members opposed it.<sup>87</sup> Juxtaposing two accounts – the *Morning Chronicle*’s, sympathetic to allowing political debates, and the *MM*’s correspondent in favour (as he remarked at the outset) of stopping all ‘connexion with radicals and infidels’ – provides a good view of the controversy.<sup>88</sup> Differences of opinion divided the members just as they did the committee men. It would be wrong to envisage the committee in one camp and the regular members in another. Clarke, after all, was a committee man who supported the petitioners.

The *Morning Chronicle* focussed on the comments of a member opposing the petitioners. This member parodied the previous comments of a petitioner who had denied that he was influenced by emotion rather than reason (referring to the

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<sup>84</sup> *British Co-operator*, 1 (1830), p. 44. Harrison, *Owen*, p. 66. MBv3, 17 May 1830. San Souci: *Morning Post*, 18 May 1830.

<sup>85</sup> QMv1, f. 442. *MM*, 13 (1830), p. 189.

<sup>86</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 8 May 1830.

<sup>87</sup> *MM*, 13 (1830), p. 175.

<sup>88</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 28 Apr. (first meeting), 8 May (adjourned meeting), 1830. *MM*, 13 (1830), pp. 143 (first), 155-56 (adjourned). Subsequent quotations and references in the text are to these sources.

committee's argument for not sanctioning the calling of a general meeting). He went on to link the petitioner's views with those of the Duke of Sussex and Brougham. He noted sarcastically

The opinion of the Duke of Sussex, an eminent mechanic, was, he thought, with Mr. Clarke, a very good authority for the guidance of the opinions of Mechanics' Institutions [cries of Question, and much laughter]. Mr Brougham's opinion again, had been very properly handed in against Political Meeting-holding. Mr Brougham a few days ago said, or at least the Papers say that he said, that the Duke of Newcastle was a most amiable – a most honourable personage.

The Duke of Newcastle had recently turned out some of his tenants for voting against his wishes.<sup>89</sup> The honourable personage gibe (which the *Age* had employed to attack RRA speakers at the LMI) was clearly a popular one. The reference here was to an ideological divide between the members. The speaker claimed the high ground of representing the 'mechanics' against upper-class interference. Mr Clarke, a clerk, was tarred with not being a proper mechanic. It seems that many working-class mechanics supported the committee's majority decision and were in favour of allowing the meetings to go ahead. The *Morning Chronicle* account concluded that Alderman Key and William Tooke both spoke in favour of the motion and that Robert Owen tried to speak but was shouted down.

The *MM*'s 'A correspondent' (unknown beyond that sobriquet) focussed his brief account of the first meeting on Alderman Key and William Tooke's opposition to renting the theatre for 'political and irreligious meetings' particularly on Sundays. He believed that Owen had no right to speak because he was not an LMI member. (Did he know that Owen was an honorary member?)

While these two accounts emphasise different aspects of what could be the same meeting, the diverging accounts of the adjourned meeting are more difficult to tally. For the *Morning Chronicle*, the meeting, chaired by Birkbeck, was conducted according to strict decorum. 'A correspondent' reported that the meeting was 'equally angry and tempestuous'. For the *Morning Chronicle*, the opposing parties had fallen into the natural trap of getting worked up over differences which were 'both slight and unimportant'. In the end the majority was swayed by Tooke's argument that the meetings were illegal.

'A correspondent' focussed on evidence allegedly provided at this second meeting by Robert Clarke: firstly, that only £233 had ever been collected by hiring out

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<sup>89</sup> Elie Halévy, *The Liberal awakening* (London: Ark paperbacks, 1987), p. 282.

Flexner, *London Mechanics' Institution*, ch. 8, p. 242

the theatre; secondly, that the membership had declined since the theatre had been let out for political purposes. *These* were the reasons why the meeting had approved the motion. The *MM* added two documents to the correspondent's letter which it claimed were those read out by Mr. Clarke. These were probably the documents which the management had prepared for the meeting. The *MM*'s first tabulation showed gross receipts from all sources, and the second showed the receipts from members' subscriptions alone.<sup>90</sup> Neither of these tabulations (alone or together) substantiated the claim that 'only £233' had been earned from hiring out the theatre. Rather they suggested that an extra £2,000 had been earned. This was the difference between gross receipts and members' subscriptions. Gross receipts included all donations except Burdett's initial £1,000 which was shown separately. The documents had no pertinence to the issue at hand unless that £2,000 were taken to be money earned from hiring out the theatre.

Importantly, 'A correspondent''s account was refuted in the *MM* by two LMI members: Richard Cull ('working-class' plumber) who criticised the anonymity of the correspondent, and William Baddeley ('working-class' stationer). Cull and Baddeley were both in favour of the motion, so their criticism cannot be dismissed as motivated by party-feeling. Cull not only asserted that the meeting was 'conducted with great decorum', but he claimed that Clarke had not spoken at the second meeting. According to Cull, Clarke conveyed the information from the first tabulation the night before and he, Cull, had presented the second tabulation at the adjourned meeting. Baddeley added his opinion that 'your (to me) unknown correspondent has jumbled together an exceedingly incorrect account of the first and adjourned meetings.'<sup>91</sup>

If Clarke did not speak at the second meeting, he could not have presented the crucial evidence that actually 'only £233' had been raised from external public events. (Remember that the committee had consistently claimed that renting the theatre was primarily a fund-raising device.) It may be that Clarke went through the quarterly accounts after the meetings and gave this figure to 'A correspondent' who integrated it into his account. An examination of the Quarterly Minutes shows that about £209 was earned over the four years – a figure which tallies broadly with the reported £233. This examination is quickly done and produces a figure which, unlike the ones the

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<sup>90</sup> *MM*, 13 (1830), p. 156

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 175 (Cull), 189 (Baddeley).

committee gave out, is specific to the issue at hand. Why give out two sets of figures which required further analysis (subtracting members' subscriptions from total earnings) to produce a figure which could be construed (wrongly) to be the figure that was supposed to be presented in the first place – the earnings from renting out the theatre? One obvious reason is that earnings of just over £200 did not justify the management's argument. This is speculation but the evidence points to the managers' knowing perfectly well that their widely broadcast financial excuse was probably without foundation. (They did not actually formally analyse the figures until after the special general meeting.)

Another equally interesting question arises from Clarke's figure as reported by 'A correspondent'. Why was no attention paid to it in the *MM* letters and editorials which followed? The reason may be that the annoyed members (and Robertson) had other more fundamental axes to grind against the LMI management. Robertson for instance was immediately back on his old hobby horse about Birkbeck's £3,700 loan; he focussed on the monumental debt rather than the puny receipts. His May 1830 editorial asserted that his predictions of disaster had been amply fulfilled: only a desire to reduce the debt could have brought the management 'into such disgrace', and only a desire to receive the money could have made Birkbeck 'so forgetful of the interests of the institution'.<sup>92</sup>

Others wanted to attack Birkbeck – and the committee – for being irreligious. Robertson published letters from 'Q. in the Corner' and Henry Simpson on this tack. 'Q. in the Corner' asserted that Birkbeck was 'a personal friend of Mr. Owen, and a convert to his principles'. 'Q.' was apparently privy to Birkbeck's statements at a committee meeting to discuss Owen's Sunday request; he reported (with horror) that Birkbeck had used 'this memorable expression, that "breaking the Sabbath was but a phrase of the priestcraft for breaking through the trammels of prejudice and superstition."'”<sup>93</sup> Certainly such a comment would have pinned Birkbeck's colours to the mast. But did he make it? As far as the Minutes reported, Birkbeck was not present at any committee meetings between 1 March and 28 April, the period in which Owen's Sunday lectures were under consideration. It is also questionable whether Birkbeck, the known conciliator, would have made such an injudicious comment in a public place.

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<sup>92</sup> *MM*, 13 (1830), p. 190.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

Had this information come via Clarke?

Birkbeck's sympathy with Owen, however, is documented. In January 1829, Owen counted Birkbeck first among his 'liberal reformer' friends.<sup>94</sup> The LMI president's personal friendship with Eliza Macauley, who spoke regularly at the LMI between September 1828 and March 1830, also attested to his Owenite sympathies. In her memoir written in 1834 when she was in debtor's prison, Macauley thanked Birkbeck profusely for managing a fund for her and for his help over the years. (Undermining the contention that there was no more connection between those who engaged the theatre than that of landlord and tenant, LMI committee men agreed to publicise her LMI talks as individuals, although they felt that they could not do so as LMI managers). Because Carlile (a 'trader in blasphemy' according to Henry Simpson) approved of her religious views, we can assume that 'Q. in the Corner' did not.<sup>95</sup>

Henry Simpson's attack on the committee for being anti-Christian raises further problems. The first is that Simpson's name does not appear in the Members' Registers. (Was the author hiding behind a pseudonym?) The second is his inside knowledge of the committee's activities. His two letters questioned the Christian commitment of LMI officials. For Simpson the division between Christian or not Christian appears to have been as important as that between 'working class' or 'not of the working class' was for so many other members.<sup>96</sup>

Simpson's first letter claimed that the connection between LMI and 'radicalism and infidelity' was 'real and undisguised'. He recalled 'a worthy old gentleman, who was long a sort of fixture of our reading-room, and at one time a member of the committee, [who] used to say, jocularly, that he feared he was the only *Christian* who had any thing to do with the management of the institution.' Now Simpson felt that 'in losing him we must have lost our only Christian watchman.' He concluded:

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<sup>94</sup> Harrison, *Owen*, p. 41.

<sup>95</sup> MBv2: see particularly the first 29 Sep. (misdated: there were two entries for this date, the first should have been 22 Sep. 1828), 20 Oct., 19 Nov., 15 Dec. 1828. *Autobiographical memoirs of Miss Macauley* (London: Charles Fox, 1835), pp. 5-6. Before her first LMI lecture, Macauley was known for her anti-Establishment religious views: *Morning Post*, 26 Sep. 1828 advertisement. Carlile expressed positive interest in Macauley: *Lion*, 2 (1828), p. 487. Her first LMI lecture on character formation, asserting that the poor turned to crime from privation rather than because of innate tendencies, was ridiculed in *John Bull*, 26 Jan. 1829. In the summer of 1832, Macauley's activities were regularly covered in *Crisis*, 1 (1832), pp. 49, 66, 68. In Aug. 1832, she was 'part proprietor of an Equitable Exchange Bank': *ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>96</sup>: *MM*, 13 (1830), pp. 122-23 (Simpson's first letter), 142 (second letter).

No committee of Christians could have so disgraced themselves as our present committee have done; nor were there a single Christian among them, would he remain a day longer the associate of men who have thus proclaimed themselves the patrons of the wildest infidelity.

Simpson's second letter showed even more first-hand knowledge of the internal workings of the committee. He expressed his 'firm belief' that out of the thirty-six committee men there 'is not half a dozen of them who could lay their hands on their hearts, and plead "not guilty" to the accusation of being "actual abettors of infidelity and anarchy"'. He had a specific example to 'put to shame all their pretensions to neutrality'. This was that the committee had denied freethinking Christians the use of the theatre on Sunday 'while they have let it to the all-religion-denying Mr Owen'. At least the Christian freethinkers celebrated Christianity, if in their own way. Reporting also the fees discussed for the Christian freethinkers and Owen to rent the theatre, Simpson showed a remarkable grasp of committee business stretching back two years. According to the Minutes, the only Christian freethinkers who were turned down for Sunday events were Hetherington's group. This happened on 19 May 1828, before the committee made the transformational decision to allow the Friends to hire the theatre. The committee men were aware that welcoming the Friends on 21 July 1828 changed policy; at the same meeting they rescinded the resolution not to allow Sunday letting.<sup>97</sup> Surely it was this change of policy, not intricate views about Christianity, which led to the refusal in one case and permission being granted to Owen almost two years later. In fact the managers did permit another group of freethinking Christians to use the theatre in April 1829, but because the group did not proceed to do so, the decision probably remained unknown outside the committee.<sup>98</sup>

Perhaps it is not surprising to learn that Robert Clarke was at the committee meeting that turned down Hetherington's request in May 1828. Of course other committee men would have known about the decision, but would they have been so keen to piece it together with welcoming Owen two years later? Interestingly, Clarke was not on the committee in April 1829, when the committee's actions in allowing freethinking Christians to hire the theatre undermined Simpson's contention.

Instead of looking internally at the workings of the management, some LMI members complained about the external effect on public opinion. Pent-up irritation

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<sup>97</sup> MBv2, 19 May (Hetherington's group), 21 Jul. 1828.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 13 Apr. 1829.

about other political meetings came pouring out. 'T. M. B' felt that letting the theatre to 'demagogue reformists and wild visionaries, has rendered the institution almost contemptible in the eyes of the public.' The LMI was known as 'the rallying point for republicans and atheists'.<sup>99</sup> The *Morning Chronicle* reported that a member at the special general meeting 'said the Press would unite and crush the Institution, if the political and religious meetings were continued.' Robertson reported that the LMI was now 'identified all over the kingdom, as the head-quarters of the Cobbettites, Huntites, and other church and state tinkers of the day.'<sup>100</sup>

Tied to arguments based on public opinion was the notion that total membership numbers were down because of these external events. 'A Correspondent', in his account of the adjourned general meeting, gave reduced membership as one of Clarke's 'facts' which swayed the membership to support the motion. According to 'A Correspondent', the year following the theatre being let to the Friends in July 1828, subscriptions were down by £266.<sup>101</sup> Of course there was no reason to think this was because of renting out the theatre. An examination quarter by quarter rather than year by year, which arguably produces an analysis more sensitive to specific events, reveals that the advent of the Friends and the first RRA meetings led to slightly larger membership figures. The Friends started their events in July 1828, when the membership was (using my figures) 990, whereas September and December saw figures of 1,046 and 1,034 respectively. When the RRA started in July 1829 the membership also increased from 805 members in June 1829 to 884 in September 1829 and 952 in December 1829.<sup>102</sup>

Reduced membership was an argument which the committee (over time and with different members) took seriously and was constantly trying to combat. In September 1830 (when Cull and Baddeley had joined Clarke on the committee), the committee men expressed their disdain for the declining membership argument: using quarterly figures they showed that the membership had decreased more in June 1830 after the events had been 'stopped' than it had in June 1829. They left the members to

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<sup>99</sup> *MM*, 13 (1830), p. 176.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>102</sup> See appendix H.

draw their own conclusions.<sup>103</sup>

Despite all the controversy, and the extensive correspondence in the *MM*, the committee men did not immediately terminate the controversial policies. Instead, at their next meeting on 3 May, they asked the subcommittee of accounts to report how much money had been received ‘from parties who held political and religious meetings’ and from ‘those of other character’. Marking the importance of the decision to let the Friends use the theatre, they asked that the report be split between monies received from 20 July 1825 to 20 July 1828 and from 20 July 1828 to present time. Clearly Clarke’s figure of £233 was not an official committee figure nor was it acceptable to them without further research. Yet Clarke was present at the 3 May meeting.<sup>104</sup>

Three days later came a most telling event. John Minter Morgan delivered an LMI lecture justifying the Owenites’ use of the LMI theatre on Sundays. He explained the basis of his proposal to the subcommittee (integrated above), read out the first lecture which had been planned before Owen took over the proceedings, and lamented the members’ decision to ban the Sunday meetings. Free discussion was essential and men needed to have the ‘moral courage’ to stand up for their convictions in the face of ‘public reproach’. Later, he commented that he regretted that the members of the LMI had become censors: he wished that he had been able to say that a Mechanics’ Institution had actually helped to disperse prejudice rather than to strengthen it.<sup>105</sup>

Morgan’s address may have persuaded some of those who voted for the motion – as well perhaps as some who had not attended the specially convened general meeting – that the resolution was misguided. Four days after Morgan’s lecture, the committee men had not decided what policy to pursue in connection to the RRA, but they informed Dias Santos that they would allow him to use the theatre for his next meeting. The committee also appointed Richard Taylor (the next in line) to replace a member who had resigned to go to South America. The Unitarian Richard Taylor was a member of the Friends, and an Owenite.<sup>106</sup>

On 17 May, the committee bowed to the inevitable. The Minutes do not record

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<sup>103</sup> QMv1, f. 372.

<sup>104</sup> MBv3, 3 May 1830.

<sup>105</sup> Morgan, *Letter*, pp. 43-44, 58.

<sup>106</sup> MBv3, 10 May 1830. Owenite: Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 253.



the subcommittee's findings about monies earned from hiring out the theatre, but it is clear that these findings could not have provided ammunition to reject the general meeting's resolution. The committee resolved to tell Dias Santos, Owen and the secretary of the Co-operative Society that they could no longer engage LMI rooms.<sup>107</sup>

But this decision by no means saw the end of co-operative or political and reformist meetings at the LMI. Only a few days after Cull and Baddeley (two men vocally in favour of terminating political meetings) joined Robert Clarke on the committee on 6 September 1830, the committee sanctioned the use of the theatre by journeymen printers to promote a petition to Parliament against the use of machinery in printing.<sup>108</sup> On 27 September 1830, the committee accepted Robert Owen's offer to give a gratuitous lecture on the employment of machinery in manufactures. When a letter came in objecting to Owen's proposed speech, the men responded that they had 'fully considered' the subject and would use their 'best endeavours' to ensure the lecture was useful to the members.<sup>109</sup>

On 4 October 1830, in order to allow the 'British Association Co-operative Society' (sic) to use the theatre, the committee rescinded that part of their resolution passed on 17 May 'as respects the meeting of the Co-operative Society as political meetings'. William Carpenter's *Political Letters* (1830-1) reported that the BAPCK met at the LMI at least twice in October: once for its sixth quarterly meeting and once to discuss 'the causes of failure of co-operative communities'.<sup>110</sup> (William Carpenter was a contributor to Macauley's fund managed by Birkbeck.<sup>111</sup>)

The committee (including Clarke, Baddeley and Cull) allowed politics into the LMI in another way. They resolved in September 1830 that the reading room be supplied with six daily newspapers: *The Times*, *Morning Herald*, *Morning Chronicle* and *Morning Advertiser* and, in the evening, the *Courier* and *British Traveller*. So important was the decision that the committee men printed 500 copies of a circular

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<sup>107</sup> MBv3, 17 May 1830.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 Sep., 13 Sep. 1830.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 Sep., 18 Oct. 1830.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Oct. 1830. William Carpenter, *Political Letters and Pamphlets* (London: William Carpenter, 1830-1), pp. 15 (15 Oct.), 13 (21 Oct.).

<sup>111</sup> Macauley, *Autobiographical*, p. 6.

advertising that newspapers were now available at the LMI.<sup>112</sup> Discussion of politics was now welcomed and indeed encouraged in the Institution.

Given that at least three of its members had publicly supported the motion banning controversial events, and that the committee was now operating under clear instructions from its membership, how were the committee men able to agree such liberal policies? Perhaps the answer lies in a combination of three explanations. 1) Birkbeck and the committee had been right that emotions had got the better of sound judgement at the general meeting, and the new committee men took a wider perspective. 2) Morgan's words had an effect. The men did not want to associate themselves with censorship. 3) The political context had changed. The July Revolution in France focussed attention on the need for concerted action if any reforms were to be accomplished. The Swing agrarian riots emphasised the grinding poverty of the disenfranchised. And fears that Wellington was going to help the Dutch quash the Belgian Revolution reminded people of their own oppressive regime.<sup>113</sup>

One aspect of the Establishment's oppression was tackled head on in a campaign which had the support of Birkbeck and the LMI: the taxes on newspapers which put them out of the reach of working men. Risking imprisonment, working-class radicals Hetherington and Carpenter published the first unstamped papers in October 1830. Birkbeck's campaigning zeal was demonstrated by the fact that he chaired a large meeting against the taxes (at which Henry Warburton, Joseph Hume, and J. A. Roebuck also spoke) in January 1831.<sup>114</sup> When Birkbeck led the deputation to the Prime Minister in 1836 to procure the repeal of the stamp duties, he revealed his close friendship with Hetherington.

Knowing Birkbeck's personal enthusiasm – and the LMI's close working relationship with the BAPCK – helps to explain the committee's positive response to the BAPCK's request to hold a meeting on 4 November to 'to protest against the shackles that at present fetter the press'. The Minutes reported no discussion, nor the election of any subcommittee, to consider the propriety of hosting this highly political

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<sup>112</sup> Birkbeck had originally suggested supplying newspapers in 1829: MBv3, 23 Nov. 1829. Ibid. 27 Sep., 11 Oct. 1830.

<sup>113</sup> Context: Belchem, 'Orator', pp. 205-13; Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 277-78.

<sup>114</sup> *The Times*, 1 Feb. 1831. Background: Hollis, *Pauper*, particularly pp. 65-91, 104-106.

event.<sup>115</sup>

The same management meeting responded to a letter from former committee member James Curtis asking that the ban on political meetings be rescinded because it was ‘the source of much embarrassment to the Institution’. Given that the committee men had just agreed to host the anti-government BAPCK meeting, their response was extraordinary: they did ‘not consider themselves authorized to act in opposition’ to the general meeting’s resolution.<sup>116</sup> However, they were to review that position two weeks later.

Julian Hibbert – wealthy backer of Revd Robert Taylor, Carlile, and Hetherington (whose *Poor Man’s Guardian* he would keep running when Hetherington was later imprisoned) – chaired the 4 November BAPCK meeting.<sup>117</sup> The theatre was reported as ‘well filled, and by a highly respectable audience’. Speakers included the ultra-radical working-class printers John Cleave and William Lovett, as well as the men of the hour Hetherington and Carpenter, who were currently risking imprisonment through printing and distributing unstamped publications.<sup>118</sup> Buoyed up by the fervour of the meeting, on 8 November 1830, the committee asserted its ‘inalienable’ privilege to superintend the letting of the theatre ‘notwithstanding the opinions expressed in a letter ordered to be sent to Mr Curtis on 25 October last’ (that they adhered to the general meeting’s resolution). Baddeley was present. Responding to another letter from Curtis who was now suggesting calling a special general meeting to cancel the resolution of the first, the men replied that they considered ‘their resolution for declining to let the Theatre for political or religious meetings as remaining in full force’ and that they saw no need to call a special meeting.<sup>119</sup> Was this continual change of policy because individuals disagreed and different factions held sway at different times during the meetings?

Four months later, in March 1831, the LMI membership had another opportunity after the general meeting to indicate which men they thought would best

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<sup>115</sup> MBv3, 25 Oct. 1830.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Hibbert: Hollis, *Pauper*, pp. 128, 135; Cooper, ‘Eloge’, p. 148.

<sup>118</sup> ‘Taxes on Knowledge’, *Magazine of Useful and Co-operative Miscellany*, 4 (1830), p. 61.

<sup>119</sup> MBv3, 8 Nov. 1830. There is some confusion in the Minutes on Curtis’s first name. He was listed as William Curtis on 8 Nov., but these refer back to the same man’s first letter which came from James Curtis, the LMI committee man.

represent them on the committee. Not surprisingly, they split again, electing men known to be both for and against the motion. Robert Reynolds, who had instigated the general meeting, was the most popular candidate. But G. G. Ward, John Gregory (on the subcommittee that recommended allowing Sunday lectures), Richard Taylor and Charles Lane – all known to be in favour of radical working-class events – were re-elected.

Between 1825 and 1830 the (changing) committee members and the other members were integrally related. Both groups were internally divided over political access to the Institution and neither can be treated as an undifferentiated block. Some committee men and ordinary members were sympathetic to the causes which were espoused by the organisations which hired the theatre – while others were not, or at least felt these organisations' presence was deleterious to the Institution's reputation.

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The evidence presented in this chapter undercuts several historiographical strands which build on each other. First there is the claim that the committee men and the membership at large were somehow unrelated. For Prothero, the 'remoteness of the managers' led to many mechanics quickly withdrawing.<sup>120</sup> How committee men can be separated from the members who elected them is difficult to understand. But an example like Robert Reynolds, who as a member forced the then committee to change policy and was subsequently elected to the committee himself, proves the interconnectedness. The alleged distance between the membership and the management is part of a second, broader, claim that the committee upheld middle-class values which were antithetical to the membership.<sup>121</sup> But the committee, composed of such working-class leaders as Henry Hetherington, Joseph Styles and G. G. Ward, allowed free discussion of radical working-class opinions – from those of the Friends and the RRA to those of the co-operators and the distressed printers and stonemasons.

The third claim that working-men's interests were not catered for is challenged by the very presence of the co-operators. Harrison asserted that from 1829 for the next five years 'the British working-class movement was saturated with Owenism'. As an important forum for Owenite discussion, the LMI and its membership may have

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<sup>120</sup> Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 198.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201. Simon, *Studies*, p. 154. Kelly, *Birkbeck*, p. 88.

influenced the course the movement took. Harrison went on to note that Owenism adapted itself ‘to the demands and interests of artisan leaders’. For Prothero, the Greville Street co-operators were one of the main strands of working-class activism in 1830.<sup>122</sup> The co-operators’ October 1830 request to use the theatre came from the Greville Street headquarters.<sup>123</sup> Prothero pointed particularly to the importance of Hetherington’s and Carpenter’s unstamped papers. It was these very men who were organising and speaking at the LMI events. Hetherington’s first unstamped publication, ‘Letter to the People of England’, appeared only few months after he resigned from the LMI committee.<sup>124</sup>

The fundamental question is whether these external meetings can be considered an integral part of the LMI’s activities. Ironically, historians’ claims that members abandoned mechanics’ institutes because they banned discussion of politics supports the view that these public events should be seen as part of what the Institution offered its members. It was, according to Harrison, economic and political topics ‘which had the greatest attraction for that minority of highly intelligent artisans whom the mechanics’ institutes most hoped to win.’ Prothero also considered that ‘politics and contemporary events were of more direct interest than many scientific subjects’. He pointed to the ‘entertainment’ value which ‘was evident from the attendances at debating clubs’.<sup>125</sup> Unknown apparently to Prothero, the LMI offered plenty of this kind of hurly burly. Take for instance the activities at Cobbett’s second lecture in December 1829. A gentleman ‘scaled the gallery’ in an effort to silence a heckler who could not be reached otherwise due to the press of numbers. Others followed, but ‘came tumbling down amongst the crowds below, to the no trifling danger of both parties ... the scene of confusion and warfare now became at once frightful and extraordinary’. Finally the police arrived.<sup>126</sup>

If working-class men were so hungry for political discussion, they surely attended many of the public events held in the theatre. In that case, these external meetings can be seen as providing a political forum (albeit outside the formal

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<sup>122</sup> Harrison, *Owen*, p. 196; Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 279.

<sup>123</sup> MBv3, 25 Oct. 1830.

<sup>124</sup> Prothero, *Artisans*, pp. 279-80. Hetherington: MBv3, 8 Feb. 1830; ‘M’, *To the People of England*, 1 Oct. 1830 (published by Henry Hetherington).

<sup>125</sup> Harrison, *Learning*, p. 83. Prothero, *Artisans*, p. 200.

<sup>126</sup> *CWR*, 68 (1829), pp. 786-87.

curriculum of the LMI) for LMI members. Unlike other historians, Hudson thought that politics was on offer at the LMI, and furthermore that it was these radical affiliations which caused the failure of mechanics' institutes. Many believed, according to him, that 'all Mechanics' Institutions were radical reform associations'.<sup>127</sup>

Certainly the management (no matter which committee was in office) did not want the LMI to be considered a radical reform association. It is not surprising that Birkbeck and the committee men were so vociferous in claiming that they only rented out the theatre for the money and that they had no connections with the external organisations. Nevertheless this chapter has cast considerable doubt on the validity of these assertions because: 1) The Institution earned little money from hiring out the theatre; 2) The committee men appear to have fudged the figures, possibly to make the earnings from external groups look greater than they were; and 3) Birkbeck, Gilchrist, Hetherington, Lane and other committee men have been shown to be intimately connected with the organisations that they hosted in the theatre.

As a consequence other reasons need to be found for why the managers hired out the theatre to these groups. The obvious one is that they knew the importance of politics to working men. After all in their response to Reynolds' first letter, the committee men highlighted the 'beneficial value' of Owen's Sunday lectures. The management did provide a political forum for its members, albeit outside the formal curriculum and in such a way as to be able to maintain deniability. That the politics on offer was radical and largely working-class in origin (Friends, RRA, co-operators), proves that the LMI management (always at least two-thirds 'working class') was not trying to stifle working-class initiatives under a middle-class mantle.

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<sup>127</sup> Hudson, *History*, pp. 50-51. Hudson (*ibid.*, p. 49) even claimed that Gale Jones and the Spencean Thomas Evans along with his ultra-radical son were among the first to become involved with the LMI – a claim repeated by McCalman (*Radical*, p. 183), and Kelly (*Birkbeck*, p. 103). I have found no evidence of their presence in the primary sources. However, Thomas Evans senior was the provisional LMI committee-man Alexander Galloway's brother-in-law. Galloway had provided letters of introduction to Jacobin émigrés in Paris for his nephew Thomas John Evans and Arthur Thistlewood in 1814 (Davis, *Galloway*, ODNB).

## Concluding remarks

By looking closely at LMI activities across several fronts and at how individual members responded to a variety of situations, this thesis has questioned the standard explanation of class relations at the LMI. It appears that there is a mismatch between the methodological concept of class employed in the historiography on mechanics' institutes and the class language which emerged at the LMI. Previous historiographical interpretations were not generally built from the ground up but imposed from above to fit mechanics' institutes into a larger story of nineteenth-century class development and conflict. Suppositions were made, mostly it seems, because the LMI and other mechanics' institutes were designed to teach the working classes. Historians did not investigate LMI usage of class terminology (and its social basis) and most were unaware of the LMI's two-thirds rule by which the committee had to be composed largely of 'working-class' men.

Geoff Eley's and Keith Nield's *The future of class in history* provides a useful framework for exploring how a study of the LMI can draw together 'social' and 'cultural' approaches to history.<sup>1</sup> The authors charted the conflicts between the social history prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s and the later cultural turn in which an emphasis on language replaced the focus on social structures. They argued that there is

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<sup>1</sup> Geoff Eley and Keith Nield, *The future of class in history* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2007).

no reason for the two methodologies to be mutually exclusive. Accepting cultural historians' criticism that much of social history has been too panoramic and that it smoothed out the complexity of social relations, the authors asserted that the discursive emphasis of cultural historians (in order to be more than a study of texts) has to have some basis in social structures. In other words, both social and cultural histories have to be finely contextualised to contribute meaningfully. They called for a history which combines the two.

I have attempted such a multi-strand approach. The previously untapped LMI sources explored here are invaluable for providing evidence about how the members developed their language of class and how they anchored that language in their social circumstances. The sources have enabled me to access LMI members' understanding of class within the finite location of the Institution. By studying the LMI Quarterly Reports as well as the arguments aired in the pages of the *Mechanics' Magazine*, the *London Mechanics' Register*, the *Trades' Newspaper* and *Trades' Free Press*, I have analysed members' efforts to define 'working class'. Because the sources identify the men nominated as 'working class', I have been able to make a social correlation. The LMI Registers of Members, which I have digitized and databased, have provided insight into the men's lives (their occupations, addresses, and occasionally their family members and work associates). I have been able, as Eley and Nield put it, to 'connect class discursively understood with class as a component of the structural relations'.<sup>2</sup> Finally, using the Minutes and Quarterly Reports, I have tracked how men defined as 'working class' behaved: in electing the management committees, in building the theatre and hiring it out, in organising and teaching the classes, and in giving and responding to lectures. I have found no obvious or standard connection between the men's class designation and their views on these matters. There was never a 'working-class' block vote at the LMI.

What the sources have not revealed is the origin of the two-thirds rule and why that particular proportion was selected. The rule first surfaced in the sources at the 11 November 1823 public meeting. Cobbett had proclaimed that working men would be made 'tools' if any besides mechanics were allowed to join, never mind manage, the Institution. Birkbeck responded that the mechanics' interests would be safe because

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<sup>2</sup> Eley and Nield, *Future*, p. 124.



three quarters of the committee would be mechanics. The rule, worded in terms of working class rather than mechanic when it appeared in the Rules and Orders, was designed to negotiate aspects of inequality in connection to who could and who could not sit on committees. The designation 'working class' was invoked to protect democratic principles.

Robertson and some 'working-class' members were unhappy with various of the committee's decisions and claimed therefore that the working men were not properly represented. There was a presumption that working-class men would automatically behave in certain ways. But the fact that decisions were taken which did not suit some of the more vociferous 'working-class' men does not mean the LMI was not a broadly democratic institution. Too much was involved in any decision for individual men with different perspectives to fall into class lines. On the other hand the notion that the LMI was democratic in some idealised sense is equally far-fetched. There was a complex set of relations in which many factors influenced how individual men responded and behaved.

Further work could be done on identifying the members and gauging their interests and concerns. But even at this early stage of relating LMI class discourse to the social situation of the members, a complicated and finely textured picture has emerged. Most importantly, an entirely new interpretation has come to the fore. In the period between 1823 and 1830, in the pre-Reform Act years when the LMI constituency was forming itself, 'working-class' members were in key positions and were actively involved in forming LMI policy. In fact they became more active rather than less so as the years went by.

That all mechanics' institutes could be dismissed, almost ghettoised in the historiography of the 1960s and 1970s, as middle-class usurpations seems surprising.<sup>3</sup> Some of E. P. Thompson's criteria for the establishment of working-class consciousness can even be applied to the LMI environment – although here the scope is tightly limited and no shared working-class consciousness emerged on the ground. It seems safe to say that the LMI during its first seven years was a place where working

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<sup>3</sup> These interpretation have become so conventional that Christina Parolin, *Radical Spaces* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2010), pp. 203-204, concluded that mechanics' institutes were 'generally controlled by middle-class patrons and ... came under fire from radicals for perpetuating the knowledge systems of the dominant culture.' While I cannot speak for provincial institutes, this does not hold for the main institution in London before 1831.

men were ‘putting themselves into a new stance in relation to other social groups and were developing new solidarities’. With or without its external meetings of radicals and co-operators, the LMI provided a space for men to assess ‘their own class objectives’ and to gain ‘confidence’ in thinking, speaking and organising in a ‘process of self-discovery and self-definition.’<sup>4</sup> The inclusion of many ‘not-of-the-working-class’ members need not have hampered that self-discovery.

In fact the LMI helped men from both groups to further their careers and interests. The Institution’s impact can be gauged by looking at the subsequent activities of some of its members in three key areas: invention, education, and reform – areas in which historians have criticised the LMI’s approach. Whether or not Shapin and Barnes were right that practical science and invention were not on the syllabus of mechanics’ institutes elsewhere, their description does not easily fit the founding London institution. Perhaps London was distinct. Certainly the LMI allocated much space and time to these topics.

It may still be surprising, however, that Charles Toplis, who was listed as a surgeon in the first and second Members’ Registers, was in the 1840s described as an engineer and ‘an eminent machinist’.<sup>5</sup> The transfer from surgeon to successful engineer is impressive. In 1833 Toplis became Director of the Museum of National Manufactures, a body which can be traced back to an LMI committee meeting in July 1827 to establish an exhibition of working men’s inventions. In the early 1830s Toplis was ‘an agent to manufacturers’, quite possibly helping the mechanics through the arduous process of gaining publicity or applying for a patent.<sup>6</sup> These career moves were surely facilitated by Toplis’s LMI experiences.

Historians have criticised the LMI for ‘educational imperialism’, as Rule described efforts to inculcate middle-class values.<sup>7</sup> But a look at the subsequent activities of Charles Lane, so involved with the schools’ committee, underscores his humanitarian approach. The school, which he founded with James Pierrepont Greaves, at their Alcott House community in Ham Common, Surrey, operated on Pestalozzian

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<sup>4</sup> Thompson, *Making*, pp. 938-39.

<sup>5</sup> *LJAS*, (1837), p. 246. ‘A. M.’, *A challenge to phrenologists* (London: James S. Hodson, 1839), p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> Museum: *Courier*, 25 Jan., 25 May, 8 Aug. (announcing opening) 1833. MBv2, 16 Jul. 1827. Agent: *RAS*, 6 (1832), p. 116.

<sup>7</sup> John Rule, *The labouring classes* (London: Longman, 1986), p. 246.

principles. They even held a Pestalozzi Education Festival in July 1841. Advertised in Owen's *New Moral World* and Holyoake's *Reasoner*, the school attracted the children of working-class radicals. Richard Carlile's two daughters for instance attended. Charles Lane promoted the school through an article in the ultra radical *Star of the East*, run by Southwood Smith's daughter who herself became a Pestalozzian teacher. Several Owenites lived in the Alcott House community and Robert Owen visited at least twice (in 1840 and 1843). Although Greaves and Lane were 'sacred socialists' with religious beliefs centring around a divine spirit of love, there can be no doubt of the strong connections between the ideals of Charles Lane, the radical working men, and Owenite educators.<sup>8</sup>

Brian Simon traced the Chartist William Lovett's approach to education to Robert Owen. Why not trace it to the LMI where Lovett actually enjoyed the lectures and imbibed the atmosphere of an educational establishment? Lovett joined the Institution early on and wrote enthusiastically about Birkbeck's lectures. Furthermore when Lovett came to found his own school, he joined up with William Ellis, the orthodox political economist who was an LMI auditor during our period and later the founder of Birkbeck Schools. Lovett was pleased to have the 'clear headed and kind hearted' William Ellis teaching 'the science of human well-being' at the school around 1849-50.<sup>9</sup>

Attending the LMI in these seven years certainly did nothing to dampen radical working-class tendencies. Within months of Hetherington's resigning from the LMI's committee, citing pressure of outside commitments, he was publishing his unstamped '*Penny Papers*' (as Wiener and Hollis called his daily penny publications) which launched the opening salvo in the six years' battle between the government and the illegal, anti-Establishment publications. The unstamped press was 'the voice of London working-class movements'. Its readers were working-class men and women. Unstamped papers proclaimed 'the right of the working man to the vote and to the products of his labour'.<sup>10</sup>

To see so many LMI members and speakers taking the lead in the battle is

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<sup>8</sup> Latham, *Search*, pp. 155, 156, 160-61, 164, 180-81. 'Spirit of universal love': *Shepherd*, 1 (1834), pp. 340, 381. Kathryn Gleadle, 'Hill, Caroline Southwood (1809-1902)', *ODNB*.

<sup>9</sup> Simon, *Studies*, p. 267. Lovett, *Life*, vol. 2, p. 369.

<sup>10</sup> Joel H. Wiener, *A Descriptive finding list of unstamped British periodicals* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1970), p. 40. Hollis, *Pauper*, pp. 104, 106.

Flexner, *London Mechanics' Institution*, ch. 9, p. 259

surely indicative. The most visible radical working-class leaders of the 1830s – Henry Hetherington, James Watson, William Lovett and John Cleave – shared LMI experiences. Hetherington’s activities on the LMI committee must have shaped the ideas and skills that he brought to later organisational roles. James Watson, a paid-up LMI member from the September 1825 through the March 1826 quarter (when he came down with cholera), worked with Hetherington, Cleave, and Lovett on the *Poor Man’s Guardian*, the longest running and most successful of the unstamped papers. Cleave had spoken at the LMI during meetings of the British Association for Promoting Co-operative Knowledge and shared a platform there with Lovett and Hetherington.

Middle-class and working-class campaigners, who worked together to repeal the Stamp Act, believed that cheap literature was the bedrock of any working-class education. No question here of that education being hijacked. Hetherington, Cleave, Watson and Lovett, were in the driving seat with Birkbeck, Place and Brougham actively helping. Birkbeck even visited Hetherington when he was in hiding from the authorities – and the LMI president led the campaign’s deputation to the Prime Minister in 1836 (a meeting at which he praised Hetherington as an upright and honest man).<sup>11</sup>

In her detailed study of the pauper press, Patricia Hollis found no signs of antagonism between middle-class and working-class campaigners despite, as she noted, some historians’ claims to discern two opposing radical voices ‘aggravating class differences’. Rather, Hollis deduced that ‘the campaign for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge served to bring certain middle-class reformers, and the leaders of the London working class, into a hesitant but genuine alliance’.<sup>12</sup> Such alliances can only be discovered by looking at the actions of individual men. Broader brush accounts tend to apply theories based on how middle-class and working-class men must have behaved; because classes are identified by their differences, such accounts naturally stress opposition rather than agreement.

Arguably a similar ‘genuine alliance’ occurred at the LMI in its first seven years – an alliance also aimed at improving the opportunities of working men by increasing their knowledge and raising their self-esteem. In order to envisage such an alliance, the influence and power of working-class LMI members has to be reinstated and their day-to-day dealings with men of other ranks has to be known. Based on a detailed

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<sup>11</sup> Hiding: Hollis, *Pauper*, p. 304.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

empirical study, this thesis has provided such information and suggested that the London Mechanics' Institution (in its first seven years) deserves to be considered a progressive institution run substantially by working-class men for working-class men.

## Appendix A

### Digitised database of LMI Members' Registers

The LMI Members' Registers are located in the archives at Birkbeck College, London University. The first LMI Members' Register, covering December 1824 – December 1826, contains 4,295 entries. The second volume covers December 1826 – December 1829 and contains 4,048 entries. In the original volumes, each entry covers a double-page spread (the single page size is 24 x 36cm). On the left-hand page were entered 'N<sup>os</sup>' (membership number), 'Names' (surname and then first name), 'Professions' ('Trades &c' in second volume) and 'Residences'. The right-hand page was columned to record the quarters in each year covered. Appendix A transcribes the sequence of names in the exact order in which they appear in the Registers. The committee entered the subscription fee paid in each quarter. There were two columns, one for shillings and one for pence. I have separated shillings and pence with a full stop (so '8.6' means 8s and 6d). When a member paid 20s, ditto marks were entered for the following three quarters to show that the payment covered four quarters (at 5s a quarter). Because I thought that whether a member paid quarterly, half-yearly or annually would reflect something of his financial position, I created a column called 'sub' to show the first payment he made in the ledger – this column is not in the original. Where there are four columns under each year (for March, June, September and December) in the Registers, I have simplified the database to let A, B, C, D stand for the months within one column representing the entire year. 'A' signifies March; 'B', June, etc. I wanted to be able to run the database to show everyone who belonged in a certain quarter. I therefore entered an 's' if their subscription payment meant they were still a member (rather than the ditto marks in the original). For instance, Ds signifies that the member's 10s in September covered membership in December. A, B, C, D, with no figure or 's' after it means that the payment for that quarter is the one recorded in the 'sub' column. In the second Register, payments from previous quarters which extended into December 1826 and onwards were shown with a ditto mark and I have rendered the ditto marks as 's's, meaning still a member. It will also be seen that occasionally members paid in arrears. Thus As BsC20Ds could indicate that the member paid 20s in September covering, March, June and December. Members were sometimes entered twice within one Register and occasionally there are cross references (either noting simply 're-entered' or recording the member's previous number).

According to the Rules, sons and apprentices of members (twelve years old and above) were admitted to attend 'the Courses of Lectures or Schools on payment of 2s. 6d., a Quarter in advance for the Lectures, and the like sum for the Schools'. When 2s 6d was paid as an ongoing fee, I have rendered it '2' rather than '2.6' to save space; this short-hand notation always

follows on from an original payment of '2.6' and so will be clear. In the case of younger members therefore, 5s amounted to payment for two quarters. The second register contains no apprentices or members' sons paying these reduced fees. Given that the December 1826 Quarterly Report noticed that these reduced fees were maintained, it may be that another book, now lost, was opened for this type of membership.

In March 1827, the fees went up to 6s per quarter and an entry fee of 2s 6d was introduced, so the initial payment was now on 8s 6d. A member had to pay the entrance fee again if he let his subscription lapse for even one quarter.

These are not literal transcriptions, but renderings to produce a useable database. Many clerks entered names using different conventions – for example street could be Str.<sup>t</sup>, S.<sup>t</sup>, or Street. I have made some of these consistent. All streets for instance are rendered as 'St.'. (St without a full stop signifies Saint as in St John's Road.) Junior has been rendered uniformly as Jun., whereas the clerks referred to Jun. and Jun<sup>t</sup>. Where a clerk used a ditto mark, I have repeated the address or occupation. In an effort to simplify the database, I have generally not used abbreviations for first names as the clerks sometimes did (for instance, Cha<sup>s</sup>, Tho<sup>s</sup>). Much of the handwriting was difficult to read, some of it was illegible. Therefore there will certainly be transcription mistakes. On the principle that a garbled name was more useful than the entry 'illegible', I have entered the closest approximations I could achieve. I have in many cases reproduced misspellings faithfully and for the sake of a clean database have not inserted [sic]. I have, however, spelled out some of the extreme abbreviations, for instance White Conduit Fields (for which one abbreviation was Wh. Co. Field), or Bagnigge Wells (Bag<sup>e</sup> Wells), and corrected the spellings of some streets to facilitate searching. No doubt many errors have crept in.

The *Greenwood Map of London* (1830) and *London & provincial new commercial directory, for 1823-4* were useful for tracking down some of the addresses. However, many street names could not be identified, and have been entered with the nearest approximation I could make to the spelling in the original manuscripts.

Where an address was crossed out, with another added above, I have included both addresses separated by a semi-colon. The crossed out address appears first.

Occupations like shoe-maker were sometimes entered as one word, sometimes hyphenated, sometimes as two. For consistency, I have rendered these with a hyphen: thus, shoe-maker, cabinet-maker, bead-maker, etc.

Because I wanted to be able to run the database by street name to establish geographical connections, I transposed addresses: '22 Bow Street' is rendered as 'Bow St. 22'. The clerks often did not separate the streets, squares or districts in one address with a comma and I have not used commas for this purpose.

The original is unpaginated and that is why I have referenced members by membership number in the text.

When the second register was begun, the clerk appears to have written in many names

at the beginning of each letter of the alphabet in the expectation that these members would be continuing to pay. This did not turn out to be the case and thus there are, at the start of each letter of the alphabet, many names entered for which no payments were recorded. These names tally with names in the first Register. This optimism, if such it was, did not occur in the third Register which does not contain names with no payments. I have not included the names of members who did not pay in the database.



L. M. I. Members' Register  
Vol. 1  
December 1824 – December 1826

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
103	Adam	George	Joiner	Furnivals Inn Court 7	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
105	Alexander	William	Shoe-maker	Broad St. Golden Sq.	5		A B5	
140	Austin	James	Weaver	St Andrews Hill 36	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
159	Axford	Isaac	Joiner	Long Alley Moorfields 119	5	D	A5	
166	Acus	Joseph	Cabinet-maker	Giblett St. 5	5	D	A5B5	
195	Armstrong	Henry	Warehouseman	Foxes Lanes Shadwell	5	D	A5B5	
200	Alford	Thomas	Coach-maker	Newington Road Surry	10	D	AsB5C5D5	A5B5C10Ds
277	Aldwinkle	Charles	Painter &c	Fetter Lane 83	20	D	AsBsCs	
375	Aumonier	Henry	Jeweller	North St. Pentonville 7	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
462	Agar	Thomas	Brass-founder	Fitzroy Place New Rd 11	5	D	A5B5	
469	Atkins	John			5	D		
479	Anderson	David	Carpenter	Horseshoe Court Clements Lane 2	5	D	ABJ5C5D5	A5B5C5
497	Applegarth	G. W.	Cabinet-maker	Bow St. Covent Garden 22	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
521	Alvey	Isaac	Schoolmaster	Richmond Terrace Walworth 11	5	D	A5B5C5	
529	Anning	John	Weaver	Little Arthur St. Goswell St. 8	5	D	A5	
552	Atkinson	John	Merchant	Castle St. Falcon Sq. 23	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
605	Adams	Nathaniel	Upholsterer	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 5	5	D	A5B5C5	
622	Atkins	Edward	Carpenter	John St. New Rd	5	D		
687	Allen	J. W.			5		A B5C5	
807	Appleby	George	Cutler	Hatton Garden 14	20	D	AsBsCs	
1529	Atkinson	Thomas	Jeweller	Upper Rosomans St. Clerkenwell 8	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1613	Aldhouse	John F.	Architect	Deans Place Somers Town 4	5	D		
1668	Archer	John	Gentleman	Upper Thomas St.	5	D		
1669	Archer	William	Gentleman	Upper Thomas St.	5	D		
1687	Ash	S. Edward	Bead-maker	Old Compton St. Soho 22; 12 Globe Road, Mile End; 17 George St, Trafalgar St. Walworth	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1689	Anthony	David	Watch-maker	London Wall 5	2.6	D	A2B2	
1708	Aisthrop	Charles	Carpenter	Hart St. Covent Garden 28	5	D	A5B5	
1764	Andrews	Thomas	Jeweller	Devonshire St. Queen Sq. 53	5	D		
1782	Atkins	Henry	Clerk	St Martins Court 9	5	D		
1816	Alford	Robert	Engraver	Bridge St. Southwark 10	5	D	A5B5	
1818	Addison	John	Smith	Jewin St. Cripplegate 8	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1876	Armstrong	Thomas	Book-binder	Villiers St. Strand	5	D		
1930	Armstrong	Christopher	Carpenter	Fulwoods Rents 2	5		A B5C5	
1937	Arliss	William	Fruiterer	Newcastle St. Strand 25	5		A B5C5	
1940	Alsop	George	Shoe-maker	Kensington	5		A B5C5	
2054	Allin	Charles	Schoolmaster	Charles St. Hatton Garden	5		A B5C5D5	
2082	Atkinson	George	Brass-founder	Crescent Jewin St. 9	5		A B5	
2253	Ashdown	James	Apprentice to Robert Cumming	Red Lion St. Spitalfields 43	2.6		A B2C5D2	A2B2C2
2323	Abel	Michael	Printer	Wilderness St. Southwark 4	5		A B5C5D5	
2325	Aresti	J. A. S.	Clerk	Harcourt Buildings Temple 10	5		A B5C5D5	
2435	Abram	William	Law-stationer	Middle Temple Lane	5		B C5D10	As
2452	Andrews	Alexander	Carpenter	St. Agnes Circus Old St. Rd 5	5		B	
2500	Allan	James	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Piccadilly 196	20		B CsDs	As
2518	Allan	George	Printer	Edward St. Blackfriars Rd 4	5		B	
2553	Atkinson	Horatio	Druggist	Aldersgate Street	5		B C5D5	
1571	Atkinson	William	Smith	Falcon Court Clerkenwell	5	D		
1612	Arthur	John J.	Ship-broker	St. Mary at Hill 29	5	D		
2570	Aston	William	Gun-maker	Little Windmill St. 26	5		B C5	
2538	Anderson	James	Carpenter	Ely Court Hatton Garden 11	5		B C5D5	
1123	Anderson	Charles			20		A BsCsDs	
701	Aston	C. P.	Gun-barrel-maker	Little Windmill St Golden Sq. 26	20	D	AsBsCs	
2650	Arntz	Robert		Upper North Place, Grays Inn Lane 44	5		B	
2708	Allport	James	Cabinet-maker	Charles St. Soho Sq.	5		B C5	
2709	Allport	John	Artist	Charles St. Soho Sq.	5		B C5	
2711	Aitkin	William Brown			20		B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
2738	Attwaters	Charles	Clerk	Upper St. Islington 25	5		B C5	
2754	Atkinson	Benjamin Jun.		Nicholas Lane, Lombard St. 12	20		B CsDs	As
2773	Anderson	Thomas	Gentleman	Southampton Buildings 31	20		B CsDs	As
2775	Atkinson	James	Merchant	Lombard St. 81	20		B CsDs	AsB20CsDs

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
2137	Alvey	Isaac John	Member's son	East St. Walworth	2.6	A C2	
2208	Ashley	John	Carpenter	North Row Grosvenor Sq. 2	5	A	
2782	Artand	W.	Cabinet-maker	Queen St. Covent Garden	20	B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
2861	Ashton	A. F.	Carver	Old Quebec St. Oxford St. 6	10	B Cs	
2868	Allen	Richard	Gentleman	Half Moon Court Whitechapel	5	B	
		Fowler					
2862	Abeling	William	Watch-maker	Wynyalt St.[Islington] 7	20	B CsDs	AsB5C10Ds
2963	Amery	Thomas	Smith	Richbel Place Lambs Conduit St. 1	5	C	
2988	Archer	Richard	Working jeweller	Crown Place Kentish Town 7	5	C D5	A5B5
3012	Ascott	Thomas	Wheel-wright	Rotherhithe	5	C D5	A5
3029	Aughtie	Thomas	Carpenter	Dean St. Soho 18	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3005	Agars	John	Timber merchant	Neptune Street Rotherhithe	5	C	
3068	Alegne	John Peter	Chemist	Chapelfield St. Walworth Place 8	5	C	
3103	Armond	Theo	Manufacture	Battersea	5	C	
3139	Adshead	Joseph	Warehouseman	Skinner St. Snow Hill 11	20	C Ds	AsBs
3140	Adams	William	Smith	Coneston Place Fitzroy Sq. 14	5	C	
		Joseph					
3155	Alvey	Isaac John	Member's son	East Street Walworth			
3231	Anson	John	Carpenter	Cirencester Place Marylebone	5	C	
3232	Allen	William	Clerk	Alfred Place Blackfriars Rd 4	20	C Ds	AsBs
3359	Anderson	Edward	Artist	St John's St.	10	C Ds	
3360	Atkinson	Richard	Cooper	Hospital Row Chelsea 8	5	C	
3364	Anderson	Charles	Tin-plate-worker	Webber St. Blackfriars	5	C D5	
3402	Annand	Auguste	Goldsmith	Battersea Bridge	5	C	
3396	Ackroyd		Builder	King St. Long Acre 25	20	C Ds	AsBs
3386	Andrew	William	Clerk	Bedford Row	20	C Ds	AsBs
3567	Ash	Charles	Dry-salter	Princes St. Drury Lane 27	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3558	Abbot	George	Chaser	Jermyn St. St James's 25	5	C	
3567	Ash	Charles	Painter	Exmouth St. Clerkenwell 11	5	C D5	
3570	Abel	Thomas	Printer	Wilderness St. Long Lane	5	C	
				Bermondsey 4			
3613	Acland	William	Clerk	Maiden Lane 43	5	D	
3561	Ambler	William	Pianoforte-maker	Exmouth St. Hampstead Row 11	5	D	
3683	Anderson	Peter	Cabinet-maker	Oxford St. 342	5	D	S5B5C5
3735	Allender	Stephen	Surgeon	Beaufort St. 16	5	D	A5
3743	Ablett	John	Hosier	Wood St Cheapside 119	5	D	
3752	Amstrow	Henry	Warehouseman	Foxlane Shadwell	5	D	A5B5
3807	Amory	Joseph	Clerk	Wingrove Place Clerkenwell	5	D	
3812	Anderson	Thomas	Member's son	Southampton Buildings 31	5	D	A2
3789	Anderson	John	Printer	Fountain Court 2	5	D	
3882	Ashby	William	Clerk	Church Court 1	5	D	A5B5C5
3883	Austin	John	Engraver	Bedfordbury Covent Garden 14	5	D	A5B5C5
3827	Ashbury	John	Glass-painter	Drake St Red Lion Sq. 7	5	D	A5B5
3939	Adam	Alexander	Law-stationer	Symonds Inn 5	5	D	A5
3997	Adam	Joseph	Accountant	East Harding St. 6	5		A
4063	Askham	William	Clerk	Bartholomew Close 2	5		A B5
4162	Ashton	James	Carpenter	Villiers St. Strand 34	5		A B5C5
4175	Alder	Edward Jun.	Tallow-broker	Lawrence Lane Putney 11	5		A
4181	Aviolet	E. J.	Printer	Cold Bath Sq. 6	5		A
4186	Abel	Henry	Silversmith	St Pauls Church Yard	5		A
4202	Aldous	W.		Great Russell St. Bloomsbury 15	5		A
4265	Akehurst	W. V.	Cabinet-maker	Northampton Row	5		A B5C5
4292	Acret	G. S.	Truss	Smith St Pancrass 2	5		A B5C5
			manufacturer				
4293	Acret	Robert		Smith St Pancrass 2	5		A B5C5
4353	Atkins	William	Builder	Bevis Market 1	5		A
4376	Apted	Richard	Cabinet-maker	Taylor Buildings Covent Garden 4	5		A
4383	Atkinson	Richard	Cooper	Royal Hospital Row Chelsea 8	5		A
4398	Alley	George	Book-binder	Chiswell St. 89	5		A B5
4426	Adams	George	Gentleman	Stamford St. 55	5		A
4427	Adams	Henry	Gentleman	Stamford St. 55	5		A
4431	Andrews	William	Gentleman	Hampstead	20		A BsCsDs
4472	Armstrong	Francis		Elizabeth Place Kennington	5		A
4473	Appleton	Samuel	Printer	Castle Court Birchin Lane 4	5		A B5C5
4491	Atkinson	John	Engraver	Fetter Lane 123	5		B C5
4539	Anderson	William	Chemist	Dean St. Tooley St. 17	5		B C5
4543	Allen	William	Musical-instrument-maker	Carburton St. 9	5		B
			Gentleman				
4549	Addison	Robert	Gentleman	Cross St. Hatton Garden 21	5		B C5
4550	Alder	Edward			5		A B5
4593	Armstead	William	Carpenter	Newington Causeway 18	5		B C5
4651	Allen	Charles	Engraver	Norfolk St. Middx Hospital 29	5		B C5
4674	Adland	William	Vellum-binder	St Mary Axe	5		B C5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
4691	Adams	George	Printer	Wilson St Grays Inn Lane 20; 11 Broad St. Golden Sq.	5		B
4705	Ashton	Henry	Architect	Old Quebec St. 6	5		B C5
4706	Ashton	A. F.	Carver	Old Quebec St. 6	5		B C5
4803	Alexander	W.	Shoe-maker	Broad St. Golden Sq.	5		C
4750	Adlard	Alfred	Engraver and printer	Paternoster Row 13	5		B
4773	Amadio	Francisco	Philosophical- instrument-maker	St John's St. Rd 118	5		C
4927	Adams	Nathaniel	Upholsterer	Cleveland St. Fitzroy Sq. 1	5		C
4852	Aborn	John	Floor-cloth manufacturer	Lambeth Walk 7	5		C
4853	Aborn	George L.		Lambeth Walk 7	5		C
4856	Arnold	Joseph	Builder	Great St. Helens 1	5		C
4939	Adrian	Alfred	Clerk	Penton Place 47	5		C
4943	Aborn	Robert Lloyd	Member's son	Lambeth Walk 7	5		C
5041	Aldridge	Henry G.	Clerk, Bank of England	Brunswick St. Hackney Rd 12	5		C
5064	Alford	Robert	Engraver	Bridge St. Southwark 10	5		C
5067	Andrews	William	Law-stationer	Great Warner St. 6	10		C Ds
5081	Allen	John		Britannia St. Aly Rd 36	5		C
5127	Arthur	Thomas	Painter	Crown Court Soho 3	5		C
5129	Ashton	Robert	Mason	Marylebone St. Golden Sq. 31	5		C
5158	Adcock	Henry	Civil engineer	Polygon Somers Town 15	20		C Ds
5160	Adcock	James	Engineer	Polygon Somers Town 15	20		C Ds
3	Birkbeck	George	M .D.	Broad St. 50	40	D	AsBsCsDs AsBsCs
101	Ball	T. M.	Iron-monger	Coleman St. 61	5	D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
104	Barrett	J. F.	Cabinet-maker	Strand 270	25	D	AsBsCsDs
104	Biggs		Tin-man	Bath St. City Rd 13	20	D	AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs
108	Buckney	Thomas	Timber dealer	Dorset Wharf White Friars	20	D	AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs
122	Bacon	Ebenezer	Copper-plate-ruler	Chancery Lane 130	5	D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
292	Bentley	James	Carpenter	Stanhope St. Clare Market 49	10	D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
132	Bonnick	Pierce	Plate-glass-worker	Charles St. Blackfriars 21	5	D	A5B5
137	Brown	Robert	Engineer	Wardrobe Terrace	5	D	A5B5C5D5 A5
144	Barr	John	Hairdresser	Cheapside 154	10	D	AsB5C5D5
142	Bardons	Phil Samuel	Surveyor	Bedford St. Bedford Row 2	5	D	A5B10CsD5 A5
169	Bagg	Elijah	Carpenter	Little George St. Hampstead Rd 25	5	D	A5
192	Barnard	George	Chaser	Nichol Sq. Cripplegate 12	5	D	
217	Bright	Richard	Lamp-maker	Bruton St. Bond St.	20	D	AsBsCsD5 A5B5C5
228	Baddeley	Thomas	Die-sinker	Seward St. Goswell St. 27	5	D	A5
283	Birch	John	Architect	Hertford St. Blackfriars 8	5	D	A5
129	Bone	John	Gentleman	Milk St. Cheapside 19	20	D	AsBsCs
301	Blake	James Frederick	Engraver	Britannia Row Islington 59; 7 Albion Terrace New North Rd	20	D	AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs
308	Bacon	William	Brass-turner	Chancery Lane 130	5	D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5
375	Brewitt	William	Engineer	at Donkins	5	D	
393	Birkingyoun g	Frederick	Weaver	St Andrews Hill 37	5	D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
400	Bishop	John	Jeweller	Leppard's Court Baldwins Gardens	5	D	A5B5
421	Brookfield	Thomas	Joiner	Chapter St. Vauxhall Rd 96	5	D	A5B5
106	Biddulf	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Sun Tavern Fields St. Georges East 1	10	D	AsB10CsD10 As
471	Brady	Cornelius	Hat manufacturer	Gracechurch St	5	D	A20BsCsDs
469	Bacon	John	Engraver	Chancery Lane 130	5	D	A5B5C5
472	Barratt	James	Chemist	Great Queen St. Lincolns Inn Fields 8	5	D	
478	Bevins	Daniel	Brass-founder	New Court St. John's St. 11	5	D	A5B5
486	Bryant	James	Gentleman	Paradise St. Lambeth 30	5	D	A5
487	Brand	W. H.	Coal merchant	Union St. Hackney Rd 4	5	D	
494	Brown	James	Clerk	Bolton St. Long Acre 20	10	D	As
497	Bayne	William	Printer	Berkeley St. Clerkenwell 19	5	D	A5B10Cs
501	Bluett	Thomas	Musical- instrument-maker	Roles Buildings 16	5	D	A5
511	Brown	Thomas N.	Pawnbroker	Fetter Lane 39	5	D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5
540	Barton	John	Engineer	Seward St. 38	5	D	A5B5
554	Brown	R. N.	Painter	Denmark St. Soho 3	5	D	A5B5C5
568	Burton	Benjamin	Brazier	Gower Place Euston Sq. 24	5	D	A5B5D5D5 A5B5C5
571	Braidley	John	Gentleman	Warren St. Fitzroy Sq. 62	20	D	AsBsCs
573	Beresford	William	Member's son	Kings Head Court St Martins Le Grand 5	2.6	D	A2B5C5D5 A5B5C5
581	Benoiment	James	Jeweller	Hatton Garden 90	5	D	A5B5
604	Belmead	William	Carpenter	Free School St. Horsley Down 67	5	D	
617	Beresford	Isaac	Die-sinker	Kings Head Court St Martins Le Grand 5	5		A JB5
686	Ball	John	Surveyor	New Rd	5		A B5C5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
627	Burn	William	Book-binder	Kirby St. Hatton Garden 37	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
661	Burnard	John	Surveyor	Formosa Cottage Eden Grove Holloway	15	D	AsBs	
1500	Ball	John	Artisan	Coleman St. 61	5	D	A5B5C5	
1535	Bowmer	Thomas	Tailor	Fair St Horsley Down 22	5	D		
1550	Batterbee	Joseph	Appraiser	Grays Inn Lane 108	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1572	Botteller	James	Jeweller	Kirby St. Hatton Garden 13	5	D		
1598	Bowdler	James	Jeweller	Radnor St. 22	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1603	Bland	William	Rule-maker	Union St. Borough	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1611	Bonnick	Joseph	Plate-glass Warehouse	Broad Wall Blackfriars	5	D		
1620	Blake	Robert	Cabinet-maker	Stephen St. Tottenham Court Rd 8	5	D		
1622	Brockwell	Henry	Silversmith	Leather Lane 79	5	D	A5B5C5	
1629	Blain	William	Boot-maker	Butcher Hall Lane 24	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1634	Baker	Richard	Carpenter	London Wall 20	5	D	A5B5C5	
1635	Bliss	Samuel	Law-stationer	Cold Bath Sq. 14	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1641	Broughton	John	Swan Inn	Holborn Bridge	5	D	A5	
1666	Bayley	John R.	Clerk	Great Bath St. Clerkenwell 32	5	D	A5	
1670	Biggs	Samuel		Baldwin St. City Rd	5	D		
1682	Barratt	John C.	Clerk	Stanhope St. Chase Market 47	5	D		
1683	Birt	Henry	China-enameller	Goswell Terrace Goswell St. Rd	5	D	A5B5C5	
1712	Brewer	Henry	Clerk	Rule Office Symonds Inn	5	D		
1716	Boatman	William	Tailor	Upper Crown St. Westminster 1	5	D		
1719	Blatchford	Daniel	Iron-founder	Griffin Iron Foundry Clerkenwell	20	D	AsBsCs	
1728	Bedder	Thomas	Gentleman	Long Acre 79	5	D		
1733	Bullpit	Benjamin	Gentleman	Blackwall	20	D	AsBsCs	
1734	Black	James	Teacher of Languages	Dorset St. Salisbury Sq. 54	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1738	Bentley	Richard	Printer	Dorset St. Salisbury Sq	20	D	AsBsCs	
1743	Brooks	John	Gentleman	Platt Terrace Somers Town	20	D	AsBsCsD5	A5B5C5
1747	Bescoby	Francis	Oilman	Stanhope St. Clare Market 16	5	D		
1768	Brown	Thomas	Frame-work-knitter	Wood St. 119	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1770	Black	Dr.	Gentleman	Keens Row Walworth 7	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1776	Burton	James	Glass-dealer	Marshall St. St George's Fields 41	5	D	A5	
1800	Barrow	Henry	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Crown Court Soho 18	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1806	Burton	W. E.	Printer	Kerby St. Hatton Garden 11	5	D		
1820	Brooks	William	Architect	White Hart Court, Bishopsgate	20	D	AsBsCs	
1837	Baylis	Richard	Surgeon	St John's Sq.	20	D	AsBsCs	
1843	Burton	William	Gold-smith	Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell 11	2.6	D	A2B2	
1845	Benson	Robert	Watch-spring-maker	St John's St. 60	20	D	AsBsCs	
1875	Breakwell	William	Book-binder	Queen St. Golden Sq. 20	5	D		
1879	Buck	George	Saw-maker	Waterloo Rd Cobourg Theatre 1	5	D		
1886	Badcock	Joseph	Brewer	Stag Brewhouse, Pimlico	20	D	AsBsCs	
1923	Bumpus	James	Bookseller	Newgate St. 85	20	D	AsBsCs	
1947	Blachford	Horace	Iron-founder	Compton Passage Clerkenwell	20		A BsCsDs	
1965	Brooks	Henry	Bookseller	Birchin Lane 3	5	D	A5B5	
1971	Browne	Jonas	Upholsterer	Claremont Place Judd St. 7; 24 Church St Soho	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1977	Bowley	Thomas	Book-maker	Charing Cross 53	20		A BsCsDs	
1978	Bowley	R. K.	Member's son	Charing Cross 53	2.6		A	
1985	Butler	Thomas Edmund	Warehouseman	Maiden Lane Wood St. 11	5		A B5C5D5	A5
1993	Brook	William	Cheese-monger	City Rd 9	5		A B5C5D5	
2015	Brown	Isaac	Watch-balance-maker	Gloucester St. St John's St Rd 27	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2018	Batch	Edward R.	Clerk	Great Alie St. Goodman's Fields 40	5		A B5C5D5	
2025	Bosher	Thomas John	Gold-smith	Frederic Place Westminster Rd 9	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2026	Banks	Henry	Smith	Regent St. Grosvenor Sq. 75; 85 Edgware Rd	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2056	Brown	Robert	Clerk	Lombard St. 60	5		A	
2063	Bell	William	Clerk	Nicholas Lane 2	20		A BsCsDs	
2070	Bolton	Edward	Carpenter	Wood St. Brunswick Sq. 17	5		A B5C5D5	5B5
2090	Beckwith	Henry	Engraver	Wilderness Row Clerkenwell 25	5		A B5	
2041	Brooke	Theodore	Tin-plate-worker	High Holborn 139	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2042	Barker	James	Carpenter	Stone Cutter Alley Lincolns Inn Fields 3	5		A B5	
2053	Bayley	William Davis	Barrister	Chancery Lane 50	20		A BsCsDs	
2154	Bull	Charles	Clerk	Middleton St. Spa Fields 5	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2100	Barrow	Edward	Clerk	Charles St. Covent Garden 18	5		A B5C5	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
2107	Brayne	N.	Schoolmaster	Corporation Row Clerkenwell	20	A	BsCsDs	A5
2116	Bye	Thomas	Lace-man	Red Cross Square 15	20	A	BsCsDs	
2117	Bye	Frederic	Hosier	Wood St. Cheapside 18	5	A		
2112	Bellew	Peter	Schoolmaster	South St. Berkley Sq. 1	20	A	BsCsDs	
2121	Ball	Isaac	Artist	Coleman St. 61	5	A	B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2122	Bentley	William	Optician	Britannia Terrace City Rd 41	5	A	B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2123	Brown	Francis	Carpenter	Staples Inn Buildings 5	5	A		
2132	Bull	James H.	Clerk	Middlesex St. Spa Fields 3	5	A		
2133	Bate	Stephen	Printer	St John's St. 22	5	A	B5C5D5	A5
2139	Beck	Thomas		Globe Terrace Globe Rd Mile End 3	5	A		
2138	Beck	William		Globe Terrace Globe Rd Mile End 3	5	A		
2149	Buckingham	George	Jeweller	Bridgewater Sq. 10	5	A		
2168	Burnett	Henry	Gentleman	High Holborn Middle Row 10	5	A	B5C5D5	A5B5C10D
2169	Beck	Anthony	Wine merchant	Silver St. Clerkenwell 11	5	A	Bx	
2171	Bangley	George	Gentleman	Furnivals Inn 1	20	A	BsCsDs	
2194	Burnett	W. S.	Gentleman	Landsown Place 3	5	A	B5C5C5	A5
2202	Bridgen	Charles	Gentleman	Parade Vauxhall Rd	20	A	BsCsDs	
2303	Batterbee	Barnaby	Printer	Foley St. 40	20	A	BsCsDs	
2205	Bourchier	Julius	Gentleman	Raynham Essex	5	A		
2211	Bickers	Henry	Book-binder	Bedford St. Covent Garden	5	A	B5C5D5	B5
2215	Banes	Edward	Printer	Salisbury Sq.	5	A	B5C5D5	
2217	Burnett	W. H.	Gentleman	Landsown Place 3	5	A	B5C5D5	A5
2220	Bridges	Samuel	Carpenter	Frederic Place Westminster Rd 13	5	A	B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2221	Bolton	William	Carpenter joiner	Wood St. Brunswick Sq. 17	5	A		
2224	Brand	David	Cabinet-maker	Little Russell St. Covent Garden 16	5	A	B5C5	
2228	Brewer	Thomas	Butcher	Church St. Blackfriars 9	5	A	B5C5D5	
2233	Brittain	Richard B.		Pitt St. St Georges Fields	5	A	B5	
2234	Butt	William	Gentleman	Alfred Place Blackfriars 1	5	A	B5C10Ds	
2276	Bennett	W. P.	Tailor	Paul's Chain	5	A	B10Cs	
2291	Bevan	John	Clerk	Belmond Place Vauxhall	5	A	B5	
2299	Banner	William	Chair-maker	Goswell St. 98	20	A	BsCsDs	A5B5
2317	Bashford	James	Cabinet-maker	Galway St. 53	5	A	B5C5D5	
2327	Bennet	T.	Brass-founder	Broad Wall Stamford St 18	5	A		
2335	Brown	James	Clerk	Lincolns Inn 7	5	A	B5C5D5	A5B5
2338	Brooks	Joseph	Watch-maker	Berkeley Court Clerkenwell	5	A	B5C5D5	A5B5
2357	Burn	George	Hosier	Kerby St.	20	A	BsCsDs	
2359	Brown	George	Tobacconist	Great Turnstile 18	5	A	B5	
2360	Barber	William	Engraver	Fore St.	5	A	B5	
2383	Broughton	Francis	Gentleman	Falcon Sq.	20	B	CsDs	As
2392	Bowmer	John		Fair St. Horsley Down 22	5	B		
2400	Briggs	William	Watch-maker	Francis St.	5	B		
2415	Barter	William	Chaser	Princes St. Drury Lane 16	5	B	C5D5	
2432	Bristow	William	Clerk	Brunswick St. Hackney Row 21	5	B		
		Henry						
2445	Boyce	James	Carpenter	Grays Inn Lane 37	5	B	C5	
2454	Blagden	William	Printer	Blackfriars Rd	5	B	C5D5	A5
2461	Barr	James	Silversmith	Gerrard St. 46	5	B		
2467	Bowman	William	Cabinet-maker	Southampton Buildings 45	5	B	C5D5	A5B5C5
2482	Bowman	James	Grocer	High Holborn 89	10	B	Cs	
2483	Button	Nathaniel	Confectioner	Holborn Bridge 77	20	B	CsDs	AsB20CsDs
2496	Bowles	James	Vellum-binder	Boswell Court Queen St. 10	5	B	C5D5	A5B5C5
2523	Brown	Samuel	Book-binder	Blackmoor St. Clare Market 7	5	B	C5D5	A5
		James						
2534	Bacon	James	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Chancery Lane 130	5	C	5	
1862	Bye	John	Hosier	Wood St. Cheapside 18	5	D	A20BsCsDs	
2562	Buss	Henry	Engraver	Jewin St.	5	B	C5D5	A5B5C5
2565	Bearfield	George		James St. Goswell St. Rd 8	5	B	C5	
2566	Brewitt		Engraver	Fort Place Bermondsey	5	B		
2571	Bisaker	John	Decorator	Bishops Row 4	5	B	C5	
2575	Brawn	James	Clerk	Pittmans Buildings St Lukes 7	5	B	C5	
2579	Bowden	Frederick	Sugar Refiner	Fieldgate St. Whitechapel	10	B	Cs	
2593	Bridgman	John Hall	Gentleman	Featherstone Buildings Holborn	5	B		
2549	Birch	David	Carriage lamp-maker	Wych St. Strand 34	5	B	C5D5	A5
2583	Brand	James		Friday St.	5	B	C5D5	
2597	Brander	Edward	Upholsterer	Little Titchfield St. Marylebone 5	5	B	C5D5	A5B5C5
2601	Boyer	William	Gold-beater	Batemans Buildings	20	B	CsDs	As
2546	Bayeson	Peter Otto	Ship-broker	Leadenhall St.	5	B		
2613	Buss	Charles	Engraver	Jewin St. 60	5	B		
2634	Bainbridge	William	Turner	Dorrington St. Clerkenwell	5	B		
2663	Berry	Robert	Pawnbroker	Grays Inn Lane	5	B	C5D5	A5B5
2665	Brettingham	Richard	Grocer	High St. Bloomsbury	5	B		
2677	Borrows	Nicholas G.	Printer	Little New St. 12	5	B	C5D5	A5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
2680	Barber	Samuel	Mans Mercer	Drury Lane 95	5		B	
2681	Barber	Harry		Drury Lane 95	5		B C5	
2691	Beale	William	Builder	Carnaby St. Golden Sq. 36	5		B	
2694	Brass	Harry	Carpenter	Wood St. Cheapside	20		B CsDs	As
2695	Brass	William	Carpenter	Wood St. Cheapside	20		B CsDs	As
2696	Brass	John	Carpenter	Wood St. Cheapside	20		B CsDs	As
2706	Balley	William	Die-sinker	Benjamin St., Turnmill St. 2	5		B	
2711	Brown	William	Brewer	White Cross St.	20		B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
		Atkin						
2715	Ball	Joseph	Composer	Smarts Buildings Holborn 6	5		B	
2723	Barrow	Richard	Clerk	Bedford Row 46	5		B	
2734	Brown	Robert	Clerk	Mount St. Lambeth 5	5		B C4D5	A5B5
2736	Baker	George	Iron-monger	Tottenham Court Rd	20		B CsDs	As
2739	Belborough	Joseph	Merchant	Ironmonger Lane	5		B	
2766	Bain	John	Gun-maker	Warwick Court Holborn 6	5		B	
2776	Boatman	William	Tailor	Duke St. 4	5		B	
2778	Burrell	William	Watch-maker	Andersons Buildings 26; 7 Chapel Place Pentonville	5		B	
2773	Brown	William			5		B	C5D5
	Bellamy	S.	Plasterer	Clarence Row Camberwell 24	20	D	AsBsCs	
2790	Batts	Thomas	Watch-case-maker	Ashby St. Northampton Sq. 9	5		B	
		George						
2794	Ball	John	Engineer	New St. Sq. 3	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2797	Butcher	James	Clerk	Sambrook Court Basinghall St. 1	5		B C5D5	A5
		Powell						
2798	Barrett	James L.	Die-sinker	Tabernacle Walk 60	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2415	Barnard	John	Hatter	Nicolls Sq. Cripplegate	30	D	AsBsCsDs	AsB20CsDs
2803	Bawtree	William	Engraver	Bank of England	10		B CsD5	A5
2804	Bawtree	James	Cabinet-maker	Spring Garden Cottage Newington Green	10		B CsD5	A5B5C5
2806	Badderly	William	Stationer	George Yard Lambeth 10	5		B C5D5	A5B10Cs
2809	Burrell	William	Member's son	Andersons Buildings Diby Road 26	2.6		B C2D2	
2813	Bayley	John	Carpenter	Leather Lane 56	5		B C5	
2838	Blyth	John	Surveyor	Goswell Rd	20		B CsDs	As
2839	Burton	Henry	Clerk	Galloway St. Old St. Rd	5		B C5D5	A5
2855	Beauchamp	William	Mechanical-tool-seller	Grafton St. Soho 22	10		B Cs	
2882	Bartlett	William	Engraver	College St. Camden Town	5		B C5D5	A5
2866	Boxer	James	Solicitor	Furnivals Inn	20		B CsDs	As
2863	Bolton	John Henry	Gentleman	Lincolns Inn	5		B	
2908	Birkett	John	Gentleman	Hollis St. Cavendish Sq. 11	5		C	
2909	Baird	James	Carpenter	Little Titchfield St. 6	5		C	
2919	Bardwell	John	Carpenter	Margaret St. Wilmington Sq.	5		C D5	
2195	Banister	Samuel	Hosier and glover	Middle Row Holborn	5		C	
2948	Bain	Alexander	Die-cutter	Warwick Court Holborn 6	5		C	
2965	Bachelor	John		Georges Court Piccadilly	5		C D5	A5
2979	Brittain	Arthur	Clerk	King's Bench Walk 3				
2975	Barclay	David	Watch-maker	Davis St. Berkeley Sq.	5		C	
2982	Beaton	John	Gentleman	Church Terrace Waterloo Rd	5		C	
2903	Buckingham	Edward	Gentleman	Warren St. Fitzroy Sq. 71	5		C	
3015	Blake	Thomas	Carpenter	Grove St. Camden Town 103	5		CD5	A5B5
3020	Bain	George	Gun-maker	Warwick Court Holborn 6	5		C	
3026	Boyce	John	Carpenter	Gravel Lane Blackfriars 35	5		C	
2428	Bartlett	Philip	Japanner	Clarendon St. Somers Town 41	5		B C5D5	A5
3036	Bright	James	Carpenter	Dorset St. Salisbury Sq. 53	5		C D5	A5B5C5
2993	Broom	George	Accountant	St John's St. Rd	5		C	
3052	Barclay	James	Machinist	Webber St. Lambeth	5		C	
3055	Butler	John	Silk-weaver	Dismond Ct 1	5		C	
3061	Bloor	George	Clerk	Cambridge Heath Hackney 32	5		C D5	
3066	Bruce	James	Clerk	Thavies Inn	5		C D5	A5
3078	Baffey	James	Upholsterer	London Walk 75	5		C	
3082	Barton	William	Upholsterer	St Saviours Church Yard 20	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3090	Bate	Thomas	Clerk	Strand 101	5		C	
3096	Brown	George	Engineer	Lambeth Walk 3	5		C	
3104	Burton	James	Music-smith	Northampton St. St Pancras 25	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3130	Bland	John	Clothier	Bedford St. Covent Garden 21	5		C	
3141	Baker	William	Watch-maker	Great Turn Stile Holborn	10		C Ds	A5B5C5
3145	Bacon	Joseph	Book-maker	Maze Tooley St. 26	5		C D10	AsB5C5
3153	Barnard	George	Chaser	Nichollas Sq. 12	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3159	Boyce	William	Carpenter	Gays Inn Lane 37	10		C Ds	A5
3167	Burgess	James	Chair-maker	Church St. Soho 24	5		D5	
3173	Burton	Samuel	Apprentice [lectures]	Weston St. Somers Town 15	2.6		C	
3176	Barber	William	Glazier	Walworth	5		C	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
3177	Burton	James	Clerk	Garden Row 16	5	C	
3196	Blake	William	Printer	Crown St. Westminster 15	5	C	
3192	Brooke	James W.	Clerk	Holborn Court Grays Inn 2	5	C D5	
3213	Bennet	James	Clerk	Watling St. 91	5	C D5	
3214	Bagg	Elijah	Carpenter	Drummond St. 54	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3222	Brown	Samuel	Gentleman	Printinghouse Sq. 7	5	C	
3227	Ballantine	Alexander	Tailor	Red Lion St. Holborn 58	5	C D5	
3229	Benyon	Edward	Hardwareman	Bells Buildings Salisbury Sq. 12	5	C D5	A5B5
3238	Binless	George	Coach-maker	Creed Lane Ludgate St.	5	C	
3264	Bell	Charles	Goldsmith	King St. Clerkenwell	5	C	D5
3288	Beddoe	Charles	Compositor	Portsmouth St. 15	5	C	
3289	Beck	Joseph	Compositor	Swan Court William St. 6	5	C D5	
3293	Bowden	Nathaniel	Attorney	Bridge St. Southwark	5	C	
3397	Browne	Frederick	Carpenter	Robert St. Bedford Row 14	5	C D5	A5
3328	Binfield	Richard	Pin-maker	Southampton Buildings 20	5	C D5	A5
3333	Brotherhood	Samuel	Carpenter	Regent St. Westminster 112	5	C	
3347	Blackmoor	Walter	Pat. Bolt. Cl. maker	Wandsworth	5	C	
3352	Brooks	L [J]	Solicitor	Southampton St.	20	C Ds	AsBs
3381	Bowling	William	Gentleman	Sutton St. Westminster	5	C	
3384	Burgess	Robert	Tin-plate-worker	Gravel St. Somers Town	5	C	
3390	Bond	Thomas	Hairdresser	Little Coram St. Russell Sq. 23	10	C Ds	
3400	Bussman	Francis	Surgeon	Foley St.	5	C	
3417	Burr	Thomas	Gold-beater	Shaftsbury Place 10	5	C	
3392	Bowdler	Richard	Clerk	Galway St. City Rd	5	C	
3290	Becket	John	Corn-dealer	Barbican 49	5	C D5	A5
3434	Baily	Henry	Bedstead-maker	Oxford St. 434	5	C D5	A5
3438	Belton	Richard	Musical-instrument-maker	Mount Row Westminster 14	20	C Ds	AsBs
3439	Belsey	John	Chaser	Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell 53	5	C	
3488	Blackmore	Benjamin	Pat. Bolt Clth Manufacturer	Wandsworth	5	C	
3494	Burkinyoung	John	Brazier	Hampton St. Walworth 2	5	C D5	A5
3496	Barlin	Jacob	Tobacconist	White Cross St.	20	C Ds	AsBs
3501	Byron	John	Builder	Commercial Rd Lambeth	20	C Ds	AsBs
3506	Bowles	J. C.	Clerk	Cannon St. City 16	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3428	Brown	John	Boot-maker	Little Charles St. Brook St. 4	5	C D5	A5
3430	Brook	William	Gentleman	Phillimore Place Kensington	20	C Ds	AsBs
3514	Bow	William	Tailor	Berwick St. Soho 66	5	C	
3516	Blofielde	William	Bricklayer and builder	Hosier Lane Smithfield	20	C Ds	AsBs
3517	Biggs	George	Printer	King St Soho 22	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3530	Balding	William	Turner	High St. Marylebone 87	5	C	
3539	Bishop	Henry	Painter	Duke St. Portman Sq. 14	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3544	Broughton	Henry	Gentleman	Aldersgate St. 52	5	C D5	
3546	Brennan	D.	Gardener	Portland St. North End Fulham 2; 1 Brunswick Place Hammersmith	5	C D5	
3579	Bull	James H.	Clerk	Middx St. Spa Fields 5	5	C	
3587	Barkes	Thomas	Gentleman	Broad St. Bloomsbury 15	5	D	
3409	Bennett	Isaac	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Devonshire St. Bloomsbury 48	20	D	AsBsCs
3586	Bull	James	Wine merchant	Holborn Bridge	5	D	A5
3596	Brown	Thomas	Painter	Bell Yard Temple Bar 33	5	D	A5
3617	Barrett	Andrew		Mount Pleasant Gray's Inn Lane 15	5	D	A5B5
3637	Batchelar	Daniel		Long Alley Moor Fields 115	5	D	A5B5C5
3641	Bourgoyne	William	Carpenter	Gray's Inn Terrace 3	5	D	A5
3648	Bentley	William	Stonemason	Weston St. Somers Town 23	5	D	A10Bs
3649	Bennett	William	Cheese-monger	Holborn Hill	20	D	AsBsCs
3650	Baddeley	John	Die-sinker	Benjamin St. Cow Cross 3	5	D	
3657	Batton	George	Fish-monger	Sidmouth St. Gray's Inn rd 7	5	D	A5B5
3686	Barlow	James	Tin-plate-worker	Fore St. 85	5	D	A5B5C5
3660	Burrell	William	Watch-maker	Chapel Place Pentonville	5	D	
3661	Burrell	James	Member's son	Chapel Place Pentonville 7	5	D	A5B5C5
3672	Ball	Thomas	Clerk	Birchin [Birkins] Lane 23	5	D	
3673	Brinks	Charles	Clerk	Private Trade Warehouse Billeter Lane	5	D	
3677	Banks	James	Brush-maker	Charlotte St. Battle Bridge 6	5	D	A5B5C5
3691	Beard	John	Cabinet-maker	Museum St 5	5	D	A5B5C5
3692	Ball	Henry	Tailor	Brownlow St.	5	D	A5
3704	Bennett	Charles	Carpenter	Tabernacle Walk 61	5	D	A5
3712	Bishop	John		Little Chal St. Brooke St. New Rd 4	5	D	
3729	Browlon	John		Foundling Hospital	5	D	
3742	Bassett	Charles		Wood St. 119	5	D	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
3754	Barlow	William	Tin-plate-worker	London Wall	5	D	A5C5
3760	Blackmore	John	Surveyor	Brook St. Lambeth 7	20	D	AsBsCs
3761	Bull	Thomas	Surveyor	Judd Place East New Rd 15; Copenhagen Lodge	5	D	A5B5
3781	Botham	Richard	Cabinet-maker	Crown Court Fleet St. 5	5	D	A5B5C5
3784	Brees	Samuel	Water-gilder	Warwick Court Holborn 7	5	D	A5
3785	Brees	Samuel	Architect and Surveyor	Warwick Court Holborn 7	5	D	A5B5C5
3893	Brown	John	Whitesmith	North St. Fitzroy Sq. 2	5	D	A5B5C5
3806	Birt	Henry	Linen-draper	Bath St. City Rd	5	D	
3626	Betts	H. H.	Gold-refiner	Long Acre 131	20	D	AsBsCs
3650	Baddeley	John	Die-sinker	Benjamin St. Cow Cross	5	D	
3697	Brumley	John	Engraver	Castle St. Holborn	5	D	
3742	Bassett	Charles	Hosier	Wood St. Cheapside 119	5	D	
3814	Balsford	Thomas	Comb-maker	Milena Place Westminster	5	D	
	[Batsford]						
3793	Bowden	William	Shoe-maker	Charles St. Blackfriars Rd 13	5	D	A5
3795	Bacon	Joseph	Printer	Great Bulk St Clerkenwell 19 [Bath St]	5	D	A5B5C5
3853	Brettingham	Matthew	Builder	Store St. Bedford Sq.	5	D	
3855	Badell	John	Plumber	Sloane St. Knightsbridge 29	5	D	
3861	Barrand	William	Apprentice to J. Cuspel	James St. Haymarket	2.6	D	A2B2C2
3867	Beard	Charles	Carpenter	Marylebone Lane 8	5	D	A5B5
3868	Beardmore	William	Painter	Frederick St. Regent Park St. Pancras 3	5	D	A5B5C5
3890	Batten	John	Statuary	Oakley St. Lambeth 15	5	D	
3892	Bainbridge	William	Musical- instrument-maker	Holborn Hill 35	20	D	AsBsCs
3896	Brooke	Samuel		Kensington	5		A B5C5
720	Brown	Henry	Goldsmith		5	C D5	
3826	Baddeley	Thomas	Die-sinker	Seward St. St Lukes 27	5	D	
3828	Bolding	Thomas	Engineer	Clepstone St. 40	5	D	
3831	Bachelor	Joseph	Book-binder	Johnson's Court Fleet St.	5	D	A5
3834	Bull	John	Shoe-maker	Bloomsbury	5	D	
3902	Baines	George	Warehouseman	Friday St.	5	D	A5B5C5
3907	Brown	James	Carpenter	Cumberland St. Middx 24	5	D	
3922	Brown	Henry Jnr		Clerkenwell Close	5	D	A2B2
3935	Bright	William	Engraver	Acton Grays Inn Lane 5	5	D	A5
3942	Blake	James	Clerk	Brook St. Holborn 7	5	D	A5B5C5
3944	Brailey	John	Brush-maker	Skinner St. Bishopsgate 21	5	D	A5
3945	Baker	Charles	Goldsmith	Goswell St. 85	5	D	
3957	Bartlett	John	Carpenter	Brighton St. Coram St. 23	5	D	
3984	Barrington	Thomas	Optician	Wych St. 9	5		A
3985	Batchler	Thomas	Painter and Glazier	Popins Court Fleet St.	5		A
4006	Bostel	Daniel	Carpenter	Nicholl Sq. Aldersgate St.	5		A B5
4007	Ball	Ebenezer	Wine merchant	King St. Covent Garden 39	5		A
4008	Bannister	William	Carver	Oxford St. 320	5		A
4009	Berry	William	Carpenter	Fetter Lane 99	5		A B5C5
4013	Beck	William	Book-binder	Newgate St.	5		A
4026	Bright	William	Tailor	Red Lion Passage 14	5		A C5
4037	Beard	John	Member's son		2.6		A B2
3055	Boyd	Joseph	Silversmith	Oxford St. 312	20		A BsCsDs
4046	Boughton	Joseph	Linen-draper	Leadenhall St. 158	5		A
4049	Batyer	R. P.	Hatter	Goswell St. 32	5		A
4055	Baker	George	Engraver	Holloway Place Holloway	5		A B5C5
4058	Brown	Daniel	Member's son	Gloucester St. St John's St. Rd 27	2.6		A
4059	Brown	Peter	Member's son	Gloucester St. St John's St. Rd 27	2.6		A
4066	Bailey	John	[apprentice] Smith	apprentice to Mr Eckstein 13 Hatton	2.6		A
3984	Bailis	Richard	Surgeon	St Johns Sq.	20		A BsCsDs
4079	Bumpus	John	Bookseller	Newgate St. 85	5		A
4099	Bailey	George	Clerk	Church St. Rotherhithe	5		A B5C5
4106	Barner	Thomas	Tailor	Jermyn St. St James 93	5		A
4110	Butcher	James	Plasterer	Kennington Place Westminster 28	5		A B5
4115	Beetson	William	Brass founder	Britannia Terrace City Road 58	5		A B5
4122	Bailey	Charles	Silk-throwster	Old Broad St. 63	5		A
4129	Beale	John	Engraver	Brunswick Row Queen Sq 3	5		A
4146	Bordeer	Lewis	Carver	Buckingham St. 5	5		A B5
4153	Bates	Joseph	Draftsman	Botion St. Limehouse 13	5		A
4159	Baker	Alfred		Great Turn Stile 9	5		A B5C5
4194	Bower	John	Machinist	John Lane	5		A
4198	Ball	F. W.	Engraver	New St. Sq. 3	5		A B5C5
4207	Brydon	James	Coach-painter	Laystall St. Clerkenwell 90	5		A B5
4211	Barnes	William	Printer	Kent St. Southwark 3	5		A



No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824 1825	1826
4214	Baines	W. F.	Clerk	Aldermanbury 9	5	A
4215	Blundell	Frederick	Cooper	Love Lane St Georges East	5	A B5
4221	Bugden	Francis		Charlotte St. Bloomsbury 19	5	A
4237	Beall	Eusebius	Plasterer	Hertford St. Somers Town 8	5	A
4239	Birch	James	Plasterer	Ogle St. Marylebone 10	5	A
4243	Bartley	James	Venetian blind-maker	Tottenham St. Tottenham Court 38	5	A B5
4249	Burnett	James	Carver and gilder	Greek St. Soho 17	5	A
4262	Bowden	Richard	Tailor	Kerby St. Hatton Garden 22	5	A B5C5
4287	Bonsor	Robert	Clerk	Fishmongers Hall	10	A BsC5
4289	Button	George	Confectioner	Fleet St. 187	5	A B5C5
4294	Brass	C. J.	Book-binder	Westmorland Buildings Aldersgate St. 20 7	20	A BsCsDs
4297	Buckley	Richard		Martin St. St Georges East 16	5	A B5C5
4307	Booth	John	Mason	Fitzroy Row 10; Gee St. Goswell St.	5	A B5
4313	Bennett	W.	Stationer	West Smithfield 60	5	A
4319	Bishop	John	Jeweller	Leapords Court	5	A B5C5
4328	Brampton	William	Clerk	Rossere St. Goswell St. 7	5	A B5C5
4338	Bussell	William	Carpenter	Carpenter St. Berkley Sq. 3	5	A
4341	Barrell	Thomas	Carpenter	Kings St. Golden Sq. 24	5	A B5C5
4348	Beavis	John	Watch-maker	Pear St. 17	5	A B5C5
4349	Beavis	John Jun.	Watch-maker	Pear St. 17	5	A B5
4351	Bond	George	Clerk	Queen St. Camden Town 16	5	A
4354	Barrett	James	Carpenter	1 Bevis Market; 34 Villers St. Strand [Villiers]	5	A B5C5
4360	Baxter	John	Clerk	Holborn 4	5	A B5
4372	Bish	James	Tailor	Duke St. W 17	5	A
4375	Birtles	Richard	Printer	Cold Bath Sq.	5	A B5
4380	Bartlett	Phillip	Painter and Gilder	Clarendon St. Somers Town 4	5	A
4390	Basham	Frederick	Plasterer	James St. Skinner St. S. T. [Somers Town] 21	5	A
4409	Beardmore	W. H.	Member's son	Frederick St. Regents Park 2	2.6	A B2
4413	Beasmore	Joseph	Mechanist	Daughty Place Lambeth 15	5	A
4424	Bryant	Thomas	Carpenter	King St. Borough 47	5	A
4428	Barlow	William	Cheese-monger	Long acre 121	5	A B5
4436	Bonnin	Thomas	Carpenter	Hownslow Terrace	5	A B5
4454	Bryce	Robert	Mason	Harrison St. Grays Inn Lane; 5 Middx Passage Bartholomew Place	5	A B5C5
4458	Bruntow	Robert	Brush-maker	Barnsbury Place 34	5	A
4461	Brown	Barnard	Painter and Glazier	Queens Place Great Queen St. 2	5	A B5C5
4480	Barrett	William Henry	Clock-maker	Denmark St. Soho 27	5	B C5
4488	Burgess	William	Glove manufacturer	Sloane Sq. Chelsea 6	5	B
4497	Brown	Joseph	Engraver	North St. Fitzroy Sq. 2	10	B Cs
4498	Ballinger	John	Ivory-turner	John St. Tottenham Court Rd 11	5	B
4437	Brown	George	Engraver	Lambeth Walk 3	5	A B5
4502	Barker	W. H.	Cabinet-maker	Northampton Row	5	A B5C5
4517	Brown	D.	Clerk	Broad St. Buildings 16	5	A B5
4518	Brown	H.P.	Clerk	Leadenhall St. 2	5	A
4523	Brett	W.	Gentleman	Cambridge	5	A
4374	Bacon	George	Printer	Mount Pleasant Grays Inn Lane 15	5	A
4528	Bearne	Philip	Cabinet-maker	Grafton St. Soho 5	5	B
4530	Ball	John	Turner	Kings Road	5	B
4536	Bidder	Bartholome w		West St. Walworth 20	5	B C5
4542	Burges	William	Tailor	Palace Pimlico 39	5	B C5
4546	Brown	Benjamin	Printer	James St. Westminster	5	B C5
4548	Beamish	Richard	Engineer	Gloucester St. Queens Sq. 18	5	B
4569	Burton	W. H.	Carpenter	Little Oram Yard Queens Sq. 9	5	B
4573	Bouchen	William	Glass-man	Leadenhall St. 128	5	B C5
4607	Barfoot	J. R.	Artist	Tysoe St. 15	5	B
4612	Breakwell	Henry		Bishopsgate within 59	5	B
4627	Buffam	George	Plumber	Charles St. Shoreditch 10	5	B C5
4630	Borrell	Maxmilian	Watch-maker	Wilderness Row 15	20	B CsDs
4633	Bonnin	James	Carpenter	Onslow Terrace Brompton	5	B
4631	Baldwin	Charles	Oilman	Eyre St. Hill 22	5	B
4650	Bissagar	Geo John	Engraver	Bunhill Row 47	5	B
4660	Billing	Thomas		Old Trinity House	5	B C5
4661	Braithwaite	William	Merchant	Coleman St.	5	B C5
4665	Birt	Henry	Glass-stainer	Charles St. City Rd 36	5	B
4680	Baker	Richard	Tailor	Globe Lane Bethnal Green 13	5	B C5
4688	Brand	Edmund	Clerk	Cheapside 79	5	B C5
4723	Brown	William	Modeller	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 5	5	B

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
4733	Blagdon	William	Printer	Stamford St. Blackfriars 24	5		C
4738	Bickley	Samuel	Carpenter	Drummond Crescent Sommers Town 8	5		C
4747	Beverley	George	Carpenter	Vittoria Place New Rd 1	5		C
4801	Bennison	Robert		Devonshire St. Queen Sq. 8	5		C
4751	Browne	C. M.	Jeweller	New Bond St. 13	5		B
4767	Bovill	Benjamin	Clerk	Catherine Court Trinity Sq. 7	5		C
4777	Bowmer	John	Tailor	Hart St. Cripplegate 7	5		C
4786	Button	Thos Jn	Member's son	Holborn Bridge 77	2.6		C
4785	Button	Nathaniel	Member's son	Holborn Bridge 77	2.6		C
4797	Blyth	James	Chair-maker and Carver	White Cross St. 158	5		C
4809	Bullock	James	Cabinet-maker	South Molton St. 58	5		C
4811	Bibby	Richard	Bricklayer	Shoe Lane 58	5		C
4815	Baynes	David Birch	Carriage-lamp-maker	Wych St. Strand 34	5		C
4817	Boucher	John	Gentleman	Leadenhall St. 128	5		C
4818	Bright	William	Engineer	Acton St. Gray's Inn Rd	5		C
4826	Brown	Thomas	Printer	Globe and Traveller Office	5		C
4836	Barber	R. F.	Herald-painter	Jockey's Fields Kings Rd 20	5		C
4849	Beaumont	Joseph	Tailor	Cannon St. 74	5		C
4926	Blake	Robert	Cabinet-maker	Stephen St. Tottenham Court Rd 8	5		C
4854	Bright	William		formerly 4026			
4854	Burton	William	Clerk	Fulwoods Rents	5		C
4868	Bailey	Charles	Silk-mercier	Russia Row Milk St. 5	5		C
4881	Brayne	William	Schoolmaster	Corporation Lane 7	5		C
4882	Bird	Thomas	Pianoforte-maker	Brook St. New Rd 31	5		C
4932	Butter	C.	Plumber	Cow St. 10	5		C
4936	Bland	Arthur	Bookseller	Kingsland 1	5		C
4956	Baker	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Dove Court Leather Lane 4	5		C
4968	Benjamin	Elias	Jeweller	Cock and Hoop Yard Houndsditch 10	5		C
4971	Bacon	George	Printer	Great Bath St. Clerkenwell 19	5		C
4978	Bruce	James		Thavies Inn 20	5		C
5050	Barry	William	Plasterer	Cirencester Place Fitzroy Sq. 26	5		C
5051	Blake	George	Cabinet-maker	Stephen St. Tottenham Court Rd 8	5		C
5003	Bawtree	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Shakelwell Lane 7	5		C
5024	Braidley	John		formerly 571			
5025	Brown	Charles	Tin-plate-worker	Kings St. Spitalfields 21	5		C
5038	Bennett	T. W.	Timber merchant	Aldersgate St. 110	5		C
5063	Britton	Richard	Silversmith	Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell 48	5		C
5069	Barton	Thomas	Tailor	Little Windmill St. 26	5		C
5071	Budd	Bryant		Upper Charlotte St. Marylebone 25	5		C
5073	Banks	Samuel	Clerk	Great Suffolk St. Borough	5		C
5103	Bird	Golding		Clarendon St 14	5		C
5113	Borgnis	Joseph	Drawing-master	High Holborn 277	5		C
5122	Bennett	Joseph	Clerk	Horseferry Rd 20	5		C
5151	Bevan	George	Carpenter	St Petter St Westminster	5		C
5156	Barnard Jun. P.		Architect and surveyor	Formosa Cottage Holloway	5		C
99	Cogan	William	Brass-founder	Cleveland St. 33	5	D	
108	Collar	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Brook St. Grosvenor Sq. 20	20	D	AsBsCsD20
111	Clegg	Alfred	Accountant	Mansion House Place	5	D	A5
118	Cope	John James	Surveyor	Great Smith St. Westminster 11	20	D	AsBsCsD20
121	Church	William	Engineer	King's Rd Pimlico 18	5	D	A5B5C5D5
128	Coles	William	Truss-maker	London Bridge	20	D	AsBsCsD20
139	Cowie	George	Bookseller	Fetter Lane 24	5	D	A20BsCsDs
164	Cameron	Hugh	Compositor	Wardrobe Place Doctor's Common	5	D	A5B5C5D5
172	Conway	George	Paper-stainer	Camomile St. 27	5	D	A5
		Michael					
178	Cook	Joseph	Coach-maker	Goswell St. 8	5	D	A5B5C5D5
180	Cross	G. J.	Printer	Bennett's Hill 8	5	D	A5B5C5D5
188	Coredon	Richard	Cutler	Houndsditch 57	5	D	A5B5C5D5
200	Cordwell	William	Iron-monger	Long Lane Borough 84	5	D	A5B5
206	Clarke	Robert	Thermometer-maker	Fox Court Hatton Garden 14	20	D	AsBsCsD5
							A5B5C5
214	Christie	Peter	Carver	East St West Edgward Rd 25; 22 Spring St. Portman Sq.	5	D	A5B5C5D20
							AsBsCs
216	Copping	John	Carpenter	Pitfield St. 27	10	D	As
288	Clark	William	Book-binder	Finch Lane 21	5	D	A5B5
302	Cumming	William	Silversmith	Church St. Blackfriars 57	5	D	A5B5C5D5
							A5B5C5
308	Cuddle	John	Bead-maker	Elephant and Castle 28	5	D	A5B5D5
309	Clark	David	Engineer	at Donkins	5	D	
314	Callahan	Stephen	Brass-founder	Exeter St. Strand 8	5	D	
338	Charlwood	George	Seedsman	Drury Lane 146	20	D	AsBsCs

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
343	Christie	Robert	Teacher of mathematics	Southampton Buildings	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
352	Coombe	Thomas	Brass-founder	Tottenham St.	5	D	A5B5C5	
361	Currie	Peter	Carpenter	Angel Court, Strand 12	5	D	B5	
366	Campion	G. B.	Engraver	Coleman St. 68	5	D	A5B5C5	B5
369	Cave	John	Chair-maker	St Bartholomew's Sq. 9	5	D	A5B5	
377	Chant	James	Upholsterer	Britannia St. City Rd 41	5	D	A5B5C5	
394	Cheese	Charles	Brass-finisher	White Conduit Fields	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
396	Cannon	Michael	Brasier	Axe Court Hackney Rd 8	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
430	Callahan	John	Brass-founder	Exeter St. Strand 8	5	D	A5	
431	Callow	John	Brass-founder	Queen St. Northampton Sq. 19	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
433	Clark	Samuel	Clerk	Lombard St. 60	5	D	A5	
444	Cradock	Charles	Silversmith	Cary St.	2.6	D	A5B5	
472	Coulson	Edmund	Cordwainer	Gloucester Court St. James's 6	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5
496	Couch	William	Cabinet-maker	Europa Place John St. St Luke 3	5	D		
512	Cliff	John	Carpenter	Cold Bath Sq. 8	5	D	A5B5	
567	Crawford	James (son)	Book-binder	Peerless Row City Road 8	2.6	D	A2B2C2D2	A2B2C2
616	Carfs	James	Sales-man	Shoreditch 49	20	D	AsBsCs	
617	Carswell	William	Glass-cutter	Hart St. Monkwell St. 8	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
619	Collett	Thomas	Metal-sash-maker	Greystoke Place	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
623	Cook	Livett	Book-binder	Maiden Lane Covent Garden 1	5	D	A5	
652	Curtis	Thomas	apprentice watch-maker	Upper Crown St. Westminster 1	2.6	D	A5B5C5D5	B2
725	Cottam	George	Iron-founder	Winsley St. Oxford St.	20	D	AsBsCs	
1077	Caley	Alexander	Gilder &c	Hemlock Court Carey St. 4	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1522	Clarke	Robert	Clerk	Southampton buildings 32	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1540	Clements	George Jun.	Clerk	Bedford St. Bedford Row 15	2.6	D	A2C5D2	A2
1543	Cox	William	Wine-cooper	Bowl Yard Broad St. St Giles 10	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1546	Curry	John Ryal	Glove manufacturer	Yetminster, Dorchester	5	D	A5B20CsDs	AsB5
1567	Cheesman	Robert	Conveyancer	Haberdasher St. Hoxton 5	5	D		
1568	Cormack	James	Boot-maker	Bridle Lane Golden Sq.	5	D	A5B5C5	
1589	Crooks	Henry	Surgeon	City Rd	5	D		
1595	Copping	John Jun.	Carpenter	Pittfield St. 27	2.6	D	A2	
1601	Callow	John	Carpenter	Jackson's Court Moorfields 1	5	D		
1604	Cross	Alfred	Printer	Poppins Court St. 9	5	D		
1608	Collingridge	Edward	Gilder	Wilderness Row 27	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1614	Clarke	R. H.	Cooper	Essex St. Hoxton 15	5	D	A5	
1625	Carter	Joseph	Engineer	Nelson Place City Rd 5	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1631	Collingridge	William	Gilder	Wilderness Row 27	5	D	A5	
1661	Cooke	William August	Stationer	Great New St. Shoe Lane 21	5	D		
1676	Clerk	William	Printer	Wood St. Spa Fields 9	5	D		
1685	Cain	Richard	Jeweller	Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell 31	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1693	Cooper	James	Cabinet-maker	Bedford Row Red Lion Sq. 4	5	D	A5B5	
1701	Cowan	Thomas	Chair-maker	Gresse St. Rathbone Place 32	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1713	Cullen	Joseph	Clerk	Ely Place 18	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1740	Chater	James	Upholsterer	Aldersgate Buildings 13	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1750	Cort	James	Jeweller	Margaret St. Spa Fields 3	5	D		
1753	Chant	John	Optician	Skinner St. 2	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1756	Cumberland	John	Frame-work-knitter	Wood St. 119	5	D	A5	
1760	Chappell	John	Stationer	Haydon Sq. 41	5	D	A5B5	
1767	Cropley	Edward	Gentleman	Edmunds Place Balls Pond 16	5	D		
1774	Cummings	Robert	Boot-maker	Red Lion St. Spital Fields 43	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1777	Canvin	William	Plasterer	Castle Lane Lambeth 1	5	D	A5B5C5	
1787	Cooper	William	Schoolmaster	Charles St. Hoxton 2	5	D		
1809	Candlin	Jos <sup>h</sup> John	Merchant	Tavistock Place Russell Sq.	20	D	AsBsCs	
1812	Carroll	Robert	Printer	Star Court 3; 14 Mount Row Islington	5	D	A5B5	
1815	Cambell	William	Chaser	Allington St. Horseferry Rd 3	5	D	A5B5C5	
1853	Carter	R. John	Watch-maker	Jermyn St. 127	5	D	A5B5	
1877	Chamberlain		Agent to Chartered Gas Company	Cotton St. Poplar 65	20	D	AsBsCs	
1891	Carter	Hugh Percy	Clerk	Lombard St. 66	5	D	A5	
1895	Clark	John	Warehouseman	Lombard St. 66	5	D	A5	
1961	Cookson	Charles	Clerk	Lombard St. 69	10	D	As	
1831	Cherie	Dennis	Jeweller	Rawstorn St. Clerkenwell 15	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5
1850	Carter	C. J.	Builder	Dean St. Soho 1	20	D	AsBsCs	
1902	Canston		Printer	Birchin Lane	20	D	AsBsCs	
	[Causton]							
109	Clarke	John	Clerk	Fenchurch St. 7	10		A BsC5D5	A5B5
1936	Cope	James	Mason	Great Smith St. Westminster 11	5		A B5C5D5	A5B25CsDs
1941	Chilman	Richard	Coal merchant	Upper Thames St. 1	20		A BsCsDs	
2008	Carpmael	William	Clerk	Patent Office	21		A BsCsDs	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824 1825	1826
2021	Crammond	D. W.	Clerk	Brunswick St. Hackney 21	5	A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2024	Crowgey	Robert	Accountant to the Brazil Negociation	Pimlico	5	A	
2048	Cover	John	Carpenter	Kerby St. Hatton Gardens 12	5	A	
2058	Corder	James	Tea-dealer	James St. Covent Garden	5	A	
2068	Clutterbuck	John	Accountant	Fleet St. 37	5	A	
2078	Carr	Joseph Haist		City Gardens City Road	5	A B5	
2097	Carloss	George	Water-gilder	Hooper St. Clerkenwell 8	5	A	
2100	Carver	George	Engineer	Wardrobe Terrace	5	A	
2129	Chollin	Thomas	Jeweller	Darby Rd Kingsland	5	A	
2130	Clarke	William	Painter	Wilmot Sq. 11	5	A	
2142	Constable	Thomas	Oilman		5	A	
2197	Cain	John	Furniture-carver	Pool Terrace City Rd 27	5	A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2156	Cubit	T.	Goldsmith	Monmouth St.	5	A B5C5	
2202	Culmer	John	Carpenter	St Albans Buildings Lambeth 9	5	A B5	
2206	Crichton	James	Carpenter	Batham Hill	5	A	
2209	Cupit	John	Pastry-cook	London Road St.	5	A B5C5	
2210	Carpenter	Thomas	Book-binder	Vincent Terrace Westminster 3	5	A B5	
2205	Chart	Albert	Cabinet-maker	Upper Charlton St. Fitzroy Sq. 6	5	A B5C5D5	A5B5
2222	Cumming	Robert Jun.	Boot-maker	New Tyson St. Bethnal Green 2	5	A B5C5D5	A5B5
2223	Cummings	George	Boot-maker	Red Lion St. Spital Fields 46	5	A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2227	Cockrell	William	Cheese-monger	John St. Blackfriars 58	5	A	
2230	Collier	F.	Iron-monger	Union St. Borough 109	5	A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2244	Clarke	Charles	Brass-founder	Bunhill Row 14	5	A	
2245	Carruthers	S.	Gentleman	Pall-mall	20	A BsCsDs	
2248	Cockerill	James	Gent	Old Sq. Lincolns Inn 6	20	A BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
2257	Cox	William	Carpenter	Elm St.	5	A	
2295	Cook	Henry	Apprentice to book-binder	Wells St. Cripplegate 8	2.6	A	
2296	Cook	Joseph	Apprentice to book-binder	Wells St. Cripplegate 8	2.6	A	
2309	Cotchett	Thomas	Clerk	Wallin St. 91	5	A B5C5D5	A5B5
2310	Cull	Septimus		Rosomans St. Clerkenwell	5	A B5C5D5	A5
2318	Clifton	Francis	Clerk	Lincolns Inn 16	5	A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2321	Clift	W. Home	Gentleman	Lincolns Inn Fields	10	A Bs	
2361	Child	Lawrence	Gold-refiner	Barbican 54	5	A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2387	Carr	William	Bricklayer	Orange St., Leicester Sq. 17	20	B CsDs	As
2389	Crosser	Henry	Joiner	St Swithins Lane 14	5	B	
2396	Cull	Richard	Plumber	Rosomans St. Clerkenwell	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2407	Clarke	John Edward	Compositor	Windsor Court Strand	5	B	
2413	Croft	Thomas	Watch-maker	Rahere St. Goswell St. 32	5	B	
2414	Croft	Benoni	Pianoforte-tuner	Clements Tottenham Court Rd	5	B	
2423	Colquhoun	William	Engineer	Lloyds Row Spa Fields 12	5	B C5D5	
2441	Cunningham	Peter	Gentleman	Pullney Terrace White Conduit Fields	5	B	
2460	Clarke	William	Silversmith	Lancaster Court Strand	5	B	
2472	Clarke	J.	Book-binder	Cross Keys Sq. Little Britain 14	5	B	
2473	Cropley	Edward	Printer	Charles Row City Rd 19	5	B	
2520	Chapman	Thomas	Wire-drawer	Corporation Lane Clerkenwell	5	B C5D5	A5
2572	Cunningham	Francis	Gentleman	Baker St. Lambeth 5	5	B C5	
2558	Cropley	George	Carpenter	Queen St. Blackfriars 15	5	B	
528	Clements	George	Silversmith	Bedford St. Bedford Row 5	5	A B5C5D5	
196	Cretny	Thomas	Tailor	Carleret St. Westminster 5	5	A	
2542	Capern	William	Carpenter	Devereux Court St Clements 1	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
276	Crawford	Alexander	Book-binder	Pearless Row City Rd 18	20	B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
2617	Crump	Henry	Jeweller	Elliotts Place Islington 9	5	B	
2622	Cuissett	Francis Frederick		Denmark St. Soho 4	5	B	
2627	Cassill	John William		Old St. 98	5	B	
2624	Chambers	Robert	Carpenter	Cross St. Hatton Garden 15	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2625	Coe	Frederick	Carpenter	Baldwins Gardens Leather Lane 34	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2636	Chappell	George	Cooper	Ray St. Clerkenwell	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2648	Chance	Edward John	Engraver	Great Titchfield St. 78	5	B	
2682	Castile	Nathaniel	Carver and gilder	Eagle St. Red Lion Sq. 22	5	B C5	
2705	Chalcraft	James	Law-stationer	Cursor St. 5	5	B	
2752	Curtis	John F.	Gentleman	Southampton Buildings	20	B CsDs	As
2761	Croft	William	Boot-maker	Hadlow St. Burton Crescent 10	5	B C5	
2762	Cuthbert	C.	Philosophical- Instrument-maker	Great Bath St. Cold Bath Sq. 28	5	B	
2772	Coxwell	Henry	Gentleman	Millfield House Kentish Town	20	B CsDs	As
2777	Christie	George	Clerk	Nottingham St. 30	5	B	
2792	Cowzens	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Woodburn Court Bloomsbury 8	5	B	
2810	Cogan	Lewis	Chemist	Holborn 326	20	B CsDs	As
2840	Cogill	Captain John	of Shipmangles	Alfred Place Blackfriars Rd 4	5	B	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
2843	Cook	James	Mathematician	Camberwell	5	B	
2844	Coventry	John	Engraver	St Swithins Lane 23	5	B	
2878	Crew	John	Engraver	Elizabeth Place Kingsland Rd	5	B	
2888	Clutterbuck	Henry	M.D.	Bridge St. Blackfriars	20	B CsDs	As
2890	Couzens	William	Cabinet-maker	Great Russell St. 7	5	B C5D5	
2897	Christopher Jnr	Danby	Attorney	Staple Inn 12	20	B CsDs	As
2901	Cooper	William	Gentleman	Upper Charles St. North..Sq. 14	20	B CsDs	As
2917	Corcoran	Bryan	Millwright	Mark Lane 36	5	C D5	A5B5C5
2931	Cuthbert	Charles	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Great Bath St. Clerkenwell 28	5	C	
2927	Conacher	David	Carpenter	Baldwins Gardens 34	5	C D5	A5B5C5
2947	Cramer	Samuel	Shoe-maker	Silver St. Golden Sq. 12	5	C	
2957	Cherington	John	Printer	Great Peter St. Westminster 46	5	C	
2958	Clarke	Isaac	Architect	Fenchurch St Buildings 11	20	C Ds	AsBs
2974	Cull	John	Painter	Rosomans St. 12	5	C D5	A5
2975	Challen	James	Tailor	High Holborn 240	5	C D5	A5B5C5
2974	Crisfield	John			5	C D5	A5B5C5
3013	Cressel	Sebastian		St James's St. Haymarket 11	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3023	Casebourne	George	Millwright	Gravel Lane Blackfriars 34	5	C	
3025	Cheeseman	Richard	Tin-man	Lant St. Borough 15	5	C	
3005	Cave Jun.		Chair-maker	Charles St. Middx Hospital	5	C	
3047	Coulson	Roberts	Engraver	St James's Walk Clerkenwell 26	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3065	Cockle	James	Gentleman	New Orman St. Queen Square 18	20	C Ds	AsBs
3067	Charles	Frances	Chaser	Charles St. 33	5	C	
3070	Collins	Thomas	Upholsterer	Drummond St. 16	5	C	
3067	Cumpston	John	Printer	Pitfield St. Old St. Rd 25	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3071	Cooper	Daniel	Painter	Foley St. 44	5	C	
3088	Carter	William	Clerk	St John's St. Rd	5	C D5	
3095	Constable	William	Coach-maker	Paradise St. Marylebone 15	5	C D5	A5
3076	Cornell	Benjamin	Printer	Popins Court Fleet St. 77	5	C D5	A5
3100	Clare	Henry	Watch joint finisher	Meredith St. 3	5	C	
3101	Cowen	William	Gold-chaser	Northampton St. 57	5	C D5	
3106	Cooper	Charles Fly	Clerk	Collett Place Stepney	5	C D5	
3111	Carly	Thomas	Engraver	Broad St. City 9	5	C	
3118	Carey	Henry John	Musical-instrument-maker	Stangate St. Lambeth 28	5	C D5	A5B5
3124	Chapman	John	Member's son (lectures)	Corporation Lane Clerkenwell	2.6	C	
3131	Cahill	James	Draper	Holborn Hill 56	5	C	A5
3166	Crouch	William	Tea-dealer	Wild St. 33	5	C D5	A5
3210	Cork	Henry	Pianoforte-maker	Clepstone St. Fitzroy Sq. 6	5	C	
3235	Carter	Benjamin	Bricklayer	Castle St. East Oxford St. 67	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3240	Cubit	Thomas H. Jun	Member's son	Monmouth St. 18	2.6	C	
3251	Couldrey	William	Carpenter and joiner	Shakespear Row Pimlico	5	C D5	A5
3262	Carr	William	Tailor	Jermyn St. 98	5	C	
3263	Clarke	James L.	Victualer	Fleet Market	5	C	
3280	Calman	Jeremiah	Cooper	Thomas St. Southwark 14	5	C	
3284	Collins	John	Schoolmaster	Hatton Garden 43	20	C Ds	AsBs
3299	Crowder	Joseph	Clerk	Dowgate Hill 31	5	C D5	A5
3302	Coness	Richard	Plumber	Long Acre 35	20	C Ds	AsBs
3344	Creevy	W.	Assestan	Norman St. St Lukes 13	5	C D5	A5
3345	Colmet	Joseph	Jeweller	Bride Lane Fleet St. 1	5	C	
3348	Child	Richard	Upholsterer	Berners St. Oxford St. 32	20	C Ds	AsBs
3368	Collis	William Blow	Gentleman	Fleet St. 194	5	C	
3403	Carter	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Northampton St. St Pancras 74	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3407	Coventry	D.	Clerk	Birchin Lane 20	5	C D5	
3413	Clarke	Thomas	Hairdresser	Wilmot St. Brunswick	5	C	D5
3393	Chapman Jun.	Thomas	Member's son	Corporation Lane Clerkenwell	2.6	C D2	A2
3397	Cox	Edward	Apprentice to Charles Ackroyd		10	C Ds	AsBsC2
3424	Cooke	John	Printer	Cross St. Blackfriars Rd 13	5	C	
3504	Cooke	James Climson	Hatter	Sloane St. Knightsbridge	5	C D5	
4021	Chadwick	John R.	Glazier	Warwick Lane 2	5	C	
401	Canston Jnr	Davis	Schoolmaster	King St. Bryanstone Sq. 1	20	C Ds	AsBs
3526	Canston	William	Member's son	King St. Bryanstone Sq. 1	2.6	C	
3529	Chapman	William	Boot-maker	Mount St. Lambeth	5	C D5	
3534	Chambers	James	Carpenter	Oakley St. Borough 26	5	C	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
3535	Crawley	J	Coach-maker	Red Lion St. Charter House Lane 5	5	C D5	
3548	Clay	W.B.D.	Carpenter	New Times St. William St. Curtain Rd	5	C	
3550	Carter	Richard	Surveyor	Quebec St. Oxford St.	5	C	
3537	Cartledge	William	Machinist	Union Place Bagnigge Wells 1	10	C Ds	A5B5C5
3542	Chapman	Robert		Church Hill St. Pancras 3	20	C Ds	AsBs
3572	Champion	Thomas	Iron-monger	Northumberland St. New Rd 24	5	C	
3575	Crook Esq	John		Westminster Place City Rd 71	5	C	
3052	Cawley	Edward	Compositor	Elliott's Row 24	5	D	
3585	Clifford	James	Coal-merchant	Old Barge House	5	D	A5
3612	Crowley	Henry Jun.	Professor of Music	Sidney St. City Rd 20	5	D	
3716	Cobham	Samuel	Coffee house keeper	Fenchurch St. 95	20	D	AsBsCs
3643	Cox	Richard	Joiner	Donzel St. 6	5	D	
3633	Chrit	William	Coach-maker	Barsin's Court Cold Bath 3	5	D	A5
3639	Churcher	Andrew	Hair Manufacturer	King St. Golden Sq. 22	5	D	A5B5C5
3645	Child	Joseph	Plasterer	Phillips Buildings Somers Town 6	5	D	
3647	Curtis	Thomas	Carpenter	Wellesley St. Somers Town 8	5	D	
3655	Casson	William	Tailor	Edwards Place Aldersgate St. 50	5	D	A5B5
3631	Cartwright	John	Enameller	Gunpowder Alley Fleet St.4	5	D	A5B5C5
3695	Coventon	William	Clerk	Grafton St. East Fitzroy Sq. 36	5	D	
3699	Crighton	James	Clerk	Holborn Hill 111	5	D	A5B5C5
3700	Christie	George	Warehouseman	Holborn Hill	5	D	
3706	Collinson	John	Hot-presser	Wheller St. Spitalfields 3	5	D	
3719	Cope	John	Engineer	North St. 4	5	D	A5B5C5
3726	Chaplain	Thomas		St James's Church Yard 3	5	D	
3728	Conen	George		Drummond Crescent Euston 3	5	D	A5B5
	[Canon]						
3736	Clarke	Richard	Carpet Manufacturer	Renton St. Brunswick Sq 28	5	D	
3683	Claives	Edward Nathaniel Jun.	Gentleman	John St. Bedford Row	5	D	A5
3757	Cumber	John	Clerk	Wilderness Row Clerkenwell	5	D	A5C5
3758	Crouch	J. H.	Clerk	Middleton Sq. 2	5	D	A5
3800	Collengson	Jos.	Harness-maker	Symon Lane Doctors Common	5	D	A5
3802	Colman	Joseph	Shoe-maker	Adam St. East 25	5	D	A5
3807	Cousins	David	Plumber	Richard St. Islington 7	5	D	
3817	Caffin	J. D.	Druggist	Throgmorton St. 31	5	D	
3865	Cowen	John	Painter etc	Northampton St. Clerkenwell 57	5	D	A5B5C5
3872	Cowper	Richard	Carpenter	Brighton St. Cromer St. 24	5	D	A5
3881	Crowther	Thomas	Machinist	Princes St. Oxford St. 26	5	D	
3849	Clarke	R. B.	Barrister	Brick Court Temple	5	D	
3903	Cuthbertson	John	Taylor	Warwick St. 26	5	D	A5
3926	Christie	William	Apprentice joiners	Spring St. Portman Sq. 22	2.6	D	A5B5C5
3928	Corens	Leonard	Clerk	New Bond St. 123	5	D	A5
3963	Clementson	Charles	Gentleman	Torrington Sq.	20	D	AsBsCs
396	Coxhead	Henry	Glass-cutter	Denmark St. Strand 15	5	D	A B5C5
3999	Clark	William	Lithographic printer	Wood St. Spa fields 9	5		A
3823	Coombs	John	Gentleman	Commercial Place Hampshire	5	D	A5
4028	Cammack	John	Currier	Kingsgate St. 10	5		A B5C5
4041	Campbell	Charles	Jeweller	Rawstorn St. Clerkenwell 14	5		A
4043	Curtis	James	Pianoforte-maker	Henry St. Hamstead Rd 33	5		A B5C5
4032	Constable	John	Printer	Red Lion Court Clerkenwell 9	5		A B5C5
3056	Crews	Thomas	Boot-maker	Maiden Lane Cheapside	5		A
4074	Cramphorn	John	Chaser etc	Long Acre 136	5		A
4075	Croger	N.G.	Mathematical- instrument-maker	Pennington St. Ratcliffe Hig?	5		A
4112	Cowell	James	Pianoforte-maker	Clarendon St. Somers Town 6	5		A B5C5
4133	Camp	George	Clerk	Southampton buildings 13	5		A
4151	Chubb	James	Cabinet-maker	Gearey St. Portland Place 7	5		A B5
4155	Champion	Thomas	Iron-monger	Northumberland St. New Rd	5		A
4157	Cabe	John	Chair-maker	Castle St. Lisson Grove	5		A
4161	Coulson	Patrick	Iron-founder	Winsley St. Oxford St.	5		A
4192	Cuthbert	William	Jeweller	Dean St. Fetter Lane 16	5		A
4196	Crickmore	Thomas	Engine-maker	Skinner St. 26	5		A
4208	Clarke	John Edward	Printer	Tabernacle Walk 32	10		A Bs
4216	Carr	Matthew	Tailor	Church Court Piccadilly 1	5		A B5
4226	Christie	Peter Jun.	Member's son	Spring St. Portman Sq. 22	2.6		A
4246	Codner	Thomas R.		Thomas St. Horsleydown	5		A B5
4256	Cheesman	Richard	Tin-plate-worker	Lant St. Borough 15	5		A
4267	Clarke	Charles	Shoe-maker	Wills St. Oxford St. 24	5		A
4276	Carpenter	Thomas		Calthorpe St. 7	5		A

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824 1825	1826
4279	Chalcraft	John	Law-stationer	Cursor St. Chancery Lane 3	5	A
4300	Cole	John	Mason	Chapel Row	5	A B5
4318	Clench	James	Carpenter	Albion Buildings Bartholomew Close 14	5	A
4334	Cartledge	Henry	Book-binder	Kerby St.	5	A B5C5
4343	Cundell	William	Tin-plate-worker	George St. Portman Sq. 47	5	A
4361	Cockril	William	Grocer	Borough Rd	5	A
4385	Cooper	Charles	Law-stationer	Robert St. Bedford Row 21	5	A B5
4395	Covile	James	Engineer	Blackfriars	20	A BsCsDs
	Cowle					
4399	Carnerth	James	Carpenter	Hork. .ge St. 36	5	A
4412	Carr	James	Printer	Rahere St. Goswell St. 49	5	A
		Joseph				
4434	Crisp	James	Warehouseman	Cheapside 67	5	A B5
4444	Cooke	John	Gentleman	Gerrard St [crossed out]	5	A B5
4445	Castleworth	Joseph	Schoolmaster	Paul St. Finsbury 42	5	A B5C5
4451	Chuse	John	Painter &c	Upper John St. Fitzroy Sq. 53	5	A
4461	Chapman	William	Chair-maker	New Boswell Court 1	5	A
4469	Cuttermole	Charles	Carpenter	Wilsted St. Somers Town	5	A B5
4487	Cuthbertson	John	Paper-stainer	Lower Seymour St. Chelsea 1	5	B
4496	Cartwright	William	Cabinet-maker	James St. Somers Town 1	5	B C5
4515	Cooke	William	Clerk	Goswell Terrace	5	A B5
4521	Clarke	John	Hot-presser	White Cross St. 20	5	A
4527	Cannon	William	Cabinet-maker	Little Titchfield St. 4	5	B
4538	Champain	John	Engraver	Brunswick Place St. Johns St. 14	5	B
4552	Curtis	Thomas	Watch-maker [2 <sup>nd</sup> entry]	Upper Crown St. Westminster 6		
4577	Caines	Richard	Gentleman	Weston St. Pentonville	5	B C5
4596	Campion	G. B.	Engraver [2 <sup>nd</sup> entry]	Coleman St. 27		
4617	Coe	John	Printer	High Holborn 225	5	B C5
4620	Cazaly	John	Clerk	King St. Hackney Road 7	5	B
4634	Cripps	John	Wire-worker	King's Rd Chelsea	5	B
4653	Cooper	John	Land-surveyor	Arkley St. Pancrass 12	5	B C5
4664	Creighton	David	Printer	Hatfield St. Surry Rd	5	B
4667	Cinoline	Flippo		Piccadilly 117	5	B
4675	Crowther	George	Clerk	Grocers Hall	5	B
4679	Coates	Thomas		Furnivals Inn	20	B CsDs
4693	Canham	James		East St. Red Lion Sq. 13	20	B CsDs
4696	Chapple	John	Trunk-maker	Piccadilly 49	5	B C5
4715	Chamley	Henry	Gentleman	Crosley Row Walworth	5	B C5
	[Charnley]					
4717	Christie	William	Baker	Bouverie St. Fleet St.31	5	B C10Ds
4731	Cuthbert	William	Goldsmith	Dean St. Fetter Lane 56	5	C
4802	Carr	William	Bricklayer	Orange St. Leicester Sq. 17	5	C
4807	Colby	James	Plumber	Bridgewater Gardens 30	5	C
4754	Clarkson	R. V.	Gentleman	Bank Coffee House (former no 902)	20	B CsDs
4757	Cumber	John	reentered from No 3757			
4759	Cooke	William	Cabinet-maker	Duke St. Lisson Grove 9	5	C
4762	Carvill	Thomas	Cheese-monger	Little New St. 1	5	C
4768	Chapman	Frederick	Gentleman	Stamford Hill	5	C
4788	Cramphorn	James	Chaser	Long Acre 136	5	C
4825	Corby	J. G.	Joiner	Caborn St. Mile End	5	C
4840	Crawford	William	Brass-finisher	Great Warner St. Clerkenwell 6	5	C
4843	Collier	Noah	Tallow-chandler	Sloane St. Knightsbridge	5	C
4905	Coupland	Newton	Cutler	Lambeth St. Goodman's 5	5	C
4907	Cranfield	Richard	Schoolmaster	Grey Coat St. Westminster	5	C
4912	Combes	George	Gentleman	Chichester Sq.	5	C
4855	Cooke	Joseph	Book-binder	Well St. Cripplegate 8	5	C
4860	Cobb	Charles	Cork-cutter	Houndsditch 87	5	C
4887	Carter	W. D.	Builder	Great St. Helens 2	5	C
4937	Crossby	William	Paper-hanger	Snows Fields 1	5	C
4947	Cray	John	Jeweller	Museum St. Bloomsbury 34	5	C
4953	Collier	Caleb	Jeweller	Sloane St. 209	5	C
4942	Colledge	John	Student	Cow Cross St.	5	C
4961	Cochin	Richard	Schoolmaster	Park St. Camden Town	5	C
4964	Coombs	John	Gentleman	Scotland Yard	5	C
4981	Crosser	Henry	Joiner	Laybridge Rd Hackney 10	5	C
5003	Cooke	Henry	Book-binder	Well St. Cripplegate 8	5	C
		William				
5034	Collings	William	Die-sinker	St. James's Walk Clerkenwell	5	C
5042	Costigin	John	Engraver	Callow [Collow] County of Louth, Ireland	5	C

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
5053	Chapman	Thomas	Wire-drawer	Corporation Court Clerkenwell 11	5			C
5087	Campbell	John	Mason	New Union St. 21	5			C
5106	Chapple	William		High Holborn 14	5			C
5157	Chapman	John	Plumber	Theobald's Rd 6	5			C
4889	Check	John	Carpenter	Salisbury Sq. 139	5			C
4896	Cuthbert	Charles	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Yarmouth Place Spa Field 8 ½	5			C
4897	Child	Henry L.	Portrait painter	Gloucester Terrace Vauxhall 14	5			C
120	Dempsey	John	Tailor	Bouverie St. Fleet St. 10	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
135	Dunstan	Samuel	Chemist	West Smithfield 30	5	D	A5	
155	Duncan	James	Carpenter	Lascelles Place Bloomsbury 3	5	D		
176	Douglass	G. S.		Silver St. Falcon Sq 12	5	D		
184	Duthie	Thomas	Book-binder	Bartless Place 2	5	D	A20BsCsDs	A5B5
211	Dawson	William	Gentleman	Upper Charles St. Northam Sq. 11	20	D	AsBsCsD5	A5B5C5
224	Dennant	James Jonathan	Carpenter	Haydon Sq.	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
236	Dalrymple	Hugh	Cabinet-maker	Great Pulteny St. 25	20	D	AsBsCs	
238	Dotchen	John Ashton	Surveyor	Frederic Place Hampstead Rd 37	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
250	Deville	Elijah	Brass-founder	Mercer St Long Acre 6	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
304	Davis	Charles	Accountant	Camden St. Islington 10	5	D		
339	Douglass	William	Coach-smith	North Row Oxford St.	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
379	Dunnio	George	Brasier	Old St. 77	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
384	Davidson	William	Smith	Little Grays Inn Lane 24	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
395	Daniel	Francis William	Printer	Brook's Gardens Bagnigge Wells 2	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
403	Davis	David	Engineer	at Galloways; Collingwood St. Blackfriars 42	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
420	Dixson	Halford	Chaser	Great Newport St. 2	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
453	Dible	William	Mason	Nelson St. Shoreditch 8	5	D		
472	Davis	Joseph	Clerk	St. Mary Axe 1	10	D	AsB5C5D5	
498	Dodd	Ed	Violin-bow-maker	Gransbys Buildings Vauxhall 9	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
520	Derry	Charles	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Little Coram St. Brunswick Sq. 10	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
553	Dykes	William Junr	Brass-founder	Queen St. Soho	?	15 D	As unclear	
614	Danks	Titus	Printer	Water St. Blackfriars 11	5	D		
618	Darlneil	Samuel	Gentleman	New Bond St. 105	5	D	A5	
1081	Dodd	James	Violin-bow-maker	Gransbys Buildings Vauxhall 9	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1575	Dimsdale	G.	Saddler	Pavement Moorfields	5	D		
1606	Don	Thomas	Millwright	Lower James St. Golden Sq. 2	5	D	A5B5	
1612	Darwin	John	Stocking-weaver	Wood St. Cheapside 119	5	D	A5	
1634	Danby	Benjamin	Accountant	Church Yard Court Temple 3	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1684	Dawson	John	Printer	West Place Bath Sq City Rd 2	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1692	Desbois	Daniel	Watch-maker	Grays Inn Passage 9	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1694	Dixwell	Charles	Upholsterer	Bartholomew Close 51	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
112	Dixon	James	Tin-plate-worker	Wych St. Strand 34	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1725	Donne	Samuel	Gentleman	Thomas St. Blackfriars 24	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1732	Davey	Thomas	Carpenter	Bryanstone Sq. 13	5	D		
1761	Day	Charles	Silver-spoon-maker	Owen's Row St. Johns Rd	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5
1763	Dotchen	Samuel	Jeweller	Theobalds Rd 63	5	D	A5B5C5	
1765	Davey	Thomas	Vintner	Fleet St. 141	5	D		
1766	Day	James	Silk-dyer	Cumberland St. Curtain Rd 22	5	D		
1821	Dadson	Charles	Carpenter	Eagle St. Red Lion Sq 12	5	D	A5B5C5	
1847	Davey	John	Carpenter	Cobourg St. Clerkenwell	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1860	Dodd	John	Silversmith	John St. Golden Sq.	5	D		
1863	Dalley	Henry	Electrician and Cupper	Bunhill Row	5	D	A5	
1869	Day	John	Cabinet-maker	Owens Row 6	5	D		
1951	Dimsdale	Charles	Painter	Waterloo Rd Cobourg Theatre 25	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1956	Davies	George	Drug-maker	Purim Place Mile End	5	D	A5B5	
1976	Darnell	James	Schoolmaster	Pentonville	20	A	BsCsDs	A5C5
1983	Dobie	Rowland	Surveyor	Kenton St. 13	5	A		
1944	Drysdale	Henry W.	Upholder	Mile End Green	20	A	BsCsDs	
2016	Dallor	John	Apprentice to Mr Battersbee appraiser	Grays Inn Lane	2.6	A	B2C5	
2031	Drane	Henry	Tailor	Long Lane West Smithfield 57	5	A	B5C5	
2072	Dyke	John	Boot-maker	Wilderness Row Clerkenwell 29	5	A		
2076	Darlneil	Henry	Clerk	Hercules Court Broad St.	5	A		
2077	Daymond	James	Cooper	Hanover Court Greeb St.	5	A	B5C5D5	
2104	Down	William	Iron-monger	Bakers Buildings Liverpool Sq. 13	5	A	B5C5	
2134	Dawson	James	Printer	High Holborn 70	5	A		
2176	Duggan	Edmund	Goldsmith	Craven Buildings 17	20	A	BsCsDs	



No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
2195	Draper	Richard	Merchant Tailor	Seacoal Lane 12	5	A	
		John					
2265	Duplan	James	Apprentice to James Dodd	Granbys Buildings 9	2.6	A B2C2D2	A2B2C2
2268	Dibb	William	Patten-maker	Crosby Row Borough 6	5	A B5C5	
2297	Dell	John	Chemist	Aldersgate St.	20	A BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
2331	Day	Benjamin	Clerk	Brick Lane 187	5	A	
2378	Darnell	William	Member's son	White Lion St. Pentonville	2.6	A B2C2D5	A2C2
2418	Davidson	William	Silk Manufacturer	Cheapside 150	5	B	
2433	Davy	Christopher	Draftsman	Furnivals Inn 11	20	B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
2471	Dinsdale	Christopher	Goldsmith	Upper Marylebone St. 24	5	B	
2488	Duthie	John	Member's son	Bartletts Place 2	2.6	B C2D2	A5
2501	Darnell	Daniel	Member's son	White Lion St. Pentonville	2.6	B C2D5	A2C2
2514	Diane	Jerry Jun.	Member's son	Long Lane Westminster 57	2.6	B C2	
2515	Daw	John	Vellum-binder	St Thomas Apostle Court	5	B C5D5	A5
2536	Davies	David	Printer	Bartholomew 42	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2573	Drimmy	Andrew	Draper	George St. Minories	5	B	
2545	Dolittle	John	Ornamental painter	Radnor Court St Lukes 192	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2581	Delworth	William	Paper-maker	Newcastle St.	5	B	
365	Dixon	George	Carver and gilder	Great Portland St. 12	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2620	Dunt	Ebenezer	Glass-cutter	Charing Cross 26	20	B CsDs	As
2658	Davis	William	Printer	Dean St. Fetter Lane 3	5	B C5	
		Beaver					
2675	Dyer	John	Joiner	Grub St. St Lukes 1	5	B	
2678	Drory	G. W.	Clerk	Stanhope St. 49	5	B	
2684	Day	James	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Banner St. St Lukes 32	5	B C5	
2716	Drysdale	William	Compositor	Norwich Court Fetter Lane 21	5	B	
2722	Davis	Thomas	Leather-seller	Cow Lane Smithfield	5	B	
2726	Douglass	Richard	Printer	Banner St. St Lukes 2	5	B	
2727	Dutcher	James	Plasterer	Kennington Place Westminster 18	5	B	
2788	David	James	Clerk	Addle St. Wood St. 29	5	B C5D5	A5
		French					
2811	Dando	John	Hatter	High Holborn	20	B CsDs	As
2836	Dunt	Thomas	Boot-maker	Charing Cross 26	5	B	
2864	Davis	David	Carpenter and joiner	Castle Court Castle St. Borough 4	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2891	Davies	Thomas	Linen-draper	High Holborn	20	B CsDs	As
2892	Davies	David	Linen-draper	High Holborn; Cheapside 17	20	B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
2895	Davis	Richard	Linen-draper	Crescent St. Euston Sq. 27	5	B C5	
2906	Davy	George	Coach-maker	Mercer St. Long Acre 11	5	C	
2942	Desprat	Stephen	Professor of Languages	High Holborn 201	10	C Ds	
2943	Dickenson	George	Gentleman	Great James St. Bedford Row 16	5	C D5	A5
2949	Dawes	Samuel	Pattern-maker	Cromer St. 13	5	C D5	A5B5C5
2951	Dutlinger	Jacob	Smith	Carburton St. Fitzroy Sq. 30	5	C D5	A5
2962	Dobson	William	Plumber	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 47	5	C	
3024	Darby	James	Builder	Gravel Lane Blackfriars 34	5	C	
3038	Dismore	Thomas	Jeweller	Clerkenwell Green 11	5	C D5	A5B5C5
2990	Drimmy	Alfred	Draper	George St. Minories	5	C D5	
		[Dunning]					
2994	Day	William	Chaser	Calthorpe Place 12	5	C D5	A5B5
2998	Durow	John		West Smithfield 89	5	C	
3045	Dismore	George	Jeweller	Clerkenwell Green 11	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3089	Darwin	Henry	Draper	Bartletts Buildings	5	C	
3093	Dawker	Edward	Chymist [Chemist]	Seward St.	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3094	Dalton	Charles	Timber Merchant	Inner Temple Lane 9	5	C D5	A5
3119	Dixon	Henry	Carver	South Place Sloan Sq. 4	5	C D5	
3122	Davidge	Frederick	Tailor	Fashion St. Spitalfields 6	5	C D5	
3147	Davies	William	Clerk	Theobalds Rd 53	10	C Ds	A20BsCsDs
3237	Donnison	Francis	Cabinet-maker	Platts Terrace St Pancrass 74	5	C D5	A5
3241	Dowling	James	Gentleman	Queens Sq. Bloomsbury	20	C Ds	AsBs
3242	Dixon	John	Book-binder	Wilderness Row	5	C	
3294	Duffield	James	Paper-stationer	Upper Rathbone Place 8	5	C	
3314	Dickons	George	Gentleman	Churchway Somers Town 19	5	C D5	A5B5
3330	Dennison	Thomas	Carpenter and joiner	Brewer St. Pimlico 11	5	C	
3335	Dennison	William	Engraver	Platt Terrace St. Pancrass 14	5	C	
3357	Dubois	Edmund	Clerk	Royal Hospital Row Chelsea 15	5	C	
3358	Dubois	James	Broker	Royal Hospital Row Chelsea 5	5	C	
3362	Dobie	Thomas	Watch-maker	High St. Bloomsbury 33	5	C	
3378	Dawson	Thomas	Musical-instrument-maker	Little Chapel St. Soho 4	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3363	Dover	P. E.	Upholsterer	Museum St. Bloomsbury 33	5	C D5	A5C5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
3547	Davis	R. S.	Corn-dealer	Warren St. Fitzroy Sq. 15	5	C D5	A5
3549	Dixon	James	Herald-chaser	Wardour St. 93	5	C	
3552	Davis	William	Gentleman	Quebec St. Oxford St. 5	5	C	
3562	Dowling	Thomas	Engraver and Printer	Speer St. Leicester Sq. 3	5	C	
3566	Davis	James	Clerk	Suffolk Islington	5	C	
3561	Davis	John	Painter	Exmouth St. Clerkenwell 11	5	C D5	A5
3577	Davison	George	Gentleman	Bedford Row 33	20	C Ds	AsBsC20Ds
3563	Davidson	William Jun.	Member's son [schools]		2.6	D	A2B2C2
3618	Davis	William	Printer	Millman St. 16	5	D	A5B5C5
3668	Dixon	William	Refiner	Little Britain 70	5	D	
3669	Dart	Henry	Lace-man	Long Acre 141	5	D	A5C5
3671	Dighton	William	Goldsmith	Bateman's Buildings Soho 1	5	D	A5
3807	Darkin	William	Compositor	Chapel St. Islington	5	D	
3628	Draper	Charles	Stationer	St John's Lane 35	5	D	A5B5
3807	Darking	William	Compositor	Chapel St. Islington	5	D	A5B5C5
3813	Dimes	Joseph	Silversmith	Lezard St. St Lukes 20	5	D	
3860	Duncan	James	Book-binder	High St. Bloomsbury 13	5	D	
3825	Dennison	Michael	Plasterer	Upper St. Islington 141	5	D	
3837	Dover	C.	Carver	New North St. 20	5	D	
3936	Dunt	Thomas	Boot-maker	Charing Cross 26	5	D	A5B5C5
3950	Dawson	L.	Gentleman	Red Lion Sq. 36	5	D	
3963	Day	F.	Optician	Poultry	5	D	A5
3933	Dady	David	Joiner	Chapel St. Grosvenor Sq. 6	5		A B5
4010	Durham	Edward	Clerk	Walbrook Buildings	5		A B5
4011	Day	William	Printer	Goswell St. 17	5		A
4015	Donaldson	Edward	Carpenter	Dorset St. Salisbury Sq. 53	5		A
4019	Duff	William	Clerk	Bank of England	5		A
4035	Dowling	William	Carpenter	Chapel St. Somers Town 1	5		A B5C5
3053	Durrant	James	Bell-hanger	Tinker St. Spitalfields 2	5		A
4108	Downie	David W.	Cabinet-maker	London St. Fitzroy Sq. 29	5		A B5C5
4120	Dawes	William	Clerk	Stangate St. 26	5		A
4121	Duncan	E.	Engraver	Euston St. Euston Sq. 32	5		A
4165	Dove	George	Book-binder	Shaftsbury Place Aldersgate 7	5		A
4169	Duff	W. H.	Member's son		2.6		A
4190	Dunnage	William	Carpenter	Pearl Crescent Bagnigge Wells 4	5		A
4224	Dinneford	C.		New Bond St.	5		A
4228	Davey	Thomas	Tailor	Pleasant Row Guilford St. Boro 2	5		A
4270	Dicklo	Archibald	Engraver	Field Terrace 11	5		A
4271	Dimond	George	Carpenter	New Ormund St. 7	5		A
4273	Dobie	Rowland	House agent	Kenton St. Brunswick Sq. 13	5		A
4302	Day	John James		St. John Sq. 34	5		A
4304	Downes	Henry	Jeweller	Aldersgate St. 121	5		A
4309	Dempsey	G.	Member's son	Bouverie St. 10	2.6		A B2
4310	Dempsey	William	Member's son	Bouverie St. 10	2.6		A B2
4355	Donsbery	Thomas	Perfumer	Lad Lane 10	5		A
4429	Donaldson	Alexander	Wine merchant	Spur St. Leicester Sq. 2	5		A
4440	Denney	Joseph	Bricklayer	Mace St. Hackney	5		A B5
4466	Davies	William	Tailor	May's Buildings 20	5		A B10Cs
4478	Dugard	George	Jeweller	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 34	5		A B5C5
4479	Donton	Henry	Clerk in the Bank of England	Bank of England	20		A BsCsDs
4504	Downing	William	Sail-maker	Thomas St. Horseley Down	5		A BsCs
4513	Davis	S.	Engraver	William St. Waterloo Rd 19	5		A
4524	Dodgson	John	Gentleman	Trinity St. Borough 6	5		A
4540	Dawker	Thomas	Chemist	Upper Thames St. 63	5		B C5
4554	Denby	Edward	Cabinet-maker	Ogle St. 15	5		B C5
4577	Downing	William	Chemist	Wapping 238	5		B
4606	Dobbs	Edgar		Great Charlotte St. Blackfriars 5	5		B
4325	Davidson	Robert	Iron-founder	Old St. 16	5		A
4639	Druce	Thomas	Book-binder	Evangelist Court Blackfriars 2	5		B
4641	Downes	Joseph	Goldsmith	High St. Islington 8	5		B C5
4652	Dandridge	Thomas	Land surveyor	Northampton St. Pancrass 26	5		B
4654	Dandridge	Thomas	Member's son	Northampton St. Pancrass 26	2.6		B
4663	Dickson	James	Printer	Printer's St. Blackfriars	5		B
4681	Davies	William		Lower Phillimore Place Kensington 3	5		B C5
4710	Duff	Peter	Linen-draper	Brewer St. Golden Sq. 8	5		B
4725	Digman	Thomas	Truss-maker	New St. Covent Garden 25	5		B C5
4744	Dyball	Edward	Carpenter	Market St. 14	20		C Ds
4806	Dinsdale	Charles	Engraver	Waterloo Rd 25	5		C
4754	Darnell	James					
4755	Darnell	William					

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824 1825	1826
4756	Darnell	Daniel				
4791	Danson	Francis	Cabinet-maker	Platt Terrace Somers Town 14	5	C
4829	Donkin	Richard M.	Gentleman	Apothecaries Hall	5	C
4838	Davies	William	Grocer	Upper Thames St. 64	5	C
4844	Davis	Charles		King St. Soho 41	5	C
4847	Drimming	Alfred	Draper	St George St. Minorities	5	C
4903	Dobbil	Thomas	Watch-maker	High St. Borough 33	5	C
4918	Dougall	William	Bricklayer	Poplar	20	C Ds
4925	Davies	Joseph	Clerk of St. Ann's	King St. Soho 41	5	C
4850	Davies	William	Iron-monger	Union St. Borough 189	5	C
4871	Dover	P. E.				
4877	Dalby	John	Tailor	Cleveland St. 10	5	C
4935	Dougal	Samuel	Member's son		5	C
4940	Dougal	William	Member's son	Kirby St. Hatton Garden 5	2.6	C
4944	Duffy	James	Chemist	Park St. Camden Town 88	5	C
4970	Davis	John	Engraver	Lower St. Islington 3	5	C
4997	Dean	John	Bookseller	Fleet St. 183	5	C
5015	Davies	Philip	Printer	John St. West Blackfriars Rd 11	5	C
5021	Daniels	Simeon	Merchant	Bury St. St Mary Axe 13	5	C
5026	Desbois	Joseph		Grays Inn Passage	5	C
5028	Dart	Henry				
5030	Diamond	Samuel	Butcher	Adelle Hill Doctor's Common 14	5	C
5044	Douglass	Walter	Stonemason	Fitzroy Place Fitzroy Sq. 4	5	C
5054	Dallas	S. P. G.		Scotch yard city	5	C
5059	Diggetts	William	Member's son	Senton St. Walworth 4	2.6	C
		Peter				
5061	Downing	Edward	Cabinet-maker	Wilmen Place Lambeth 3	5	C
5092	David	Evan	Printer	Bartholomew Close 42	5	C
5104	Delahay	John	Plasterer	Duke St. Lisson Grove 14	5	C
5108	Davies	E.	Joiner	Northampton Court, St John's St. 4	5	C
5109	Day	George	Gentleman	Lambeth Rd	5	C
112	Emmett	William	Cabinet-maker	Litchfield St. Soho 3	20	D AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs
165	Elliot	Thomas	Builder	Grey Coat St. Westminster 9	5	D A5B5C5
208	Elliott	James	Painter	Little Coram St. 6	5	D
234	Ewen	Robert	Coal Merchant	Alfred Place Blackfriars Rd 4	20	D AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs
300	Evans	Richard	Brass-founder	Wine Office Court Fleet St. 4	5	D
303	Elley	Dan	Smith	Hallow Garden 1	20	D AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs
440	Edwards	Joseph	Cabinet-maker	Stamford St. Blackfriars Rd 47	5	D
542	Emes	Robert	Watch-maker	Wynatt St. Clerkenwell 9	5	D A5
557	Evans	H. Y. S.	Engineer	Friday St.	5	D A5B5C5D4
572	Edmonds	Owen	Gentleman	Great Prescott St. Goodmans Fields 55	5	D A5B5C5D5
611	Eades	John	Plater	Hatton Yard Kinley St. 16	5	D
620	Edmunds	John	Bricklayer	Chancery Lane 12	5	D
		Thomas				
660	Ethell	John	Paper-hanger	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 12	5	D A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
1019	Ellis	William	Stationer etc	Weymouth St. Portland Place 56	20	D AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs
1536	Eckstein	George F.	Stove-grate-maker	High Holborn 13	20	D AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs
1566	Elliot	S. W.	Warehouseman	Wilderness Row	5	D
1638	Erat	James	Harp-maker	Berners St. 23	5	D A5
1649	Emmens	Thomas	Carpenter	Emmens Row Pentonville 6	20	D AsBsCs
1709	Earlhowl	William	Carpenter	Bowling Green Lane Clerkenwell 26	20	D AsBsCs
1714	Eckstein	George Paul	Stove-grate-maker	High Holborn 13	5	D A20BsCsDs A20BsCsDs
1724	Elt	Charles	apprentice to Mr Reynolds	Arlington Place 10	2.6	D A2B2C2D2
1823	Eales	Walter	Printer	Bates Buildings Broad 2; Short St. New Cut Lambeth 5	5	D A5B5C5
1836	Eden	James	Gentleman	Wood St. Cheapside 109	10	D AsB5
1908	Evans	Thomas	Surgeon	King St. Golden Sq. 60	5	D
	Earnshaw	Thomas	Chronometer-maker	High Holborn 119	20	D AsBsCs
		John	Painter	Harp Alley 4	5	D
1945	Eales	James	Printer	Broad Wall Blackfriars 41	5	A
2145	Elkington	James	Carpenter	North St. City Rd 21	5	A
2183	England	Samuel S.	Son of W.G. Weatherly (for the schools)		2.6	A B2C2D5 A5B5
2189	Edwards	Charles	Currier	Borough 310	5	A B5C5D5
2203	Evans	Francis	Attorney	Little Charlotte St. Blackfriars 38	5	A
2262	Eustace	William	Jeweller	John St. Blackfriars	5	A B5
2278	Emmerton	Thomas	Cutler	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 10	5	A B5
2311	Estill	Edward	Wine Merchant	Rood Lane 25	5	A
2322	Ellstup	George	Printer	Cornwall Place Cornwall Rd 17	5	A B5C5D5 A5B5
2403	Edgerton	Edward	Tea-dealer	Holborn Hill 93	5	B C5
2412	Elden	Charles	Confectioner	Red Lion St. Holborn 40	5	B C5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824 1825	1826
2449	Evans	Edward	Engraver	Beaufort House Strand	5	B	
2628	Elliott	James	Plumber	Little Coram St. 6	5	B C5	
2636	Evans	Samuel	Tailor	Paddington	5	B	
2673	Eveleigh	William	Hat manufacturer	Union St. Borough	5	B	
2721	Evans	George	Inspector of Gas Lights	Baldwin St. St Lukes 10	5	B C5	
2740	Ellis	John	Engraver	Old Broad St.	5	B	
2764	Evans	John R.	Clerk	Coppice Row Clerkenwell 37	5	B C5D5	A5
2851	Eveleigh	Joseph	Hat Manufacturer	Union St. Southwark	5	B	
408	Evans	Richard			30	D AsBsCsDs	AsB20CsDs
2922	Eyre	Samuel	Hosier	High St. Borough 237	5	C	
2939	Ethell	John Jun.	Member's son	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Road 12 (Schools)	2.6	C D5	A5B5C5
2969	Edgar	William	Boot-closer	Chapel St. Grub St. City 3	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3022	Ethell	William	Painter and Glazier	Upper Marylebone St. 52 (Schools)	2.6	C D2	A5B5C5
3032	Ethches	Samuel	Whitesmith	Gate St. Lincolns Inn Fields 6	5	C D5	
2999	Ecklin	William	Cabinet-maker	Portland 8	5	C	
3000	Edgar	William	Tailor	Princes St. Hanover Sq. 14	20	C Ds	AsBs
3062	Ellecot	John	Tailor	Dolphin Place Holborn 1	5	C	
3160	Estall	George	Plasterer	John St. Walworth 2	5	C D5	A5
3216	Elmslie	Alexander	Grocer	King St. Mile End New Town 7	5	C	
3250	Ewart	John	Clerk	Jermyn St. 78	20	C Ds	AsBs
3271	Erat	John	Harp-maker	Bernans St. 23	20	C Ds	AsBs
3329	Ewings	George	Carpenter	Granby Place Lambeth Mansions	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3331	Evans	W. H.	Architect	Church Row St Johns	5	C D5	
3406	Eastgate	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Little Russell St. Bloomsbury	5	C	
3394	Eastee	George	Toy merchant	Christian St. St George's East	5	C	
3495	Eden	T. E.	Dentist	Threadneedle St.	20	C Ds	AsBs
3527	Edwards	Samuel	Druggist	Haymarket 27	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3528	Ellis	Peter	Carpenter	Charlton St. Somers Town	5	C	
3542	Embleton	L.	Smith	Bridge Rd Southwark 6	5	C	
3569	Elson	Thomas	Timber merchant	Kingsland Rd	5	C	
3573	Evans	John	Surgeon	Tavistock Sq. 17	20	C Ds	AsBs
			Consulting Surgeon				
3048	Emmerick	John	Pianoforteforte- maker	Bayham St. Camden Town 1	5	D	
3642	Eccles	William	Surgeon	Chancery Lane 13	20	D	AsBsCs
3740	Earley	James	Plumber etc	Camden Place Camden Town 17	5	D	A5
3766	Eccles	George	Printer	Holborn 31	5	D	
3866	Edge	William	Clerk	Cliffords Inn	5	D	
3839	Edwards	John	Hat-maker	Russell Place 4	5	D	
3915	Elliott	John	Grocer	Bartholomew Close	5	D	
		Frederick					
3970	Evans	Charles	Brush-maker	Cattle St. Fetter Lane	5	D	
4087	Elliott	Charles	Philosophical- instrument-maker	Regent St. St James's 122	5		A B5
4191	Ellis	John	Clerk	George St. Battle Bridge 32	5		A
4260	Edmonds	Thomas	Milkman	Marchmont St.	5		A B5C5
4266	Eades	John	Plater	King St. Borough 31	5		A
4267	Ellis	Peter	Carpenter	Charlton St. New Rd 99	5		A
4394	Ellis	William	Carpenter	Charlton St. New Rd 99	5		A
4401	Eden	James		Kings St. Cheapside 32	5		A
4410	Evans	E.		Edmund Place Aldersgate St. 23	5		A
4412	Ethell	Joseph	Compositor	Denzell St. 11	5		A B5
4485	Eustace	William	Goldsmith	John St. Blackfriars Rd	5		B
4519	Ethell	Charles	Architectural Modelles	Queens Row Kennington 5	5		A
4526	Evans	William	Grocer	St Johns St.	5		A B5
4614	Elliott	Thomas Samuel	Japanner	Jacob's Well Passage Bar 2	5		B
4622	Edwards	John W.	Engraver	Fleet St. 148	5		B
4628	Egan	Thomas	Printer	Charing Cross 38	5		B C5
4901	Edwards	Edward	Coach-builder	Windsor Terrace City Rd 11	5		C
4875	Ellis	Robert	Surveyor	Mitre St. Lambeth 29	5		C
4966	Early	James	Plumber	Camden Place 18	5		C
4989	Evans	William	Surveyor	Bankside	5		C
4999	Ellington	William	Cabinet-maker	Corporation Lane 2	5		C
5005	Essex	Alfred	Enameller	Northampton St. Clerkenwell 35	5		C
5043	Eardley	George Wilmot	Jeweller	High Holborn 46	5		C
5096	Eldridge	Thomas	Carpenter and joiner	Cromer St. Brunswick Sq. 3	5		C
100	Ferguson	John	Book-binder	Henrietta St. City Rd 18	5	D	

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104	Fenton	Edward	Clerk	Golden Sq. 14	5	D	A5B5C5	
111	Frend	William	Actuary	Rock Assurance Office	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
122	Ferguson	Daniel	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Castle St. Leicester Sq 14; 44 West Smithfield	20	D	AsBsCsD5	A5B5C5
178	Fehon	John	Printer	New St. Sq.	5	D		
180	Fryer	Christopher Wray	Tobacconist	Allerton St. Hoxton 48	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
194	Fehon	William	Printer	New St. Sq. 19; 3 Goldsmith St. Fleet St.	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
203	Fowler	Samuel	Shoe-maker	Moneysers St. Hoxton New Town 58	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
249	Fortune	John	Clerk of Works	New Post Office	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
269	Farley	Richard	Engineer	China Hall Deptford	5	D		
315	Faulkner	Thomas	Surveyor	Marsham St. Westminster 44	5	D	A5	
383	Fairley	David	Baker	Johns St. Blackfriars Rd 57	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
402	Fertel	John	Cabinet-maker	Poland St. Oxford St. 4	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
436	Feltham	William	Gilder	Phoenix St. Soho 3	5	D	A5B5C5D5	5
476	Faris	Charles	Smith	Exeter St. Strand	5	D	A5B5C5	
543	Forster	Benjamin	Printer	Cornwall Place Waterloo Bridge 23	5	D		
556	Felstead	Thomas	Turner	Rawstorne St. 22 [Rawstown]	5	D	A5	
600	Felstead	Thomas Jun.	Turner	Rawstorne St. 22 [Rawstown]	2.6	D	A2B5	
861	Foster	Joseph	Cabinet-maker	Wilson St. 27	5		AB5	
1087	Fowler	Richard	Iron-monger	Grays Inn Lane 19	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1530	Fox	Charles	Sawyer	Crown St. Hoxton 5	5	D	A5B5	
1541	Fitzsimmons	William	Gentleman	Lincolns Inn Fields 44	5	D		
1590	Forster	John	Clerk	Old Fish St.	5	D	A5	
1591	Frisby	Richard	Clerk	Paper Buildings Temple	5	D	A20BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
1615	Farbridge	John	Cooper	Lucas St. Commercial Rd 56	5	D	A5	
1647	Francult	Charles	apprentice gilder	Greek St. Soho 17	2.6	D	A2B2C2D2	A2
1730	Freeth	Joseph	Bead-maker	St Johns St. Clerkenwell 18	5	D		
1742	Fowler	John	Tailor	Marlborough Rd Brompton 1	5	D	A5B5C5	
1780	Firth	Charles	Lithographic Printer	East St. Lambeth 22; 1 Upper Stanford St. Westminster Bridge Rd	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1803	Fry	James	Clerk	Stafford Place Pimlico 61	5	D	A5B5C5	
1834	French	John	Clerk	St Anns Court Soho 26	5	D	A5	
1850	Fithye	John William	Mariner	Wapping Wall 56	5	D		
1852	Fincham	John	Hosier	Wood St. 119	20	D	AsBsCs	
1909	French	John	Undertaker	Union St. Borough 21	5	D		
1914	Frosh	John	Shoe-maker	Britannia St. City Rd 41	5	D	A5B5C5	
1931	Furlong	Charles	Leather-seller	Gough Sq. 17	10		A Bs	
1933	Farr	James Charles	Tea-dealer	Fleet St. 110	20		A BsCsDs	
1942	Fowler	George	Tin-plate-worker	Kensington	5		A B5C5	
1943	Francis	George	Optician	Quadrant Regent St. 101	5		A B20CsDs	AsB20CsDs
1991	Filmer	Thomas	Printer	Upper Rosomans St. 2	5		A B5C5	
1998	French	William	Brass-founder	Wells St. Cripplegate 2	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2043	Flewe	William	Carpenter	Mount St. Grosvenor Sq. 48	5		A	
2124	Farnes	William	Seed-man	West Smithfield 25	5		A B5C5	
2157	Fowke	T.	Goldsmith	Cross Lane Long Acre	5		A	
2164	Fairbrother	Samuel	Cabinet-maker	Marylebone Lane 5	5		A B5C5D5	
2167	Fletcher	Michael	Goldsmith	Little Russell St. 16	5		A	
2178	Florence	John H. Y.		Inner Temple	5		A B5	
2202	Felix	Felix	Clerk	Old Sq. Lincolns Inn 2	5		A B5	
2203	Fenn	Joseph	Tool-maker	Newgate St. 105	20		A BsCsDs	
2212	Fruer	S.	Bricklayer	Upper Fountain Place City Rd 3	5		A Bs	
2225	Ferguson	William	apprentice to Dr. Ferguson	Castle St. Leicester Fields 11	2.6		A B2C2	
2238	Frosh	William	Teacher	Stoke Newington	5		A	
2246	Fayrer	John Edward	Mathematical-instrument-maker	White Lion St. Clerkenwell	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2250	Ford	John	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Lower Gun Alley St Georges East 25	5		A B5C5	
2255	Fuller	Charles H.	Surgeon	Cotton St. Poplar 65	5		A	
2363	Foster	Thomas	Warehouseman	Maiden Lane	5		A B5	
2463	Flockhart	James	Optician	Printers Place Bermondsey	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2464	Farley	Richard	Engineer	China Hall Deptford	5		B C5	
2510	Foster	Charles	Builder	Cow Cross St.	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
1955	Fennell	George	Iron-founder	Goswell St. 83	10	D	As	
1017	Farrand	William	Soap-maker	Goswell St. 107	20		A BsCsDs	
2577	Ford	William	Drawing-clerk	Queen St. Blackfriars	5		B C5	
2547	Field	Peter William	Carpenter	Field Place St Johns St. Rd	5		B C5D5	
2616	Ferris	John	Cabinet-maker	New North St. Red Lion Sq. 28	5		B C5D5	
112	Fayerman	Edmund R.	Clerk	Upper St. Islington	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
2631	Fleming	Peter	Clerk	Tavistock Row Covent Garden 10	5	B	
		William					
2649	Fox	Charles	Rouge-maker	Saffron Hill	5	B	
2712	Fairfad	Edward	R. N. [Royal Navy]	Caroline Place Hampstead Road	20	B CsDs	As
2733	Freeman	Charles	Law-stationer	Serles Place 4	5	B CsDs	AsBsCs
2827	Flockton	Edward	Carpenter	Edward St. Blackfriars Rd 31	5	B	
2880	Fanshaw	Henry R.	Silk-embosser	Addle St.	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2867	Flinn	John Peter	Surveyor	Staple Inn 6	20	B CsDs	As
2900	Fines	C.	Silver-chaser	Compton St. Brunswick Sq.	5	B C5	
2902	Foote	David	Modeller	Upper Seymour St. 44	5	B	
2903	Floris	R.	Dressing-case-maker	Jermyn St.	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2921	Footner	John	Stonemason	Queen St. Blackfriars	5	C	
163	Francis	George					
2946	Frosh	Robert	Silversmith	Royal Row Lambeth 18	5	C D5	A5B5
2954	Francis	William	Clerk	Regents St. St James's 9	5	C	
2956	Fry	Francis	Portrait painter	Hadlow St. 28	5	C	
2968	Francis	Frederick	Haberdasher	Air St. St James's 6	5	C D5	A5B5
2986	Fayner	William	Cabinet-maker	South Molton St. 42	5	C	
3021	Freeman	William	Law-stationer	Bell Yard	5	C	
3047	Ford	William	Warehouseman	Holiday Yard Ludgate Hill	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3057	Francutt	John	Carpenter	Gloucester Court St James St	5	C	
3074	Frier	John L. P.	Gentleman	Margaret St. Cavendish Sq. 66	10	C Ds	
3102	Fouch	James	Clerk	Beauchamp St.	5	C D5	
3129	Flemming	John	Chemist	Holborn Hill 8	20	C Ds	AsBsC20Ds
3152	Fardy	William	Cabinet-maker	Frith St. Soho 62 app [apprentice]	2.6	C D2	
3186	Fleetwood	James	Surgeon	St. Johns St.	5	C	
3196	Fowkes	James	Iron-plate-worker	Bakers Row Clerkenwell	20	C Ds	AsBs
3205	Fitzpatrick	Daniel	Clerk	Borough Market 23	20	C Ds	AsBsC5
3223	Fenton	John	Currier	Rose St. Greek St. 3	5	C	
3230	Freeman	E. Samuel	Hardwareman	Corporation Row Spa fields 5	5	C	
3274	Fenton	Richard	Cabinet-maker	Shoe Makers Row Blackfriars 19	5	C	
3306	Fox	Frederick	Silversmith	Old St. St Lukes 139	5	C D5	A5B5
3412	Floris	J.	Comb-maker	Jermyn St. 88	5	C D5	A5B5
3425	Fairfax	John	Compositor	Dean St. Fetter Lane 8	5	C	
178	Fraser	Alexander	Gentleman	Tavistock Sq. 50	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3522	Forster	John	Builder	Cow Cross St. 24	5	C	
3532	Futvoye	George	Mathematician	High St. Marylebone 83	5	C	
3580	Frost	Thomas	Engineer	Royal Row Lambeth	5	C	
3054	Fidler	William	Warehouseman	Aldermanbury 69	5	D	A5B5C5
3059	Flockton	John	Painter	Edward St. Blackfriars 31	5	D	
3674	Freeth	Joseph	Shop Keep	St. Johns St.	5	D	
3734	Freeman	Robert	Bricklayer	White St. Moorfields 28	5	D	A5
3756	Farman	William	Machinist	Sutton St. Clerkenwell 33	5	D	
3796	Fanshaw	Henry R. Jun.	Member's son	Addle St. 11	2.6	D	A2B2C2
3797	Fallow	Thomas	Teacher	Stepney Green Terrace Mile End	5	D	
3851	Fraser	William	Apprentice to S. Preston	Harrison St. 5	2.6	D	
3838	Fleming	Matthew	Schoolmaster	Prospect Place Edmonston	5	D	
3906	Freeman	James	Printer	Queens Row Kennington 5	5	D	A5
4016	Foster	John	Builder	Cow Cross 24	5		A
4020	Flint	John	Printer	Hungerford St. Strand 8	5		A B5C5
4024	Fox	William	Silver-chaser	Wynyal St. 42	5		A
3052	Fullalove	Martin	Musical-instrument-maker	Church Row St. Pancrass 3	5		A B5C5
4045	Fleetwood	James	Appraiser	St Johns St. Clerkenwell 72	5		A
4047	Felton	Henry	Clerk	Poplar Row Kent Rd 7	5		A
4050	Fraser	H.	Carpenter	Britannia Gardens Hoxton 2	5		A
4068	Fullalove	Richard	Pianoforte-maker	Church Row St. Pancrass 3	5		A B5C5
4083	Ficklin	George	Clerk	Piccadilly 212	5		A
4143	Ford	John	Carpenter	Harrison St. Grays Inn Lane 28	5		A B5
4193	Francello	William	Warehouseman	Watling St. 91	5		A B5C5
4206	Fulhum	Joseph	Iron-founder	Mitchel St. Old St.	5		A B5
4229	Forster	Nicholas	Druggist	Aldersgate St. 40	5		A B5C5
4272	Firth	Joseph	Wine merchant	Middle Row Holborn	5		A B5C5
4317	Fisher	W. H.	Chemist	High Holborn 107	5		A
4329	Fisher	George	Brass-founder	Tottenham Court Rd 42	5		A B5C5
4402	Fettes	John	Brass-founder	Pudding Lane 36	5		A
4403	Fuller	Francis	Carpenter	Leigh St. 12	5		AB5C5
4425	Frith	Thomas	Iron-monger	Leather Lane 82	20		A BsCsDs
4430	Ford	William			5		A B5C5
4456	Ford	Henry	Surveyor	Mabledon Place 7	5		A B5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
4468	Fox	Richard		Fulmouth	5			A
4572	Flemming	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Lamer St. Euston Sq.	5			B
4574	Fenton	James	Architect	Bedford St. 9	5			B C5
4599	Francis	William	Painter	Hanover St. 9	5			B C5
4604	Fertel	Joseph	Tailor	Poland St. Oxford St. 4	5			B C5
4783	Francis	George	Schoolmaster	Great Prescott St. 55	5		C	C5
4794	Frazi	George	Engine-maker	Goswell St. 131	5			C
4904	Fletcher	William	Wine merchant	Hatton Garden 17	5			C
4917	Field	Isaac	Gilder	Princes St. Cavendish Sq. 12	5			C
4891	Fielder	John	Manufacturer in brass &c	Margaret St. Cavendish Sq. 73	5			C
4929	Forster	Joseph	Bookseller	Sandford Row East St. Walworth 3	5			C
4955	Francis	Frederick	apprentice to J. Kitcat		2.6			C
4976	Field	William	Silk weaver	Curtain Rd 12	5			C
4983	Finlay	Washington	Clerk	Campton St. East Baunswick Sq.	5			C
5007	Ferguson	Joseph	Jeweller	Dean St. New North Rd Hoxton 4	5			C
5046	Fudge	Henry	Gentleman	Borough Rd 13	5			C
5062	Fowler	Robert	Wheel-wright	Addle Hill Upper Thames St. 12	5			C
5116	Fosket	T. M.		Grays Inn Coffee House	5			C
5117	Fielder	Thomas	Baker	Brewer St. St Pancrass 8	5			C
5154	Forsyth	Charles	Clerk	Holywell St. West 3	5			C
123	Gowland	Thomas	Watch-maker	Goswell St. Rd 10	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsCsDs
124	Gowland	James	Watch-maker	Rahere St. Goswell St. 32	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsCsDs
126	Gregory	Lieut	Royal Engineers		20		B CsDs	As
128	Gillman	William	Gentleman	Orange Row Fieldgate St. White Chapel 4	10	D	As	
145	Gundry	William	Shoe-maker	Leigh St. Burton Crescent 24	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
157	Grant	John	Carpenter	Chapel St. Hacking Rd 1	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
159	Gloyn	John	Clerk	New Wharf Whitefriars 10	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
204	Grant	Oliver	Gentleman	York Buildings Islington 2	5	D		
207	Griffith	W. R.	Iron Wharf	City Rd	20		A BsCsDs	
223	Grant	George	Watch-maker	Charles St. Walworth 19	5	D		
322	Gordon	John	Engineer	Johnson's Place Pimlico 4	5	D		
356	Gibbs	John	Fish-monger	Bishopsgate St. 99	5		B	
403	Gate	Samuel	Chemist and Druggist	Judd Place West Somers Town 27	20		A BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
403	Gowring	John W.	Schoolmaster	Rodney Buildings Kent Rd 3	20		A BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
212	Gilbert	Charles			5		B C5	
406	Green	Charles	Engineer	Cow Cross 79	5	D		
475	Gale	John	Member's son	Judd Place West Somers Town 27	2.6	D	A2B2C5D5	A5
491	Ghost	Thomas	Goldsmith	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 2	2.6	D	A2	
562	Griffith	W. F.	Member's son	City Rd	5		A BsC2D2	
					(2.6)			
					)			
563	Griffith	Charles	Member's son	City Rd	5		A BsC2D2	
					(2.6)			
					)			
564	Griffith	J. F.	Member's son	City Rd	5		A BsC2D2	
					(2.6)			
					)			
564	Greenhill	William	Watch-maker	Goswell St. Rd 10	5	D	A5	
566	Gorsuch	William	Lapidary	St. Johns Sq. 4	5	D		
578	Glynn	James	Jeweller	Duke St. Grosvenor Sq. 25	5	D	A5	
606	Glassap	Thomas	Printer	Baldwin St. City Rd 54	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
650	Gowers	James W.	Attorney	Smith St. Northampton Sq.	5	D	A5B5	
1019	Grote	G. Jun	Banker	Threadneedle St.	20		A BsCsDs	
1096	Grove	Edward	Carpet manufacturer	Kirby St. Hatton Garden 19	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1140	Gilchrist	J. B.	L. L. D.	Clarges St. 11	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1532	Gathercole	John	Printer	White Lion St. Pentonville 9	5	D		
1563	Grundy	Dickenson	Joiner	Red Cross St. 7	10	D	As	
1564	Gray	John	Lock-smith	Clapham	5	D	A5	
1579	Gray	William	Millwright	Baltic St. Old St. 11	5	D	A5	
1581	Goldsworthy	William	Plumber	Cow Cross Smithfield 10	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1619	Galinde	George	Translator of languages	Union St. Bishopsgate 33	5	D	A5	
1651	Gillman	Thomas	Gentleman	Orange Row Fieldgate St. Whitechapel 4	5	D		
1673	Gordon	Alexander	Pianoforte-maker	Middle Row Holborn 32; 15 Market Row Oxford Market	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1691	Gilman	James	Metal-sash-maker	Grey Stoke Place 4	2.6	D		
1705	Gosman	James	Printer	Collier St. Pentonville 3	5	D	A5B5	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
1721	Goulding	Joseph Junr	Boot and shoe-maker	Great Russell St. Bloomsbury 41	5	D	A5B5	
1737	Gregg	J. or T.	Portrait painter	Rosomans St. Clerkenwell	20	D	AsBsCs	
1755	Gregson	Henry	Attorney	Furnivals Inn 7	20	D	AsBsCs	
1790	Greaves	James P.	Secretary to Infant Schools	Mark Lane 65	20	D	AsBsCs	
1794	Golding	William	Clerk	Duke St. Smithfield 17	5	D		
1795	Griffiths	Ed Jun.	Boot-maker	St James's Market 5	5	D		
1797	Griffiths	James	Member's son	City Rd	2.6	D		
1817	Garrod	James	Gentleman	Chancery Lane 76	20	D	AsBsCs	
1873	Gilpin	William	Chemist	Friday St. 12	5	D		
1874	Greenfield	Frederick		White Cross St. 55	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1911	Grimshaw	William	Dealer in mechanics tools	Goswell St.130	5	D		
1912	Gordon	Theodore	Watch-maker	Lower Smith St. Clerkenwell 5	5	D		
1953	Gwine	Henry	Herald Painter	Holborn 120	5	D	A5	
1957	Gunnell	Robert	Clerk, Gas Office	Bridge St. Blackfriars	5	D		
1959	Greaves	Thomas	Chemist	Oxford Court Cannon St. 1	5	D	A5B5	
1995	Grant	John	Fringe-maker	Castle St. Leicester Fields 25	5	D		
1988	Garratt	Francis		Old Swan Yard	20		A BsCsDs	
2003	Gregory	G. S.	Engineer	Shoreditch 183	20		A BsCsDs	
2060	Green	William G.	Clerk	Lombard St. 77	10		A Bs	
2136	Graham	Robert	Machinist	Blue Anchor Rd Bermondsey	5		A B5	
2155	Griffith	Thomas H.	Member's son	City Road	5		A BsC2D2	
					(2.6			
					)			
2207	Gardner	John	Reporter	Commercial Rd Lambeth 45	5		A	
2267	Gresham	Thomas	Tailor	Willington St. St Lukes	5		A	
2271	Giles	John	Turner	Portland Place Northampton Sq. 7	5		A B5	
2280	Gordon	S.	Teacher	Deaf and Dumb Asylum	5		A	
2300	Gurney	Joseph	Tailor	St. James's St.	20		A BsCsDs	
2358	Giles	Thomas	Carpenter	Tufton St. Westminster	5		A B5	
2369	Gorton	John	Smith	Exmouth St. Hampstead Rd 6	5		A	
2370	Gorton	Joshua	Smith	Exmouth St. Hampstead Rd 6	5		A	
2371	Gorton	Joseph	Smith	Exmouth St. Hampstead Rd 6	5		A	
2408	Goodwin	John	Compositor	Windsor Court Strand	5		B	
2453	Guram	Charles	Goldsmith	Norfolk St. New Rd 9	5		B C5D5	A5
2458	Gathercole	John	Printer	White Lion St. Pentonville 9	5		B	
2459	Greaves	John		Wood St. 107	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2480	Goodair	W. H.	Clerk	Quadrant Regent St. 76	5		B C5	
2484	Gadfrey	William	Cooper	Aldersgate St.	5		B	
2511	Gavell	Jenry	Watch-maker	St Johns St.	5		B C5D5	A5B5
2513	Green	Charles	Engineer	Cow Cross 79	5		B C5	
2524	Groser	William	Sweep-washer	Crown St. Soho	5		B C5	
1958	Graham	Arthur	Silk manufacturer	Wood St. Spitalfields 24	20	D	AsBsCs	
1922	Griffin	John	Bookseller	Newgate St. 85	20	D	AsBsCs	
2563	Gravell	William	Watch-maker	St Johns St. Rd 49	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2540	Gorton	James	Plumber	Bedford St. Covent Garden 42	5		B	
2603	Glasier	George Sen.	Builder	St George's Place Camberwell 8	20		B CsDs	As
2604	Glasier	George Jun.	Builder	St George's Place Camberwell 8	20		B CsDs	As
2621	Galloway	John	Paper-stainer	Picket St.	5		B	
2610	Grayson	Bevous	Carpenter	Marlborough St. Blackfriars Rd	5		B	
2632	Galloway	Elijah	Engineer	Pickett St. Strand 3	5		B	
2633	Gifford	James	Bookseller	Paternoster Row	20		B CsDs	As
2817	Goodall	Thomas	Clerk	Lombard St. 71	20		B CsDs	As
2829	Gove	Alexander	Gentleman	Symonds Inn 3	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2912	Garey	John	Clerk	Lincolns Inn Fields 44	5		C D5	A5B5C5
2937	Godwin	Charles	Cloth-worker	London Wall 39	5		C D5	
2941	Gunter	Richard	Gentleman	Berkeley Sq. 7	5		C	
2960	Goodwin	Robert	Printer	Elvin Place Fetter Lane 1	5		C D5	A5B5C5
2984	Gordon	Alexander	Tobacconist	High Holborn 10	20		C Ds	AsBs
2991	Guy	Benjamin	apprentice to G. Kitcat	Bartletts Buildings 22	2.6		C D2	A2B2C2
3040	Graham	Peter	Clerk	Holborn 294	10		C Ds	A10BsC10Ds
3058	Gregory	John	Clerk	Regent St. 9	5		C	
3075	Gilman	Thomas	Gentleman	Orange St. Fieldgate St. 4	5		C D5	
3079	Gritton	Thomas	Chaser	Parade Pentonville 2	5		C D5	A5
3091	Gill	Richard	Coffin-maker	Leonard St. 52	5		C D5	A5
3103	Goddard	Constantine	Teacher of Mathematics	Bartletts Buildings 13	5		C	
3137	Geiser	James	Cabinet-maker	New St. Dorset Sq. 30	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3142	Ganfield	Henry	Painter	Moor Lane Fore St.	5		C D5	
3204	Gadby	John	Painter and Glazier	Holborn Hill 121	5		C	
3207	Gordon	James	Engineer	Ballersay [Battersay]	20		C Ds	AsBs



No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
3232	Grayson	Charles	Artist	Banner St. Banner Sq. 1	5	C	
3252	Gay	Charles	Carpenter	Corbet Court Spitalfields 6	5	C D5	A5B5
3338	Goodwin	Arnold	Plaster-of-Paris-maker	Guildford St. Borough	5	C	
3525	Grain	Oliverus Peter	Carver	Mercer St. Long Acre 14	5	C	
3528	Gapp	Charles	Licensed Victualler	High St. Pentonville 10	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3563	Giles	William	Clerk	Abchurch Lane 1	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3584	Gary	George	Colourman	West Smithfield 53	5	D	A5B5C5
3615	Grant Esq.	Macdonall			20	D	AsBsCs
3598	Grimble	William	Distiller	Cow Cross St.	20	D	AsBsCs
3562	Goodwin	George	Whitesmith	Ray St. Clerkenwell 10	5	D	
181	Godfray	John			5	C D5	A5
3617	Griffin	Charles	Printer	Lion St. New Kent Rd 31	5	C D5	A5B5
3621	Gostling	William	Iron-monger	Castle St. Long Lane 28	5	D	
3659	Greenway	George	Currier	Little Queen St. Holborn 39	5	D	A5
3687	Galloway	John	Gentleman	Picket St. Strand 3	5	D	5B5C5
3666	Giles	Samuel	Paper-hanger	Little Pulteney St. 20	5	D	A5B5C5
3667	Garland	Samuel	Linen-draper	St Johns St. 122	5	D	
3759	Gregory	John	Ornamental painter	St James's St. Clerkenwell	5	D	A5
369	Gardner	Robert	Chair-maker	Seymour Place Bryant Sq. 9	5	D	
3768	Greaves	Christopher	Pawnbroker	Ballstrade St.	5	D	
3811	Gardner	William	Gentleman	Pratt St. Camden Town	5	D	
3862	Goodwin	John	Carpenter	Great Wild St. Drury Lane 6	5	D A5	
3878	Giacometti	Antonio	Modeller	Little Bath St. Cold Bath Sq 2	5	D	
3840	Gordon	James	Lock-smith etc	Bath St. Camberwell New Rd	5	D	
3909	Gibbreath	James	Carpenter	Chancery Court Chancery Lane 3; 6 Brecknock Terrace Camden Town	5	D	A5B5C5
3919	Gaisford	R.	Cooper	Botolph Lane 2	5	D	A5B5C5
3921	Grold	John	Clerk	Chandos St. Covent Garden	5	D	A5B5C5
3923	Gray	Samuel	Apprentice to D. Ferguson	West Smithfield 44	2.6	D	A2B2C2
3947	Groom	David	Confectioner	Fleet St. 16	20	D	AsBsCs
3968	Glennie	George	Smith	Bagnigge Wells Rd 3	5		A B5C5
3980	Grant	James	Carpenter	Vince St. West 5	5		A
3993	Gladman	Robert	Coach-joiner	Drury Lane 177	5		A B5C5
4039	Green	Joseph	Carver	Crown St. Soho 29	5		A
4049	Gilbert	Charles		Warwick Court 7	5		A
4062	Garwood	M. R.	Printer	High Holborn 98	5		A B5C5
4071	Gibbons	John	Tailor	Great Pulteney St. 16	5		A B5
4109	Goldsworthy	S.	Plumber	White Lion St. Pentonville 60	5		A
4128	Gill	Nathaniel	Engraver	Brighton Place Kent Rd 10	5		A B5
4147	Gluyas	Oliver	Currier	King St. 6	5		A
4158	Galen	Jacob		Haggin Lane Thomas St. 6	5		A B5C5
4174	Gerish	F. W.	Whitesmith	Great Leonard St. 85	5		A B5
4133	Green	John	Cabinet-maker	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 48	5		A
4322	Gladstone	John	Engraver	Wellclose Sq. 22	5		A B5C5
4325	Goode	William	Dry-salter	Holborn Bridge 72	5		A
4340	Griffiths	William	Printer	Hatfield St. 24	5		A B5C5
4344	Grinton	David	Chair-maker	Charlton St.	5		A B5C5
4345	Graham	John	Turner	Green St. Theobards Rd	5		A B5C5
4346	Gale	Samuel	Smith	Warren St. Fitzroy Sq. 30	5		A
4362	Gordon	William	Member's son	Horseley Down 10	2.6		A
4363	Gordon	David	Member's son	Horseley Down 10	2.6		A
4366	Green	Charles	Gentleman	Lincolns Inn	5		A C5
4406	Gowring	Charles	Teacher	Rodneys Buildings Kent Rd 3	5		A
4422	Golover	John	Iron-monger	Union St. Borough 117	5		A
4482	Gosling	William	Vintner	Tooley St. 95	5		B C5
4508	Green	Charles	Clerk	Bank Buildings	5		A
4509	Green	Benjamin	Clerk	Bank Buildings	5		A
4523	Gilbert	John	Carpenter	Pauls St. 35	5		A
4551	Gould	William	Chaser	Thomas St. 6	5		B
4569	Green	Charles	Engineer	Cow Cross 79	5		B C5
4616	Ginder	Norton	Warehouseman	Watling St. 9	5		B
4620	George	Richard		Orange St. Bloomsbury 4	5		B C5
4638	Goad	Thomas	Wire-worker	Tower St. City 38	5		B
4657	Glover	Thomas	Tailor	Berners St. Oxford St. 40	5		B C5
4683	Gill	Joseph	Warehouseman	Skinner St. 44	5		B
4694	Grundy	Robert	Pianoforte maker	Marylebone Lane 9	5		B
4695	Glegg	Thomas	Architect	Union Place Lambeth 2	10		B Cs
4697	Gough	Charles	Ivory-turner	Portugal St. 14	5		B

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824 1825	1826
4713	Garvey	Maurice	Modeller	Tottenham Court Rd 205; 32 Ogle St. Portland Place	5	B C5
4701	Gibbs	John	Chemist	Bodys Bridge Stamford St. 2	5	B C5
4714	Garland	Thomas	Modeller	Narrow Wall Lambeth	5	B C5
4720	Garland	John	Cabinet-maker	Pedlars Close	5	B C5
4699	Gibson	Joseph	Painter	Gate St. Lincolns Inn Fields 7	5	B
4914	Ganbert	G. F.	Stationer	Chancery Lane 119	5	C
4923	Griffiths	Daniel	Engraver	Branch Place Hoxton 6	5	C
4769	Grover	John	Clerk	Staple Inn Buildings	5	C
4851	Gough	Alexander	Architect	Arundel Place Islington 19	5	C
4861	Gill	Richard	Undertaker	Cold St. 72	5	C
4884	Godwin	Thomas	Plumber and Glazier	Broad St. Golden Sq. 51	5	C
4980	Golding	Richard	Silk manufacturer	Lambs Passage Bunhill 14	5	C
4991	Graham	Frances	Grocer	Ludgate Hill	10	C Ds
5017	Gurdon	Charles	Gentleman	Church Terrace St Pancrass 4	20	C Ds
5022	Goodge	James	Warehouseman	Newgate St. 36	5	C
5033	Guthrie	Charles	Carpenter	Orange St. Red Lion Sq. 5	5	C
5047	Grant	James		St Swithins Lane	5	C
5060	Gyles	George	Baker	Wych St. Strand	5	C
5063	Gibbon	William	Clerk	Mornington Place 5	5	C
5082	Godby	John	Painter and Glazier	Hatton Garden 9	5	C
5113	Gemmell	John	Carpenter	Ernest St. Regents Park 18	5	C
5115	Griffiths	George	Clerk	Leonard St. Shoreditch 54	5	C
5124	Gilbert	Charles E. L.		Cobourg St. Euston Sq. 10	5	C
5131	Gould	Henry	Optician	Strand 182	5	C
5150	Gale	John	Member's son	Judd St. West	5	C
5153	Green	Richard	Gentleman	New St. Brompton 27	20	C Ds
5133	Green	Charles		Old Sq. Lincolns Inn		
110	Hodgskin	Thomas	Gentleman	Gough Sq 16; 5 Brunswick Terrace Pentonville	20 D	AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs
120	Holmes	Thomas	Shoe-maker	Cross St. Carnaby St 1	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
124	Howell	George	Gilder	London Rd 113	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
124	Hemming	John	Gentleman	Penton St. Somers Town 51	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
134	Hanley	James	Smith	Cleveland St. Fitzroy Sq. 8	5 D	A5B5C5D5 5B5C5
136	Hume	Eliezer	Engineer	at Martineaus Company	20 D	AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs
138	Hall	Thomas	Carpenter	Cottage Place Westminster Rd 3	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5C10Ds
142	Hall	Thomas	Carpenter	Garden Row St Georges Fields 20	5 D	
161	Howell	Edward	Tailor	Upper Brook St. 11	5 D	A5B5C5D5
168	Haseldon	Henry	Engineer	apprentice to Martineau	2.6 D	A5
190	Hume	James	Baker	Shadwell Market	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
191	Haynes	William	Watch-case-maker	Bowling Green Lane 19	5 D	A5B5C5D5
198	Holtzapffel	Charles	Machinist	Cockspur St.	20 D	AsBsCsD5 A5B20CsDs
203	Hammond	William	Turner	Great Saffron Hill 103	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
207	Hogan	James	Colourman	Blewitts Buildings Fetter Lane 2	10 C D	A20BsCsDs
209	Harding	William	Bookseller	Knight and Lacey's Paternoster Row	5 D	A5B5C5
213	Hains	George Jun.	Victualler	Warwick Lane	5	A B5C5
214	Hill	James	Carpenter	Pitfield St. 27	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
247	Hooper	William	Carpenter	Upper Charlton St. Marylebone 13	20 D	AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs
333	Higgs	Joseph	Engineer	Wellington St. Southwark	5 D	
334	Holmes	John	Cabinet-maker	Upper Cleveland St. 6	5 D	
357	Hartland	Jasper	Clerk	Lombard St. 68	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
379	Hunter	James	Engineer	Furnivals Inn 8	5 D	A5B5C5
381	Hodgson	James John	Glass-cutter	Hemings Row St Martins Lane 19	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5
452	Hall	William	Printer	New Union St. Little Moorfields 34	5 D	A5B5
465	Hack	Thomas	Goldsmith	Well Yard Little Britain 3	5 D	A5
482	Hardwick	Henry	Woollen draper	Strand 137	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5
485	Hodgson	John	Upholsterer	Bunhill Row 61	5 D	A5B5
489	Harris	James	Pin-maker	Gracechurch St. 36	5 D	A5B5
493	Hyne	David	Cabinet-maker	Georges Place St Johns St. Rd 2	5 D	
340	Haines	Richard	Carver	Furnivals Inn Court	5 D	A10Bs
506	Hallick	William	Leather-finisher	Earl St. Clifton St. 28	5 D	A5B5C5D5
510	Hall	Edward	Model-maker	Ironmonger St. St Lukes 36	5 D	A5B5C5
560	Harrison	Thomas	Enameller	Wynyard St. Clerkenwell 5	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
582	Horsey	Edward	Cabinet-maker	Stephen St. Tottenham Court Rd 19	5 D	
573	Haines	Henry	auctioneer	Fore St. 61	5 D	A5B5
590	Haseldon	William	Paper-stainer	Panton Sq. 13	5 D	A20BsCsDs
591	Holdup	Henry	Member's son	Kirby St. Hatton Garden 2	2.6 D	A2B5C5D5 A5B5C5
608	Herriott	James		Somers Place East New Rd 17	5 D	
624	Hind	James	Book-binder	Cannon St. City Rd 18	5 D	
624	Hall	William		Greenhills Rents 24	5 D	
631	Howard	Barnard	Plumber	Church St. Camberwell 1	20	A BsCsDs
635	Hackett	John James	Carpenter	Gower Place Euston Sq	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
724	Hucks	John	Cooper	East Lane Bermondsey	5 D	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
815	Heath	William	Teacher	Suffolk St. Borough	5		A	
1091	Huskinson	William	Chemist	Swinton St. City Rd	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1157	Hatten	Benjamin	Machinist	Winsley St. Oxford St. 2	20		A BsCsDs	
904	Hetherington	Henry	Printer	Kingsgate St. 13	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1560	Hankinson	William	Engineer	Oxford St. 369	5	D	A5B5	
1577	Haddon	William	Dyer	Red Cross St. 30	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5
1591	Hervey	Henry	Clerk	Old Fish St.	5	D	A5	
1597	Hodgson	John	Gentleman	Lawrence Lane	5	D	A5B20CsDs	AsBs
1617	Harris	T. P.	Optician	Great Russell St. Bloomsbury 52	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1627	Huntley	R.	Optician	High Holborn	20	D	AsBsCs	
1633	Hawkes	James	Compositor	Cornwall Rd Lambeth	5	D	A5	
1642	Ham	John	Watch-maker	Skinner St. 47	5	D		
1645	Hallam	William	Tailor	Old St. St Lukes	5	D		
1650	Herdman	John	Clerk	Commercial Rd Lambeth 32	20	D	AsBsCs	
1652	Hake	Henry	Printer	Water St. Arundel St. 3	5	D		
1722	Hood	John	Bookseller	Talbot Court East Cheap 4	5	D	A5B5	
1758	Harris	Charles	apprentice to Mr Tijou	Greek St. Soho 17	2.6	D		
1775	Harris	William	Book-binder	King St. Seven Dials 26	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1829	Henry	Lewis Henry	Goldsmith	Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell 11	5	D	A5B5	
1839	Harley	Isaac	Artist	Wingrove Place St John's St	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5C4
1841	Hankins	Richard	Gentleman	upper Smith St. North..Sq 13	20	D	AsBsCs	
1865	Heaton	James	Clerk	Camberwell Grove Lane	5	D		
1866	Heaton	Charles	Clerk	Camberwell Grove Lane	5	D		
1871	Haslar	Thomas	Japanner	Finsbury Market	5	D		
1897	Hepburn	William	Gentleman	Bury St. St Mary Axe 21	5	D		
1954	Harding	William	Gun-smith	Blackman St. 99	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1901	Harmer	James	Solicitor	Hatton Garden	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1910	Hooker	Thomas A.	Gun-maker	Charles St. Portman Sq. 16	5	D	A5B5C5	A5B5C5
1960	Holloway	C.	Clerk	Lombard St. 69	10	D	As	
1964	Hodson	Daniel	Machinist	Greet St. Spitalfields 27	20	D	AsBsCs	
1964	Huetson	William	Gentleman	Kingsland Rd 130	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1917	Henley	John	Coach-smith	Coal Yard Drury Lane	5	D		
1920	Hill	Alfred	Gentleman	Norton St. Portland Place 12	10	D	AsB5	
1938	Hogg	Robert	Compositor	Spring St. Clerkenwell 7	5		A B5C5	
1948	Hayward	Asa	Iron-founder	Baldwin St. Old St. 3	5		A B5	
1973	Hughes	George	Law-stationer	Castle St. Holborn 14	5		A	
		William						
2020	Harris	Thomas	Gentleman	Monmouth	5		A B5	
2038	Hardy	John	Carpenter	Brighton St. Cromer St. 20	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2023	Hudson	Frederick	Optician	Market St. Tottenham Court Rd 20	5		A B5C5D5	
		Thomas						
2131	Hilton	Edward	Engraver	Willow Sq. 12	5		A	
2135	Hill	William	Clerk	High St. Borough 70	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2040	Harris	Philip John	Brass-founder	Little Wild St. 20	5		A B5C5	
2059	Hodgkinson	Walter	Book-binder	Strand 325	10		A Bs	
2064	Hughes	William	Clerk	Cornhill 50	10		A Bs	
		Henry						
2086	Halsey	Daniel	Weaver	St Andrews Hill 36	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2094	Hutchinson	James	Cheese-monger	St Johns St. Smithfield	5		A	
2161	Hendre	James	Plumber etc	York St. Westminster 65	10		A BsC10Ds	
2162	Hendre	John	Plumber etc	York St. Westminster 65	10		A BsC10Ds	A10BsC10Ds
2163	Hutchinson	James	Smith	George St. Blackfriars 28	5		A	
2184	Hill	George W.	Tooth-brush-maker	Onslow St. Hatton Garden	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2187	Herdman	Robert	Member's son	Commercial Rd Waterloo	2.6		A B2	
2207	Hutton	William	Chair-maker	Fountain Place City Rd 16	5		A B5	
2209	Harris	John	Clerk	Cromer St. 100	5		A B5	
2234	Harrison	Matthew	Gentleman	St Johns Grove St. Marylebone 4	20		A BsCsDs	
	Hallen	Ambrose	Machinist	Winsby St. Oxford St. 2	20		A BsCsDs	
2256	Heale	John	Carpenter	Vine St. Westminster 6	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2259	Hawkes	Robert	Iron-monger	Long Acre 106	20		A BsCsDs	
2261	Hiscocks	A. S.	Carpenter	Suffolk St. East 6	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2273	Howe	Charles	Printer	Cookes Court	5		A B5	
2283	Hale	James	Brass-founder	Crescent Cripplegate 8	5		A	
2289	Hardwidge	George	Brass-founder	Northampton St. Clerkenwell 47	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2292	Harwood	William	Law-stationer	Water St. Temple 11	5		A	
2293	Hunt	John	Parell-el-glass-worker	Tothill St. Westminster	10		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2298	Holland	W. H.		Homerton	5		A	
2314	Hopkins	John	Gentleman	Aldermanbury 63	20		A BsCsDs	
2316	Hoskin	John	Woollen manufacturer	Fleet St. 168	5		A B5	
2319	Husband	R. C.	Clerk	Barbican 68	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
2320	Hill	Richard Jos.	Clerk	High St. Borough 70	5		A	
2330	Harris	F. W.	Iron-monger	Great Russell St. Little Buildings 60	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2352	Harris	John	Brass-founder	High Holborn 148	20		A BsCsDs	
2373	Hicks	Alexander	Coach-maker	Great Queen St. Lincolns Inn Fields 4	5		A B5	
2394	Harold	Thomas	Carpenter	Gasligny Place Old St. 16	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2398	Huxley	John		Ropemaker St.	5		B	
2409	Hills	Newman	Cabinet-maker	Berkley St. Clerkenwell 8	5		B	
2431	Hargreaves	John	Clerk	Middleton Terrace Pimlico 1	5		B	
2436	Hillman	Benjamin	Cabinet-maker	Chapel St. Bedford Row 6	5		B C5	
2446	Hall	Sidney	Engraver	Bury St. Bloomsbury 14	20		B CsDs	As
2447	Hurle	Henry	Surveyor	Baker St. Bagnigge Rd 2	5		B C5D5	A5
2465	Hucks	John	Cooper	East Lane Bermondsey	5		B	
2468	Hoskin	P. M.	Surgeon	Fleet St. 168	5		B	
2474	Hardy	Robert	China-painter	Baines Row Clerkenwell	5		B C5	
2477	Hancock	George	Printer	Silver St. Wood St.	5		B	
2489	Howes	James	Architect	Ricket St.	5		B C5D5	A5B5
2503	Higgs	John	Machinist	Hill St. Wellington St. Blackfriars 19	5		B	
2504	Ham	George	Brass-founder	Cow Cross St. 8	5		B C5D5	
2529	Hunt	R. H.	Printer	Bartholomew Close 36	5		B	
2557	Handerson	John	Carpenter	Artillery Row Westminster 31	5		B C5D5	A5
2548	Henley	George		William St. Regent St.	5		B	
201	Hopping	Edward	Silversmith	Bartholomew Close 87	20		B CsDs	As
2588	Hughes	Robert	Millwright	Guilford St. Borough 21	5		B C5	
2589	Henderson	Thomas	Clerk	Threadneedle St.	10		B Cs	
2590	Henderson	Matthew B.		Adam St. Adelphi	10		B Cs	
2593	Hawkins	Charles	Surveyor of Pavements	Little Clarendon 41; Vittorio Place Somers Town	5		B C5D5	A5
2594	Husband	Richard	Jeweller	Barbican 68	5		B	
2598	Huston	James	Gun-maker	Market St. St James 6	5		B	
2618	Hanford	James	Iron-monger	Red Lion St. 55	5		B C5D5	
2630	Harper	Edward H.	Pin and needle maker	Grays Inn Terrace 7	5		B C5D5	A5
2639	Hall	Henry	Iron-monger	Gracechurch St. 13	5		B	
2642	Harfield	John	Soda water manufacturer	Brown St. Covent Garden 5	5		B C5	
2652	Heney	Thomas	Printer	Great Tower St. 6	5		B C5D5	A5B5
2660	Harrabin	Thomas J.	Printer	Britannia St. City Rd 7	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2659	Harris	Herbert	Solicitor	Monmouth	5		B	
2672	Hale	Thomas			5		B	
2676	Hill	James	Lithographer	Windmill St. Tottenham Court Rd 39	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2567	Hurst	William	Tailor	William St. Spa Fields 4	5		B	
2568	Hoare	William	Tailor	Henrietta St. Covent Garden 45	5		B	
2685	Harkes	Edward	Carpenter	Acton St. Grays Inn Lane	5		B C5	
2686	Hodgson	John Charles	Tailor	Duke St. Smithfield 23	5		B C5	
2724	Hatchard	Samuel	Plasterer	Holywell St. Westminster 49	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2732	Harwar	Thomas	Law-stationer	Serles Place 4	10		B CsD5	A5B5C5
148	Harwar	Joseph	Pianoforte-maker	Serles Place 4	20		B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
2774	Harding	Thomas	Haberdasher	Newgate St.	5		B	
2746	Hobling	Michael	Carpenter	Henry Place Westminster	5		B C5	
2749	Hardcastle	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	West Place Pentonville 2	5		B	
2758	Hall	William	apprentice to Waterman	Greenhills Rents 24	2.6		B	
2770	Hetherington	Henry	Member's son	Kingsgate St.	2.6		B C2	
2789	Hill	Thomas	Printer	Chandos St. 62	5		B C5	
2776	Hughes	William	Clerk	Middlesex Place New Rd 13	5		B C5	
2837	Holmes	John	Trunk-maker	Holliwell St. Strand 32	10		B CsD5	A5B5C5
2847	Hall	Roger	Attorney	Great James St.	20		B CsDs'As	
2857	Hale	John	Gentleman	Bury St. St James's 1	5		B	
2879	Hunter	William	Bookseller	Little Queen St. Holborn	5		B C5	
2870	Hoby	James	Trimming Manufacturer	Skinner St. 17	20		B CsDs	As
2877	Hill	Arthur	Joiner	Long Acre 116	5		B	
2894	Hastings	David	Bookseller	Paternoster Row 47	5		B C5	
314	Henfrey	John	Engineer	Bowling Green Place Kensington 17	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5
2944	Holman	Thomas	Printer	Duke St. Lincolns In Fields 47	5		C D5	A5B5
2946	Hall	Thomas	Printer	Greenhills Rents West Smithfield 4	5		C D5	A5B5C5
2964	Holdway	Alexander	Tailor	Batemans Buildings Soho 4	5		C	
2971	Howe	John	Bricklayer	Bridge Row Southwark	10		C Ds	A5B10Cs
2976	Hammond	William	Builder	Cornwall Rd New Cut Lambeth	5		C D5	A5B5C5
2977	Hancock	George			5		C	
3018	Hooper	Thomas	Gardener	Great Ormond St.	5		C D5	A5
3026	Hale	Thomas	Watch-maker	Goswell St. 83	5		C	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
141	Hindley	Samuel	Rug manufacturer	Weir lock Cottages City Rd 1	5	C D5	A5B5C5
2909	Hardy	Robert Peter	Carver	Midford Place Tottenham Court Rd; removed to 3 Sauls Row Hampstead Rd	5	C D5	5B5C5
2996	Hunt	William James	Cabinet maker	Henrietta St. 16	5	C D5	
3001	Hodgkins	John	Carpenter	Barons Buildings Blackfriars 5	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3054	Hustwick	John	Machinist	Mitre St. Lambeth	5	C	
2402	Hickman	George		app Lectures [apprentice]	2.6	C D5	
3108	Harvey	William H.	Clerk	Mansion House Place	5	C	
3114	Holland	Henry	Draftsman	Sidmouth St. Grays Inn Lane	5	C D5	
3113	Hardy	Arthur	Printer	Hoxton Fields 3	20	C Ds	AsBs
3126	Hall	George	Gun-maker	Marylebone St. 46	20	C Ds	AsBs
3127	Hollinshed	William	Mechanist	King St. Long acre	20	C Ds	AsBsC20Ds
3162	Hawkins	Henry	Plasterer	New Rochester Row Westminster 39	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3163	Hubbard	Stephen	Engraver and Chaser	Little Wild St.	5	C	C5
3169	Harmer	James	Ornamental Plasterer	Berkley St. Clerkenwell 1	5	C D5	
3181	Hawkins	Frederick	Mathematical- instrument-maker	Parry St. Somers Town 16	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3185	Hawkins	Francis	Mathematical- instrument-maker	Parry St. Somers Town 16	5	C D5	
3190	Hamilton	W.	Brush manufacturer	Banner Sq.	5	C	
3193	Hutt	R. T.	Upholsterer	Jermyn St. 5	5	C	
275	Holdup	John	Silver-spoon- finisher	Kerby St. Hatton Garden	20	C Ds	AsBsC20Dw
3215	Honeywill	Thomas	Coach-maker	Berners St. Oxford St. 1	5	C D5	
3217	Hale	Joseph	Brass-founder	Crescent Place Cripplegate	5	C	
3221	Harding	George	Silversmith	Cary St. 3 apprentice to Dixon (lectures)	2.6		
3225	Hannum	William	Carpenter	Portman St. Portman Sq. 4	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3226	Hannum	Hugh	Carpenter	Portman St. Portman Sq. 4	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3243	Hardwick	W.	Clothier	Aldermanbury 63	5	C D5	
264	Higg	Edward	Veterinary Surgeon	Clermont Terrace Pentonville 16	20	C Ds	AsBs
3268	Hulbert	Richard	Mathematical- instrument -maker	Bowmans Buildings 2	5	C	
3273	Hawkins	J. H. W.	Cabinet-maker	Dorrington St. Brooks Market 2	5	C	
3276	Horlow	John	Gentleman	Carey St.	5	C	
3281	Hoare	John	Linen-draper	Oxford St. 180	10	C Ds	
3287	Holland	John	Cooper	Barclays Brewhouse	5	C	
3319	Herschmann	W.	Engineer	Little Exmouth St. New Rd 11	5	C	
3324	Heveningham	James	Carver and gilder	Market Row Oxford St. 19	5	C	
3366	Hill	Thomas	Pianoforte-maker	London Rd Southwark 9	5	C	
3308	Hopkins	William	Plumber	Gower St. North 13	5	C	
3388	Huskison	Matthew	Cabinet-maker	Wells St. Oxford St. 69	5	C	
3382	Houmon	Charles	Accountant	George Yard Old St. Rd 16	5	C Ds	As
3408	Hichens	J.	Clerk	Bishopsgate St. 54	5	C	
3398	Harris	Alfred	Stockbroker's clerk	George St. Portman Sq.	5	C	
3427	Halton	William	Tailor	Frith St. Soho 9	20	C Ds	AsBs
3435	Habell	Augustus	Tailor	Great Pulteney St. 18	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3436	Hammond	William	Carpenter	Salisbury St. Fleet St. 139	5	C	
3429	Hayes	Richard	Gentleman	Bloomsbury Court 7	5	C D5	
3515	Hutching	John	Clerk	Lincolns Inn Fields	5	C D5	A5
3520	Holmyard	John	Professor of Music	Gloster St. Queen Sq. 16	5	C	
3533	Huggins	Charles	Teller in Bank of England	Westmoreland Place City Rd 42	5	C	
305	Harper	Samuel	Law-stationer	Bell Yard Carey St. 24	20	C Ds	AsBsC20Ds
3570	Hux	William	Pewterer	Rahere St.	5	C	
3550	Heakes	Joseph	Haberdasher	Newport St. 15	5	C D5	A5B5
3557	Hazard	Charles	Painter and Glazier	Stoney Lane Tooley St. 4	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3049	Hall	John	Composer	Warwick Sq. 22	5	D	
3614	Heath	J. M.	Gentleman	Grove End Rd St Johns Wood 12	20	D	AsBsCs
3597	Hamilton	Otho	Gentleman	James St. Westminster 5	20	D	AsBsCs
3566	Hobbs	Thomas	Clerk	Blackman St. Borough 40	5	D	
3622	Huxley	John	Iron-monger	Castle St. Long Acre 26	5	D	

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3635	Haswell	William	Carpenter	Brydges St. Covent Garden 27	5	D	A5
3638	Hoarn	George	Printer	Margaret St. East Wilmington Sq. 3	5	D	
3646	Hodge	Avery	Carpenter	Burton st. Burton Crescent	5	D	
3656	Hearn	Joseph	Coach-builder	Holborn Bridge	5	D	A5
3658	Harris	Thomas	Carpenter	Green St. Goswell St. 31	5	D	A5B5C5
3663	Hone	William	Bookseller	Ludgate Hill	10	D	As
3355	Hailstone	John	Shoe-maker	Old Cavendish St. 16	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3664	Hone Jun.	William	Builder	Bunhill Row	5	D	
3665	Hone	Alfred	Mathematical- instrument-maker	Ludgate St. 45	5	D	
3670	Hayzen	Anthony	Clerk	Ask St. Huxton	5	D	A5B5C5
3675	Hockin	William	Clerk	Lombard St. 34	5	D	
3689	Hean	William	Cabinet-maker	Little Wild St. 11	5	D	A5
3694	Hammer	Thomas	Leather seller	St John's St. West Smithfield 147	5	D	A5B5C20Ds
3701	Humphrey	Samuel	Chaser	Green St. Leicester Sq.	5	D	A5B5C5
3707	Hutton	John		Bell Yard Carey St. 30	5	D	A5
3713	Harris	R. E.		Holiday Yard Creed Lane	5	D	A5
3715	Hamman	August			5	D	A5B5C5
3720	Hodges	William		Brick Lane	5	D	A5B5
3745	Hill	John R.	Plumber	Peters Lane West Smithfield 19	5	D	A5C10Ds
3765	Hedge	Nathaniel	Watch-maker	9 Banner St. St Lukes	5	D	
3763	Hardcastle	Thomas	Clock-case-maker	West Place Chapel St. Pentonville	5	D	A5
3750	Hemmerlein	Analect	Teacher of music	Great Pulteney St. 39	5	D	
3785	Hawkes	Samuel	Brass-founder	Drury Lane 132	5	D	A5
3786	Hawkes	Charles	Brass-founder	Drury Lane 132	5	D	A5
3768	Hallahan	Thomas	Gentleman	Stangate St Lambeth	5	D	
3567	Higgins	Samuel	Gentleman	Serjeants Inn Chancery Lane 11	20	D	AsBsCs
3662	Hobbs	John	Teinter	Grays Inn Lane	5	D	A5
3703	Haddon	William	Clerk	Red Cross Sq. 30	5	D	A5B5C5
3808	Hawkins	John	Carpenter	Ebury Sq. Pimlico	5	D	
3815	Hatfield	J. M.	Plumber	Maddox St. Regents 8	5	D	A5B5C5
3818	Hill	Thomas	Mechanist	Oxford St. 422	5	D	A5
3821	Hall	Edward	Draper	York St. Walworth	5	D	A5
3788	Hone	John	Bookseller	Ludgate Hill	5	D	
3789	Hough	Thomas	Apprentice to Mr Clements		2.6	D	A5
3869	Harvey	William	Clerk	Southampton Buildings 43	5	D	A5
3880	Hanson	William	Stonemason	Ogle St. Marylebone 4	5	D	A5
3894	Haddon	Henry	Dyer	Red Cross Sq. 30	5		A B5
3899	Helsdon	John	Broker	Castle Court Strand 12	5		A
3824	Harris	Rees Eldridge		Holiday Yard Ludgate St.	2.6	D	A2
3832	Hawkins	John	Carpenter	Upper Spring St. Ya...5?	5	D	
3839	Hawkins	John		Wellington Place Wellington St. Newington 13	5	D	A5B5C5
3904	Hazledon	Arthur	Engineer	City Rd	5	D	A5B5
3908	Hazledon	Henry	Engineer	City Rd	5	D	A5B5C5
3925	Harvey	Robert	Clerk	Old Boswell Court 22	5	D	A5
3927	Hancock	James	Engraver	Grays Inn Lane 35	5	D	A5
3931	Hill Jun.	Jacob	Featherbed-maker	Holborn 16	5	D	A5
3933	Henrickson	Henry	Sugar refiner	Hooper Sq Lemon St.	5	D	B5C5
3940	Harland	William	Gentleman	Mitcham Surrey	5	D	
3941	Heptinstall	W.	Gun-maker	Sevan St. Minorities 18	5	D	A5B5C5
3943	Horne	James			5	D	
3952	Haywood	Samuel	Coach-maker	Thomas St. Dock Had? 12	5	D	
3953	Harland	Samuel R.	Auctioneer	Strand 476	5	D	
3955	Hon	Michael	Turner	Long Acre 35	5	D	
3974	Harmann	John	Music-smith	Cleveland St. Marylebone 25	5		A
3975	Hutchin	William	Butcher	Foley St.	5		A
3976	Hannford	John	Plasterer	Grays Inn Rd	5		A
3978	Hanneford	John Jun.	Plasterer	Grays Inn Rd	5		A
3990	Hodgins	Robert	Tailor	Great Pultney St. 18	5		A
3995	Hambley	S. O.	Watch-maker	Red Lion St. Holborn 24	5		A
3916	Hanson	John	Carver	Falcon Place Ray St 3	5	D	A5B5
4002	Hulbert	Henry	Teacher	Christ's Hospital	5		A B5C5
4014	Hills	Richard	News vender	Windmill St. Tottenham Court Rd 25	5		A
4027	Hocket	James	Carpenter	Cobham Row Clerkenwell 10	5		A
4031	Hall	Thomas	Printer	Suffolk St. Pancrass 3	5		A B5
4052	Hunter	G.	Silversmith	Britannia Gardens Hoxton 8	5		A B5C5
4057	Harrison	Nathan	Clerk	Queen St. Cheapside 84	5		A
4061	Hebert	Luke	Draftsman	Pulteney Terrace Pentonville 22	5		A B5C5
4070	Harris	Charles	Tailor	Molineux St. Marylebone 32	5		A

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824 1825	1826
4089	Hamilton	John	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Regent St. St James's 122	5	A
4091	Haniford	William	Plasterer	George St. Battle Bridge 26	5	A
4093	Harris	Joseph	Tailor	Molineux St. Edgware Rd 32	5	A
4105	Hapkins	William	Stationer	Bishopsgate St. 124	5	A
4119	Hunt	Edward	Baker	Loar St Blackfriars Rd 56	5	A
4131	Humphreys	Erskine	Gentleman	Lincolns Inn	20	A BsCsDs
4145	Hanson	William	Carpenter	Richard St. Leicester Sq. 3	5	A
4170	Holland	Philip		Queen St. Northampton Sq.	5	A
4178	Harris	Philip	Brass-founder	Little Wild St. 20	5	A
4179	Harris	Philip Jun.	Brass-founder	Little Wild St. 20	5	A B5C5
4195	Hayzion	Peter	Clerk	Seymour Terrace Enslow Sq.	5	A B5
4203	Helder	John	Picture-dealer	Grays Inn Lane 41	5	A B5C5
4217	Hetherington	Henry	Member's son	Kingsgate St. 13	5	A
4209	Hind	William Lewis	Printer	Margaret St. East 11	5	A
4223	Holding	E.		Fleet St.	5	A
4252	Hunt	Samuel	Watch-maker	Devonshire St. Bloomsbury 23	5	A B5
4254	Hardy	Robert	China-painter	Cold Bath Sq. 9	5	A
4277	Haskell	Philip	Cooper	York St. Westminster 94	5	A
4278	Hagell	William	Broker	Bennett St. Blackfriars 7	5	A B5C5
4280	Hinde	Henry	Printer	Margaret St. Wilmington Sq. 11	5	A
4283	Hoskins	Josiah	Watch-maker	St Johns Sq. 11	5	A
4337	Holden	Thomas	Carpenter	Carpenter St. Berkley Sq. 3	5	A
4347	Hughes	Thomas	Tailor	Lillipot Lane 3	5	A
4368	Halt	Thomas	Apprentice to Mr Hetherington	New North St. Red Lion Sq.	2.6	A
4378	Harwar	John	Apprentice to J. Harwan	Serles Place	2.6	A
4379	Hooper	J. M.	Law-stationer	Serles Place	2.6	A
4386	Hardman	Robert	Member's son		2.6	A B2
4387	Hall	John	Tin-plate-worker	Little Gowan Place	5	A
4393	Hazell	John	Shoe-maker	Lassels Place St Giles	5	A B5C5
4397	Hale	John	Clerk	Lothberg 43	5	A
4400	Hutchins	William	Gentleman	Ebury St. Chelsea 17	5	A
4405	Hall	John		Great Berry St. St J...?	5	A
4407	Hall	John	Surveyor	College St. Camden Town 12	5	A
4418	Hudson	Ralph	Artist	Cheapside 84	5	A
4453	Hill	John	Mason	Monkwell St. 44	5	A B5C5
4455	Hutchinson	William	Law-stationer	Gough Sq. 5	5	A
4352	Helsey	John	Paper-hanger	Jewry St. Aldersgate 30	5	A
4511	Hall	Francis	Clerk	Somers Town	5	A B5C5
4520	Haines	Henry	Packer	Hill St. Walworth 64	5	A
4541	Hannay	James	Musical-instrument-maker	Clarence Place Hackney Rd 9	5	B
4547	Hall	William		Gloucester St. Queens Sq. 18	5	B
4566	Hall	George	Engineer	Mount St. Southwark	5	B C5
4567	Hughes	Richard	Copper-plate-maker	Peterborough Court Fleet St. 8	20	B CsDs
4575	Hyde	Abraham	Engineer	Southampton Row Bloomsbury 2	5	B
4578	Hawkins	Thomas	Pen-cutter	Albion Place Walworth	5	B C5
4586	Hassell	John	Coach painter	Dorington St. Clerkenwell 13	5	B
4588	Hill	Henry	Gentleman	Bath Place Brook St. Lambeth 5	5	B
4602	Hart	John	Cabinet-maker	Judd Place New Rd	5	B
4619	Hughes	Henry	Warehouseman	Watling St. 91	5	B C5
4645	Hagger	William	Fringe Weaver	Oxford St. 47	5	B
4673	Hardy	George		Baines Court Cold Bath Sq. 9	5	B
4676	Hentsch	George	Farrier	Blewitts Buildings Fetter Lane 1	5	B C5
4678	Harris	William	Coach-maker	Wells St. Oxford St. 71	5	B
4708	Hudson	John	Gentleman	Park St. Lambeth	5	B C5
4716	Holmes	Joseph	Tobacconist	City Rd 1	5	B C5
4722	Humphreys	Thomas	Chemist	Great Tower St. 27	5	B C5
4724	Harmen	James	Modeller	Pitt St. Tottenham Court Rd	5	B
4732	Hodges	James	Glass-man	Leadenhall St. 126	5	C
4730	Hodgkiss	William	Jeweller	Northampton St. Clerkenwell	5	C
4741	Halahan	Thomas		Stangate St. 28	5	C
4745	Hewett	William	Furnishing iron-monger	Goswell St.	5	C
4746	Hardcastle	Robert	Engine-pump-maker	Smithfield	5	C
4748	Hodgson	Charles James	Chemist	Apothecaries Hall	5	C
4805	Halsey	D.	Narrow weaver	St. Andrews Hill 36	5	C
4758	Harrison	Robert	Cabinet-maker	Charlton St. Fitzroy Sq. 35	5	C

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
4766	Hough	Samuel	Smith	Kirby St. Hatton Garden 9	5		C
4761	Haybittle	Daniel	Coal Merchant	Little New St. 2	5		C
4775	Hickman	George	Jeweller	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 35	5		C
4780	Hall	John	Narrow weaver	St. Andrews Hill 36	5		C
4789	Harris	Charles	Pianoforte-maker	Union St. Somers Town 32	5		C
4820	Humphreys	Robert	Military- armament- maker	Green St. Leicester Sq. 12	5		C
4821	Hutchinson	William	Carpenter	Holywell St. Strand 43	5		C
4832	Harwan	Henry	Law-stationer	Serles Place 4	5		C
4831	Holloway	M. M.	Engineer	Fleet St. 69	5		C
4837	Harvey	Richard	Slater	Drummond St. Somers Town 8	5		C
4839	Hall	Edward	Model-maker	St Lukes	5		C
4846	Hill	Alfred		St James's Chapel Hampstead Rd	5		C
4848	Hatfield	Richard	Engraver	Maddox St. Regent St. 8	5		C
4908	Horne	Linford	Tailor	Manchester Buildings 4	10		C Ds
4863	Hutton	Thomas	Shoe-maker	Bell Yard Fleet St. 30	5		C
4876	Headland	William	Tailor	Blandford St. 5	5		C
4886	Hudson	Henry	Clerk	Foley St. Marylebone 34; 18 Ernest	5		C
		William		St. Regents Park			
4892	Hayes	Benjamin	Apprentice to Mr	Great Smith St. Westminster	2.6		C
		James	Cope Stonemason				
4931	Hunt	William	Cabinet-maker	Henrietta St. Manchester Sq. 16	5		C
4938	Hudson	F. T.	Optician	Fetter Lane 4	5		C
4958	Henderson	T.	Clerk	Speldhurst St. Burton Crescent 14	5		C
4963	Hankey	John Trevor	Printer	Rolls Buildings 7	5		C
4987	Hill	Thomas	Chair-maker	Vittoria Place 3	5		C
		Frederick					
4990	Harrison	George	Confectioner	Grays Inn Lane	5		C
5001	Harman	Charles	Accountant	Oldham Place Spa Fields 2	5		C
5004	Honeywood	William	Boot and shoe- maker	Strand 343	5		C
5035	Hubbard	Stephen					
5049	Henderson	Osborne	Clerk	London Wall 103	5		C
5072	Helm	Alexander	Carpenter	Cleveland House St. James's	5		C
5090	Hunt	William	Carver and gilder	Berwick St. Oxford St. 61	5		C
		George					
5093	Hunt	Robert	Printer	Grocers Hall Court 3	5		C
		Henry					
5088	Heads	Thomas	Builder	Garnold Mews Clerkenwell	5		C
5099	Harris	John	Schoolmaster	Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell 51	5		C
5112	Hart	Moses	Iron-monger	Anchor Wharf, Upper Thames St.	5		C
5121	Hunt	James	Clerk	Horseferry Rd Westminster 1	5		C
5126	Hunt	Henry	Surveyor	Horseferry Rd 71	5		C
		Arthur					
50	Johnson	C.	Tin-plate-worker	Grenville St. Somers Town 5	5	D	A5B5C5D5 A5
219	Johnson	John	Smith	Hill St. Southwark 7	20	D	AsBsCsD5 A5B5C5
310	Jones	Thomas	Coach-maker	Robert St. Bedford Row 19	5	D	
317	Juggens	William	Cheese-monger	James St. Long Acre 22	5	D	A5B5C5
322	Jenkins	John	Carpenter	Sherrard St. 27	5	D	A5
354	James	Robert	Smith	Crown Court Covent Garden 14	5	D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
362	Jones	A. James	Gentleman	Southampton Buildings 24	20	D	AsBsCs
354	Jenkins	William	Clerk	Percy St. Bedford Sq. 27	5	D	A5B5C5
359	Johnson	T. James	Mathematical- instrument-maker	Arundel St. 3	5	D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5
449	Jackson	M. David	Weaver	Carnaby Market 38	5	D	A5B5C5D5
457	Jenkins	Robert	Mason	Clifton St. Finsbury 29	5	D	B5
476	Jeves	John	Schoolmaster	Gun Lane Limehouse 2	5	D	A5
487	Jones	William	Plumber	Tysoe St. Clerkenwell 8	5	D	A5B5C20Ds AsBsCs
522	James	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 48	5	D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
572	Isaac	William	Carpenter	Seymour Place York St. Walworth	5	D	A5B5C5D5 A5
581	Innes	John Sen.	Printer	Wells St. Oxford St.	5	D	A5B5C5D5 Ar
601	Jackson	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Red Lion St. Holborn 26; 1 Francis St. Grays Inn Lane Rd	5	D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
527	Jay	John	Plumber etc	White Cross St. St Lukes 209	5	D	A5
1078	Jacks	John	Goldsmith	Upper Marylebone St. 24	20	D	AsBsCsD5 A5B10Cs
1521	Johnstone	James	Messenger to the Commercial office of Bankrupts	Southampton buildings 32	20	D	AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs
1523	Jackson	Henry	Upholsterer	Rathbone Place 33	20	D	AsBsCs
1533	Innes	John Jun.	Printer	Wells St. Oxford St. 61	5	D	A5B5C5
1534	Innes	Charles	Printer	Wells St. Oxford St. 61	5	D	
1646	Jenkins	Thomas	Timber merchant	Castle St. Finsbury	5	D	
1659	Innes	James	Cheese-monger	Little Tower St. 1	20	D	AsBsCs
1720	Johnson	Thomas	Gentleman	Cold Bath Sq. 26	5	D	A5



No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
1846	Jacobson	Howard	Clerk	Fore St. 16	5	D	A5	
1851	Jones	Thomas	Silk manufacturer	Stewart St. Spital Fields 41	20	D	AsBsCs	
1857	Jones	John	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Tottenham Court Rd 250	5	D	A5B5C10Ds	A10Bs
1889	Johnson	John Jarrett	Wine Merchant	Threadneedle St. 23	20	D	AsBsCsD5	
1894	James	Edward	Warehouseman	Cheapside 156	10	D	AsB5C5	
1952	James	Henry	Warehouseman	Cheapside 156	10	D	AsB5C5	
1904	Jewell	John	Clerk	Grove St. Commercial Rd 16	5	D	B5	
1962	Jenkins	Richard	Messenger at Sir Richard Carr Glynn	Sir Richard Carr Glynn	5	D	AsBsCsDs	AsBsCs
1974	Jackson	Reuben	Plumber	Knightsbridge	5	D	A5	
2002	James	Walter	Surgeon	West Bromwich Stafford	5		A	
2033	Johnson	Samuel W.	Printer	Little New St. 11	5		A	
2035	Jack	Robert	Chair-maker	London Wall 3	5		A	
2062	Jobson	Henry	Clerk	Lombard St. 21	20		A BsCsDs	A5B5
2126	Jones	George	Clerk	Bartholomew Close St Lukes	5		A B5C5	
2127	Ivens	William	Carpenter	Tabernacle Walk City Rd	5		A B5	
2158	James	William	Engineer	Thavies Inn 3	5		A	
2177	Jump	Richard	Watch-maker	Marsham St. Westminster 24	20		A BsCsDs	
2201	Jennison	Charles	Leather-cutter	Clifford St. Blackfriars 2	5		A B5C5D5	
2285	Jackson	Samuel	Carpenter	Jewin St. Cripplegate	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2287	Jennings	John	Gold-beater	Benjamin St. Clerkenwell	5		A B5C5	
2288	Jones	Edward	Painter	Park St. Dorset Sq. 20	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2305	Jackson	William	Watch-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell	20		A BsCsDs	
2391	Jeffery	John	Printer	Chancery Lane 68	5		B	
2410	Jones	Robert	Grocer	Little Britain	5		B	
2448	Jordan	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Guilford Place Spa Fields 17	5		B	
2497	Johnson	Goerge	Boot-maker	Newcastle St. Strand 26	5		B C5	
2522	Ireland	John	Clerk	Robert St. Bedford Row 25	5		B C5D5	A5B5
2569	Jackson	Henry	Watch-case-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 5	5		B C5D5	A5B5
2574	Jones Jun.	William		Tysoe St. Clerkenwell 8	5		B	
2539	Jopling	Joseph	Carpenter	Acton St. Grays Inn Rd 4	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2585	Jelly	Richard	Iron-monger	Goswell St.	5		B	
2720	Jones	Robert	Woollen draper	Bishopsgate St. 150	5		B	
2830	Jenkins	James	Gentleman	St Mildreds Court	20		B CsDs	AsB5
2832	Jones	Benjamin	Pianoforte-maker	Exmouth St. Hampstead Rd 20	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2850	Jaques	W. F.	Brushes-maker	Silver St. 21	20		B CsDs	As
2859	Jones	J.	Artist	Pedlars Acre Lambeth	5		B CsDs	
2860	James	William	Engraver	Albion Place St Johns Lane 5	5		B	
2889	Jackson	John	Tin-plate-worker	Howland St. Fitzroy Sq. 7	5		B C5	
2893	Jones	John Charles	Linen Draper	High Holborn 320	20		B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
2945	James	William	Carpenter	Deans Place Somers Town 18	5		C D5	A5B5
3011	Jeffrey	William	Member's son [annual]		10		C Ds	AsBs
3009	Jeffrey	Thomas	Gold and silver refiner	Kirby St. 21	20		C Ds	AsBs
3073	Johnson	John	Clerk	Long Acre 71	5		C	
3105	Jackson	John	Last-maker	Metior St. Borough 27	5		C D5	
3109	Jalland	George	Clerk	Mansion House Place	5		C D5	A5
3150	Josset	F.	Decorative painter	Charles St. Hampstead Rd 13	5		C D5	
3132	Jalland	Robert	Artist	Sidmouth St. 26	5		C	
3183	Jerome	John	Turner	Royal Mint	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3187	Jenkins	John	Braid manufacturer	St Clements Lane	5		C D5	
3233	Jarvis	W.	Dyer and Glazer	White Lion St. Pentonville 62	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3236	Johnson	Thomas	Attorney	Arlington St. Sadlers wells 22	5		C	
3266	Jaffery	Robert	Machinist	Granby Place Lambeth 4	5		C	
3276	Ingram	Robert	Engraver	North Place Grays Inn Lane Rd	5		C	
3314	Jones	Thomas	Mercer	Little Newport St.	20		C Ds	AsBs
3316	Jones	J. B.	Butler [Builder crossed out]	Hertford St. May Fair 39	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3340	Inbile	August	Painter	Air St. Regent St. 7	5		C	
3306	Jones	Joseph	Wine merchant	Hatton Garden	5		C D5	A5
3385	Jenn	Joseph	Tin-plate-worker	Little George St. Hampstead 24	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3409	Ingram	John	Engraver	North Place Grays Inn Lane Rd	5		C	
3433	Jeffreys	William	Blind-maker	Oxford St. 428	5		C D5	
3486	Johnson	Samuel	Watch-maker	Oxford St. 407	5		C D5	
3492	Jarvis	C. J.	Millwright	Yorkshire	5		C	
3505	Jennings	John	Plumber etc	Yeoman's Row Brompton	5		C D5	
3510	Jury	Isaac	Builder	White Lion St.	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3513	Jones	Edward	Book-binder	Peerless Row City Rd	5		C	
3523	Jones	Jonathan	Tailor	Devonshire St. Queen Sq. Bloomsbury	5		C D5	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
3540	Johnstone	James	Member's son	Southampton Buildings 32	2.6	C	A5B2Cs
3564	James	James	Calico Printer	Old Change 44	10	C Ds	
3581	Jenkins	Joseph Bolt	Member's son	Old St. St Lukes 118	5	C D5	A2
3570	Jackson	James	Gentleman	Strand 351	5	C D5	
3590	Ibbetson	J. H.	Gentleman	Smith St. Chelsea	20	D	AsBsCs
3685	Jones	John	Engraver	Crescent Jewen St. 11	20	D	AsBsCs
3723	Jennings	Samuel		Goswell St. 5	5	D	A5B5
3745	Jack	James John	Clerk	Leonard St. 87	5	D	A5
3864	Irons	M. D.	Tailor	Upper Charlton St. Fitzroy Sq. 21	5	D	A5B5C5
3876	Irvin	John	Hatter	Richardson St. Bermondsey 20	5	D	A5
3891	Judd	Edward	Carpenter	New Peter St. Westminster 4	5	D	
3915	Jones	William	Cabinet-maker	Shepherd St. Brook St. 2; 7 Dean St. Park Lane	5	D	A5B5C5
3917	Jones	John	Schoolmaster	Clarendon Sq. Somers Town 56	5	D	A5B5
3918	Jenkins	John	Carpenter	Half moon St. Bishopsgate St. 18	5	D	A5B5C5
4018	Jones	John	Clerk	Bank of England	5		A
4036	Jameson	Richard	Printer	Suffolk Place Hackney	5		A B5C5
4038	Innes	John Jun.	Printer	Wells St. Oxford St. 61	5		A
4101	Jacques	D. G.	Tanner	Grafton St. 25	5		A
4117	Jarrett	W. C. G.	Tin-plate-worker	Chancery Court Chancery Lane 3	5		A B5C5
4140	Jones	John	Printer	New St. Golden Sq. 5	5		A
4142	Jeffery	Benjamin	Joiner	Lambeth St. 83	5		A
4201	Juray	Samuel	Joiner	Cromer St. Grays Inn Lane 76	5		A B5
4251	Jackson	William	Carpenter	Leonard St. Finsbury 61	5		A B5C5
4308	Innall	Theodore I.	Printer	Pancras Place Pancrass 29	5		A B5C5
4339	Jones	John	Carpenter	Carpenter St. Berkley Sq. 3	5		A
4447	Jones	John	Printer	Hatfield St. Blackfriars 50	5		A B5
4503	Johnnessel [Johnnepel]	Frederick	Gentleman	Bond Court Walbrook 8	5		A
4507	Jennings	Samuel	Carver	Berwick St. Soho 43	5		A B5C5
4510	Jackson	Charles	Gentleman	Old Compton St. 30	5		A
4516	Jackson	James	Apprentice Engraver	Boundry Row Blackfriars	2.6		A B2C2
4533	Johnston	Robert	Pianoforte-maker	Little Portland St.	5		B
4550	Jones	James		Cross St. Hatton Garden	5		B C5
4592	Jackson	William	Engineer	South St. Lambeth 4	5		B
4643	Jones Jun.	Robert		Huish's Court Blackfriars 3	5		B C2.6
4644	Jones	Robert	Book-binder	Huish's Court Blackfriars 3	5		B
4702	James	Joseph	Printer	Great Saffron Hill 107	5		B C20Ds
4763	Jones	Charles Thomas	Clerk	East St. Red Lion Sq. 5	5		B
4779	Jones	Edward Harrison	Goldsmith	Cornhill 62	5		B
4792	Jordan	John	Tea-dealer	Holborn 302	5		B
4862	Jones	Peter	Painter	St Mary Axe 45	5		B
4934	Jones	William James	Wine merchant	Tower Hill 74	20		B Cs
4946	Jackson	Matthew	Grocer	Duke St. Manchester Sq. 8	5		B
4986	Jackson	George		Fetter Lane 117	5		B
4995	Jackson	Matthew	Engraver and Chaser	Little Wild St.	5		B
5029	Jackson	Henry					
5077	John	John	Solicitor	Palsgrove Place Temple Bar	5		B
5119	Johnstone	John	Lamp manufacturer	Cursitor St. 19	5		B
5155	Jarvis	William	Tailor	South Audley St.	5		C
4984	Jecker	Antoine	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Turner's Court St Martin's	5		B
58	Kington	William	Plumber	Sherrard St. 27	5	D	
190	Killar	John	Carpenter	Bentick St. Soho 5	5	D	A5B5C5D5
201	Kilburn	Benjamin	Gentleman	Stamford St. Blackfriars 35	5	D	A5B5C5D5
217	Knight	Richard	Clerk	London Wall 9	20	D	AsBsCsD20
237	Killar	James	Joiner	Bentick St. Soho 5; 24 Greville St. Hatton Garden	20	D	AsBsCsD20
257	Kilner	William	Pianoforte-maker	Sutton St. Soho 4	5	D	A5
265	Kerr	John	Oil and colourman	Borough Market	20		A BsCsDs
430	King	Charles	Carpenter	London St. Fitzroy Sq. 57	5	D	A5B5C5D5
458	King	J. B.	Carpenter	Leather Lane 37	5	D	A5B5
470	Kerr	Benjamin	Upholsterer	Fenchurch St. 36	5	D	A5B5C5D5
479	King	Alfred	Gentleman	Upper St. Islington 25	5	D	A5B5C5D5
507	Kilner	James	Mercer	Drury Lane 95	5	D	A5B5C5
555	Kingsnorth	Thomas	Engineer	Castle St. Clerkenwell 2	5	A	B5C5D5
562	Kember	Richard	Joiner	New North St. Red Lion Sq. 28	5	D	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
612	King	Frederick		Duncan Terrace Islington 2	5	D		
616	Kemp	Anthony	Carpenter	Daggetts Court Moorfields 4	5	D	A5	
625	Kelly	Thomas	Bookseller	Paternoster Row	20		A BsCsDs	
1093	King	Thomas	Gentleman	Furnivals Inn 1	5	D		
1549	Kennedy	William	Cabinet-maker	Little Russell St. Covent Garden 16	5	D	A5B5C5	
1578	Kinsley	James	Compositor	Castle St. Holborn 22	5	D		
1600	Keeling	R. A.	Cabinet-maker	Davies St. Berkley Sq.	5	D		
1618	Knight	John	Master mariner	Griffin St.	5	D		
1735	King	John	Printer	College Hill	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1805	Knock	John	Book-binder	Wells St. Cripplegate 8	20	D	AsBsCsD5	A5B10Cs
1828	King	James	Hat-dresser etc	Red Lion Court Spitalfields	5	D	A5B5C5	
1829	Knock	William	Shoe-maker	Underwood St. Mile End 6	5	D		
1848	Kebbell	John	Carpenter	Darby Rd Kingsland Rd	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5
1880	Kellow	Charles	Lithographic printer	Queens St. Ormond St. 2	5	D		
1883	King	Edward	Clerk	Robert St. Hoxton	5	D		
1954	Kimberley	James	Watch-finisher	Waterloo St. St Lukes 23	5	D	A5B5	
1987	Kendall	W. S.	Printer	King St. Westminster	5		A	
1992	King	John	Accountant	Miles's Lane Cannon St. 11	20		A BsCsDs	
2000	Kitcat	John	Book-binder	Bartletts Buildings 22	5		A C5D5	A5B5C5
2001	Kitcat	George	Book-binder	Bartletts Buildings 22	5		A C5D5	A5
2091	Kane	James	Carpenter	St Anns Court Soho 26	5		A	
2204	Kilburn	William	Gentleman	Stamford St. 35	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5
2210	Kirk		Tobacconist	Fleet St. 106	5		A	
2275	Keat	Edward	Watch and clock-maker	St Johns St. 59	5		A	
2302	Keay	Thomas	Surgeon	Raven St. Mile End Rd 6	5		A	
2367	Kemp	Samuel	Professor of music	Arke Terrace Hoxton 15	5		A B5	
2402	Kirkman	George	Apprentice to D. Cherie	Rawstorn St. 15	2.6		B	
2411	Kelley	William	Clerk	Bennett St. Stamford St. 21	5		B	
2424	Kemp	George	Silk manufacturer	Cheapside 150	5		B	
2532	Knox	George	Bookseller	Strand 210	5		B C5	
178	Keeton	John			5		B C5	
2698	Killip	William	Shoe-maker	Greens Court Little Pulteney 8	5		B C5D5	A5
2713	Kellow	Charles	Lithographic printer	Queen St. Goswell St. 2	5		B	
2741	King	Edward	Stationer etc	Chancery Lane	5		B	
2786	King	John	Tin-plate-worker	Snow Hill 66	20		B CsDs	As
2805	Knight	William	Cabinet-maker	Union St. Somers Town 53	5		B	
2824	Kine	James	Gentleman	St Swithins Lane 25	5		B C5	
2899	Keane	James	Gentleman	Doughty St. 60	20		B CsDs	As
2915	Kitcat	George						
2938	Kitcat	John						
2945	Kibble	John	Goldsmith and jeweller	North St. Fitzroy Sq. 11	5		C D5	A5B5C5
303	Knox	William Perry	Upholsterer	New Bond St. 104	20		C Ds	AsBs
3014	Kinlock	William	Carpenter and builder	Lower James St. Golden Sq.	20		C Ds	AsBs
3003	King	John		Wilman St. Waterloo Rd 19	5		C	
3004	King	William	Surgeon	Wilman St. Waterloo Rd 19	5		C	
3038	King	Charles	Engraver	Johns St. Blackfriars Rd 3	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3039	King	James	Engraver	Johns St. Blackfriars Rd 3	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3112	Kerby	James	Currier	St Johns St.	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3128	Kerby	Robert	Currier	St Johns St. 147	5		C	
3148	Kilsey	William	Statuary	Neptune St. Rotherhithe	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3286	Keane	John	Painter	James St. Oxford St. 40	5		C	
3317	Knight	R. B.	Clerk	Draper St. Red Lion Sq.	5		C D5	A5
222	Kelk	George	Whitesmith	Old Crompton St. 36	20		C Ds	AsBs
3485	Knight	Thomas	Painter	Oxford St. 407	5		C D5	
3487	King	William	Silver-polisher	Macclesfield St. 11	5		C D5	
3503	Kay	William	Jeweller	Red Lion St. Holborn 14	5		C D5	
3524	King	George	Silversmith	Sutton St. 9	5		C D5	A5
3553	Knott	Robert	Gentleman	Langham Place Regent St.	5		C	
3410	Kelly	William	Clerk	Bennett St. Stamford St.	5		D	A5B5
3630	King	John	Carpenter	Dorset St. Fleet St. 13	5		D	
3679	Kennedy	Gilbert	Gentleman	Brunswick Sq. 81	5		D	A5
3693	Kerby	George	Gentleman	Church yard Court Innes Temple 2	5		D	
		Goldsmith						
3696	Knight	Frederick	Engraver	Castle St. Holborn	5		D	
3725	Kinsey	George		Hyde St. Bloomsbury 27	5		D	
3636	Kibble	John George	Member's son	North St. Fitzroy Sq. 11	2.6		D	A2B2C2
3912	Knight	Valentine	Engine-turner etc	Clerkenwell Close	20		D	AsBsCs

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824 1825	1826
3965	Knox	George	Gentleman	Durham Place Lambeth 3	5	A
3983	Kidwell	John	Clerk	Chancery Lane 147	5	A B5C5
3996	Kerby	George	Clerk	Hunter St. Brunswick Sq. 21	5	A
4082	King	William	Watch-spring-maker	Coxes Court City Rd	5	A B5
4123	King	Archibald	Gentleman	Durham Place Lambeth 3	5	A B5
4253	Kember	W. G.	Brass-finisher	Coppice Row 26	5	A
4315	Kelley	Thomas	Corn lighterman	Bankside	5	A
4396	Kingswell	James	Turner	Hugh St. St Giles 63	5	A B5C5
4416	King	Andrew	Silversmith	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 44	5	A C5
4495	King	William	Engraver	Little Trinity Lane 29	5	B
4136	Keay	W. G. H.	Jewel-case-maker	Charles St. Hatton Garden 26	5	A B5C5
4692	Kingsford	John Jun		Fenchurch St. 148	5	B
4804	Kirkwood	James	Working jeweller	Fore St. 39	5	C
4776	Knight	W. J.	Printer	Chancery Lane 67	5	C
4899	Knight	Anthony	Gentleman	Brand St. Bloomsbury 57	5	C
4972	Kepple	Joseph	Artist	Henrietta St. Manchester Sq. 12	5	C
5000	Knight	Jasper	Gentleman	Broad St. Bloomsbury 57	5	C
5002	Kember	William	Brass-finisher	Vineyard Walk Spa Fields 3	5	C
5039	Kervish	Hugh	Tailor	Margaret St. Westminster 4	5	C
105	Lewis	William	Carpenter	Daggetts Court 4	5	A B5C5D5 A5B5C5
116	Law	William	Ribbon-dresser	Monkwell St. 10	5	A B5C5D5 A5B5C5
195	Luckin	George	Boot-maker	Queen Sq. Barthomew Close 5	2.6 D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
199	Lyne	George	Engineer	John St. Blackfriars 42	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
240	Liddell	William	Chemist	Temple St. Whitefriars 3	20 D	AsBsCs
300	Lindsay	Alexander	Gun-maker	Coventry St. 28	5 D	A5B5C5
306	Lynes	John	Cabinet-maker	Tabernacle Walk 10	5 D	A5B5C5D5
329	Lanagan	Francis	Shoe-maker	Little Britain 40	2.6 D	
337	Lane	Charles	Gentleman	Leonard St. Shoreditch 54	20 D	AsBsCsD20 AsBsCS
364	Loop	Thomas	Lapidary	Exmouth St. Spafields 24	5 D	AsBsC20D5 A5B5C5
390	Lothian	John	Carpenter	Market St. Oxford St.	5 D	A5B5C5
404	Latimer	Thomas	Printer	Davison's Whitefriars [at]	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
459	Levens	Thomas	Engraver	Long Acre 79	5 D	A5B5C5D5
504	Lowe	George	Gentleman	Bunhill Row	5 D	
491	Laskey	Samuel	Cabinet-maker	Francis St. Grays Inn Rd 1	5 D	A5B5C5D5 A5
554	Lines	John P.	Gentleman	Union Walk Kingsland Rd 5	5 D	A5
615	Lyons	Thomas	Printer	Shoemaker Row Blackfriars 33	5 D	
928	Le Gros	Peter S.	Watch and clock-maker	Upper Crown St. Westminster 1	5 D	A5B5C5Ds A10
1524	Lambert	Samuel	Lace-man	Regent St. 236	20 D	AsBsCs
1539	Leonard	John	Plasterer	Gotterlins Place Spa fields	5 D	
1561	Lawrence	John	Plumber	Cushion Court Broad St. 2	5 D	
1592	Lemercier	Thomas	Clerk	Bedford St. Bedford Row	5 D	A5
1607	Lee	Charles	Cheese-monger	Long Alley Moorfields 21	5 D	
1655	Lowe	John	Printer	Houndsditch 27	5 D	A5
1660	Laing	Robert	Grocer	Fenchurch St. 58	20 D	AsBsCs
1751	Lane	William	Secretary to the Kentish Railways	Poultry 29	5 D	A5B10CsD5
1810	Lowe	Alexander	Jeweller	Berkley St. Clerkenwell 10	5 D	B5
1813	Lewis	Philip	Teinter	Doughty Place Lambeth 19	5 D	A5B5C5
1885	Lovell	John	Builder	High St. Shadwell 100	5 D	A5
1916	Lacey	George	Geometrical turner	Coppice Row 18	5 D	
1918	Leeson	William	Plumber etc	Turnagain Lane 3	5 D	A5B5
1899	Lea	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Northumberland Court Strand 1	5 D	
1966	Lloyd	James H.	Clerk	Lombard St. 69	5 D	A5
1974	Lindfield	William	Builder	Hanway St. Tottenham Court Rd4	5 D	
1981	Lacey	John	Gentleman	Tonbridge Place N. R. 16	5 D	
1986	Lane	William	Ship-broker	Leonard St. Finsbury 54	5	A B5C5D5
1924	Lindsay	Charles	Clerk	Barrier St. St Lukes 4	5 D	A5B5
1928	Long	M. R.	Printer	Nelson St. Long Lane Southwark 16	5	A B5C5D5
2032	Levens	Charles	Member's son	Long Acre 79	2.6	A B2
2034	Lewis	John	Draper	Oxford St. 87	5	A
2050	Lanktree	Henry	Printer	Surry Row Blackfriars Rd 27	5	A B5
2105	Lloyd	Edward	Clerk	Charles St. Covent Garden 18	5	A B5C5
2125	Lewis	William	Shoe-maker	Rupert St. St James's	5	A B5C5D5
2173	Lamb	Joseph	Clock-maker	Thatched House Court	20	A BsCsDs
2201	Lloyd	J.		Borough Market	5	A
2235	Livermore	Nathaniel	Cordwainer	Great Windmill St. St James	5	A B5C5D5 A5B5
2249	Lamb	Edward	Architect	Swinley St. Grays Inn Lane	5	A
2312	Lambshhead	Joseph	Carpenter	Windsor Court Strand 5	5	A B5C5D5 A5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
2419	Locke	Thomas	in the Law	Surry St. Strand 18	5		B	
2420	Locke	William	in the Law	Surry St. Strand 18	5		B	
2475	Low	Thomas	Watch-maker	Zoar St. Southwark 54	5		B C5	A5
2578	Lane	Joseph	Carpenter	Pleasant Row Kennington	5		B	
2541	Lyons	Thomas	Printer	Shoemakers Row Blackfriars 33	5		B C5D5	A5
2643	Lucas	Samuel	Clerk	Ossulton St. Somers Town 66	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2647	Lethbridge	Walter	Portrait painter	Strand 291	5		B C5	
		Stephen						
2669	Lance	Frederick	Carpenter	Cumberland St. Middx Hospital 20	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
		William						
329	Lee	James	Cabinet-maker	Red Lion Court Charter House Lane 6	35		B CsDs	A15B5C5
2689	Lee	James	Draper	Great Queens St Lincolns Inn Fields	5		B	
2692	Lucas	William	Surgeon	Taunton Place Regents Park 9	5		B	
2697	Levy	John	Merchant	Oxford St. 371	20		B CsDs	As
2707	Lorimier	Anthony	Book-binder	Charles St. Hatton Garden 22	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2737	Longstaff	William	Gentleman	Staple Inn 8; 104 Hatton Garden	20		B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
2760	Lindsey	William	Grocer	Goswell Terrace 23	5		B	
2764	Lewis	John	Surgeon	Musk Lane	10		B Cs	
2769	Lefevre	James	Carpenter	Dove Court Lombard St.	5		B	
2681	Lubbock	G. H.	Victualler	Middle Row Holborn	5		B	
2814	Laing	David	Painter	Villier St. 10	20		B CsDs	As
2815	Laing	D. G.	Painter	Villier St. 10	20		B CsDs	As
2842	Lethbridge	William	Printer	Rochester Row Westminster 40	5		B C5	
2848	List	William	Clerk	Friday St. 38	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
		Walpole						
	Lewer	William	Architect	Duke St. Westminster 3	20	D	AsBsCs	
		Henry						
2933	Little	Walter	Sugar broker	Old Broad St. City 77	20		C Ds	AsBsC20Ds
3943	Langston	John	Printer	Theobalds Rd 26; 3 Gloucester St. St Johns St.	5		C D5	A5B5C5
2987	Lloyd	Jonas	Stationer	Bartletts Buildings Holborn 30	5		C D5	A5
3030	Line	Thomas	Brass-founder	Museum St. 27	5		C	
633	Lucas	Henry	Upholsterer	Newman St. Long Acre	20		C Ds	AsBs
3000	Lubbock	Henry	Compositor	Waterloo Rd 2	5		C	
3010	Latham	Charles	Shoe-smith	Bakers Buildings Liverpool St. 17	5		C	
3042	Lines	J. P.		Union Walk Kingsland Rd	5		C	
3043	Labrum	Thomas	Iron-monger	Dean St. Soho 26	5		C	
3048	London	C.	Tin-plate-worker	Roseman St. Clerkenwell 20	5		C	
3063	Lee	William	Glass-engraver	John Black Engraver 65	5		C D5	A5B5
		Bendom						
3098	Leitch	William	Carpenter	Uckfield Place Westminster Rd	5		C	
		John						
3144	Lewis	William	Engraver on wood	Rose and Crown Court Foster Lane 2	5		C	
3171	Lawrence	William	Tailor	Neptune St. Rotherhithe	5		C	
3174	Levin	John	Green Court	Little Pultney St.	5		C D5	A5B5
3178	Lambert	Thomas	Joiner	Foley St. 2	5		C	
3198	Luckwood	William	Carpenter	Galaway St. St Lukes 53	5		C D5	
3228	Litleford	John	Clerk	Long Lane Bermondsey 10	5		C D5	A5
3211	Love	George	Bookseller	Bunhill Row 81	5		C	
3992	Lowsey	Thomas	Warehouseman	Watling St. 97	5			A
3950	Lethbridge	W. J.	Portrait Painter	Strand 391	5			A
4017	Levey	George C.	Printer	New North St. Red Lion St. 28	5			A B5
4021	Leonard	John	Surgical-instrument-maker	Rosomans St. Clerkenwell 26	5			A B5
4044	Lane	George	Stonemason	Chapel Place, Coram St 11	5			A B5
4064	Laker	William	Draper	Holborn Hill 56	5			A
4080	Lamb	Joseph Jun.	Engine-maker	Regent St. 271	20			A BsCsDs
4100	Lingan	S.	Lithographic printer	Grove St. Camden Town 12	5			A
4139	Lucas	James	Jeweller	Ossulton St. Somers Town 66	5			A
4176	Lowther	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 56	5			A
4184	Lind	William	Engraver	Hatton Wall 17	5			A B5C5
4219	London	Charles	Tin-plate-worker	Rosomans St. Clerkenwell 26	5			A
4227	Lord	William	Tailor	Leicester Place 3	5			A
4230	Lingford	Thomas	Silk Mercer	Russia Row Milk St. 5	5			A B5C5
4388	Lamb	John Jun	Clock-maker	Newman St. Oxford St. 86	5			A
4292	Locke	Thomas L.	Cabinet-maker	Chancery Lane 37	5			A
4325	Lyon	W. Joseph	Undertaker	Walbrook 31	5			A B5
4327	Legg	Thomas	Carver and gilder	Windmill St. Tottenham Court Rd	5			A B5
4330	Laviter	Edward	Cabinet-maker	Clepstone St. 7	5			A
4388	Ledger	Henry	Silversmith	Banner Sq.	5			A B5C5
4391	Law	Edward	Carpenter	Monkwell St. 16	5			A
4432	Larking	W. H.	Book-binder	Evangelist Court Blackfriar	10			A BsC5
4438	Lander	George W.	Printer	St John Mews St. Johns Sq. 3	5			A

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824 1825	1826
4490	Leigh	Charles Frederick	Paper-hanger	South Audley St. 25	20	B CsDs
4492	Layton	Harry	Engraver	Anglers Gardens Lower Rd Islington	5	B
4385	Lee	J. H.	Member's son		2.6	A B2C2
4556	Long	Timothy	Turner	White Cross St.	5	B C5
4564	Lane	William	Iron-monger	Batemans Buildings	5	B C5
4576	Lucas	Richard C.	Artist	Wardour St. 39	5	B C5
4581	Lighford	Robert	Solicitor	Quality Court Chancery Lane	5	B
4583	Long	Charles	Glass-cutter	New Rd	5	B
4590	Lunn	Greggs	Gentleman	7 Oaks Kent	5	B C5
4611	Lacey	Edward	Clerk	Paternoster Row 55	5	B
4626	Lehair	Abraham		Richard St. Islington 20	5	B C5
4648	Landsdown	Edward	Printer	Regent St. Lambeth 29	5	B C5
4687	Latchford	John		North St. Fitzroy Sq. 6	5	B C5
4700	Langbourne	William	Gentleman	Ampton St. Grays Inn Lane	20	B CsDs
4707	Lyne	Thomas	Plumber	Angel St. St Martins le grand 23	5	B C5
4726	Linglet	A.	Brazier	Dieppe France	5	B
4737	Laycock	John Charles	Clerk	Haberdasher St. Hoxton 17	5	C
4800	Lendrum	Robert	Tailor	Regent St. 225	5	C
4803	Langston	John Robert	Member's son	Gloucester St. St Johns St. 3	2.6	C
4778	Liddle	Alexander	Musical- instrument-maker	New Compton St. Soho 50	5	C
4827	Lowther	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 58	20	C Ds
4842	Lowndes	Daniel Thomas	Brush-maker	Knightsbridge	5	C
4839	Lever	Frederick		Whitechapel 110	5	C
4883	Love	George	Bookseller	Bunhill Row	5	C
4894	Lake	John B.	Merchant's Clerk	Newgate St.	20	C Ds
4895	Lethbridge	Walter S.	Portrait painter	Strand 391	5	C
4952	Laker	William	Draper	Holborn Hill 56	5	C
4954	Laing	Henry	Engraver etc	Greek St. Soho 55	5	C
4957	Leake	George	Scale-maker	Great Pulteney St. Golden Sq. 15	5	C
4985	Long	Mathew	Cabinet-maker	Queen St. Soho 3	5	C
4988	Lamberth	Thomas	Bricklayer	London St. London Rd	5	C
5013	Love	William	Bookseller	St Pauls Church Yard	5	C
5019	Leddra	Thomas	Clerk	Marchmont Place 20	5	C
5040	Lockwood	S. W.	Escape-wheel- cutter	Myddilton St. Wilmington Sq.	10	C Ds
5045	Lawson	George	Brass-founder	Charles St. 14	5	C
5065	Lawrence	John	Schoolmaster	Southampton St. Pentonville 42	5	C
5066	Leak	William	Carpenter	Ogle St. 32	5	C
5114	Lowden	John	Chemist	Fleet St. 202	5	C
54	McLean	Archibald	Clerk	Cornhill 16	5 D	
97	Moore	Thomas	Clock-maker	Temple St. Elephant and Castle 23	5 D	A5
98	McLagan	George	Pianoforte-maker	Henrietta St. Manchester Sq. 31	5 D	
104	Maguire	James	Engineer	Wells St. Oxford St. 14	5 D	A5B5C5D5
105	Millikin	W. J.	Painter	East Harding St.	5 D	
110	McWilliam	Robert	Surveyor	Furnivals Inn 6	20 D	AsBsCsD20
118	McDonald	William	Printer	Craven St. Strand 9	5 D	
130	Millington	George	Clerk	Mansion House Place 1	5 D	A5B5C5D5
130	Musgrave	John	Watch-maker	Bishops Court Old St. 14	5 D	A5B5C5D5
133	Mote	Henry	Teinter	Lower Mall Hammersmith	5 D	A5B5C5
171	Matther	William	Stonemason	Johns Courts Upper East Smithfield 10	5 D	A5
175	Mills	George	Stove-maker	High St. Marylebone 15	10 D	AsB10CsD10
192	Mason	James	Printer	Exmouth St. Spa fields 3	5 D	A5B5C5D5
194	Millikin	John	Surgical- instrument- maker	Strand 301	20 D	AsBsCs
199	Morland	W. K.	Surveyor	Norfolk St. White Chapel 24; 43 Dempsey St. Commercial Rd Castigny Place St Lukes	5 D	A5B5C5D5
251	Mitchell	John	Jeweller	Norman St. Lukes 2	5 D	A5B5
259	Morey	W. H.	Saw-maker	Goldsmiths Hall	5 D	
284	Mills	George	Assayer	at Donkins	5 D	
310	McCombie	William	Engineer	Little Guilford St. Russell 17	5 D	A5B5C5
305	Middleton	James	Clock-maker	Exmouth St. Spa Fields 44	5 D	A5B5C5D5
318	Mountain	John	Carpenter	Warren St. Fitzroy Sq. 9	20 D	AsBsCs
344	Mason	George	Carpenter	Mark Lane 38	10 D	As
363	Murray	John		Coleman St. 68	2.6 D	A2B4C5D5
376	Muller	John	Engraver	Devereux Court Strand 2	5 D	A5B5
384	Mollison	Francis	Chaser	Honduras Mills Old St.	5 D	A5B5C5D5
385	Marshall	J. H.	Veneer-cutter	Edgware Rd 63	5 D	A5B5C5D5
388	Marshall	Thomas	Carver and gilder	Cromer St.	2.6 D	A2B2C2D2
395	Mowall	John	Schoolmaster's son			A2B2

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
408	McSwiny	Eugene	Printer	Cookes Court Carey St.	5	D		
426	Markh.	James	Printer	Clements Inn Passage 14	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
461	Munro	George	Gentleman	Upper Charles St. Northampton Sq. 11	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
476	Montgomery	John	Accountant	London Rd Southwark 3	5	D	A5	
495	Moore	John	Carpenter	Moorfields	5	D		
514	Morris	Joseph	Engraver	Pilgrim St. 1	5	D	A5B5	
578	Miller	James Jun.	Painter and Glazier	Sheppard St. Oxford St.	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
583	Moore	Henry	Carpenter	Prospect Place Grays Inn Rd 3	5	D		
615	McDonald	Robert	Printer	Great Sutton St. 30	5	D	A5	
619	Mackay	John	Engineer	at Perkins Regents Park	5	D		
620	Marshall	John	Clerk	Navy Office	5	D	A5B5C5	
621	Mascall	Edward	Woollen-drapeer	Southampton St. 19	5	D	A5	
1537	Molony	Densies	Clerk	Lincolns Inn Fields 44	5	D		
1585	Mackay	James	Jeweller	Museum St. 42	5	D		
1596	McHughes	John	Cloth-dresser	Bunhill Row	5	D		
1623	McMichall		Shagreen-case-maker	Plumtree St. 23	5	D		
1626	Monton	James	Millwright	Chiswell St.	5	D		
1654	Melbourne	P. W.	Gentleman	President St. Goswell St. 3	5	D		
1663	McClinche	Hutch"	Cabinet-maker	Duke St. Lincolns Inn Fields 2	5	D	A5	
1674	Mason	Matthew	Printer	Spur St. Leicester Sq. 6; 3 Francis St. Golden Sq.	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1705	Macduff	John	Turner	Bedford St. Bedford Row 6	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1731	Molineux	W.	Printer	Breams Buildings	20	D	AsBsCs	
1744	Muller	D. G.	Accountant	Lambs Conduit Passage 4	5	D	A20BsCsDs	
1746	Muller	J. F.	Accountant	Lambs Conduit Passage 4	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1749	Murray	James		Mark Lane 38	2.6	D	A5	
1754	McLean	Alexander	Cabinet-maker	Poland St. 45	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1769	Masters	George	Printer	More St. Hackney	5	D	A5	
1783	Meyer	Anthony	Engineer	Gravel Lane Houndsditch 3	5	D	A5	
1785	McLoran		Book-binder	Marshall St. Golden Sq. 2	5	D		
1786	Mackie	Thomas C.	Watch-maker	Little Charlotte St. Blackfriars 2	20	D	AsBsCsD5	A5
1788	Moss	George	Framework-knitter	Wood St. Cheapside 119	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1796	McLean	Charles	M. D.	Beaufort Buildings 5	20	D	AsBsCs	
1826	Moore	P. C.	Gentleman	Doctors Commons	20	D	AsBsCs	
1842	Milner	Peter	Actuary	Inn Court Cornhill	20	D	AsBsCs	
1868	Miller	Thomas	Tea-dealer	Great St. Helens 3	5	D		
1872	Meredith	John	Clerk	Ballicourt Place St. Johns St. 5; 55 Westmorland Place City Rd	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1875	McNolty	Matthew	Clerk	Chenies St. Bedford Row 1	5	D	A5B5C5	
1888	Mitan	Samuel	Engraver	Polygon Sommers Town 2	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1950	Morgan	Thomas	Joiner	Macclesfield St. City Rd	5	D		
1900	Mayhew	Samuel	Builder	Camberwell	20	D	AsBsCs	
1906	McKenzie	Alexander	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Birds Row Islington 9	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1925	Mountain	Joseph	Wine Merchant	Goswell St. 65	20	D	AsBsCs	
1932	Morley	George	Carpenter	Richmond St. Lambeth 35	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1969	McLarn	John	Tin-plate-worker	Jumper Yard Park St. Southwark	5	D	A5B5	
764	Martineau	John	Engineer	City Road	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1994	Morland	John	Mason	Clothfair 21	5		A	
1997	Morris	James	Clerk	Vincent Sq. Westminster 41	5	D	A5B5C5B5D5	
2017	McDonald	Andrew	Carpenter	James St. Sidmouth St. 3; 54 Berwick St. Soho	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2022	McFarlane	Andrew	Assistant Secretary	London Mechanics Institution	5		A B5	
2055	Miller	Hugh	Clerk	Nicholas Lane 23	5		A	
2066	Matthews	John	Clerk	Kirby St. Hatton Garden 24	20		A BsCsDs	
2084	Manley	John	Carpenter	Tabernacle Walk 61	20		A BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
2093	Mellor	William Ellis	Boot-maker	Silver St. Golden Sq.	5		A B5C5D5	
2101	Marshall	Charles	Gentleman	Honduras Wharf	5		A B5	
2143	Moody	Benjamin	Mason	Regent St. Westminster 38	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2148	Mollet	John	Confectioner	Skinner St. 54	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5
2181	Male	Samuel	Law-stationer	Shelborn Court 14	5		A B5C5	
2153	Moreland	John	Oil broker	Old St. 19	5		A B5C5	
2165	Matthews	Matthew Charles	Clerk	Long Acre 58	5		A	
2184	Mullings	John	Carver	Foley St. 16	5		A	
2185	Morgan	Charles	Printer	Cold Bath Sq. 8	5		A B5C5	
2052	Mason	Alfred	Carpenter	Church Court Clements Lane 2	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2229	Mann	John	Carpenter	Middletons Buildings Foley Place 1	5		A	
2237	Marlow	William	Carpenter	St Johns St. Rd; 37 Great Chart St., East Lane, City Rd	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2252	Michell	D.	Cabinet-maker	Southwark	5		A B5	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
2270	McFarlane	James	Engineer	Isabella St. Christchurch1	5		A	
160	Martin	Thomas	Printer	Cornwall Place Waterloo Bridge 23	5	D	A5B5C5	A5
156	Marsh	Joseph	Jeweller	Upper Rosomans St. Clerkenwell 10	20	D	AsBsCsD5	
2275	Morgan	Thomas	Dairyman	Henry St. Doughty St. 14	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2324	Mullett	James	Stockbroker	Paradise St. Rotherhithe	5		A B5C5	
2365	Matthew	Thomas	Gentleman	Church St. Paddington 2	20		A BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
2366	McKerman	Henry	Calico printer	Thomas St. Stamford St. 20	5		A	
2375	Morison	Alexander	Gentleman	Dukes Row Tavistock Sq. 5	20		A BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
2384	Miller	James	Carpenter	John St. Tottenham Court Rd 94	20		B CsDs	AsB5C5
2388	Mannin	William	Clerk	Drury Lane 153	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2390	Morgan	William	Surveyor	Wardour St.	5		B	
2429	Morley	Robert	Clerk	Perry St. St Pancras 13	5		B	
2430	Morley	William	Clerk	Perry St. St Pancras 13	5		B	
2439	May	Harry	Musical-instrument-maker	Holborn Bars 11	10		B CsD10	AsB10Cs
2444	Mallett	William	Hat-maker	Shoreditch 12	5		B	
2476	Mitchell	James	Jeweller	Great Sutton St. 31	5		B	
2493	Moriarty	J.	Leather-cutter	Wardour St.	5		B	
2502	Mitchell	William	Apprentice to Mr Darnell	White Lion St. Pentonville	2.6		B C2D2	A2
2507	McCabe	William	Clerk	Ironmonger Row	5		B	
2521	Morton	Henry S.	Clerk	East St. Red Lion Sq. 2	5		B C5D5	
2537	McMichael	James	Shagreen-case-maker	Plumtree St. Bloomsbury 23	5		B	
2551	Milton	Benjamin	Clerk	Balicourt Place St Johns St. Rd 5	5		B C5	
2554	Mason	Thomas	Druggist	Aldersgate St. 40	5		B C5D5	A5B5
2555	Marsland	John	Druggist	Union St. Borough 91	5		B C5D5	A5B5
2576	Morley	William	Smith	Dacre St. Westminster 1	5		B	
2629	Mullett	John	Gentleman	Museum St.	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2653	Morley	John	Cutler	Leadenhall St. 42	20		B CsDs	As
2664	McCabe	John	Furrier	St Martins Lane 55	5		B C5D5	A5B5
2687	McLare	Samuel	Gentleman	Cheapside 140	20		B CsDs	As
2693	Millington	Edward		Tottenham Court Rd	20		B CsDs	As
2704	Mills	Thomas	Plumber etc	Museum St. 40	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2742	McArthur	Samuel	Boot-maker	Carey St. 51	10		B Cs	
2747	Milliken	John	Printer	East Harding St.	5		B C5	
	Meikelam	Robert	Civil engineer	Furnivals Inn	20	D	AsBsCs	
2757	Milne	Thomas	Engineer	Bedford Row	5		B	
309	Munro	Benjamin	Watch-maker	Moor St.Soho	20	D	AsBsCs	
2779	Morris	William	Matrass-maker	Princes St. Leicester Sq. 66	5		B C5	
		Henry						
2822	Moore	Henry	Calico Printer	St Pauls Church yard 35	5		B	
2849	McPhail	Charles	Watch-maker and jeweller	St Pauls Church yard 54	20		B CsDs	As
2854	Mott	Richard Dixon	Fish-monger	Grays Inn Passage 2	20		B CsDs	As
2910	Maclean	John B.	Bookseller	Little Queen St. Holborn 14	5		C	
2193	Mundin	John	Brass-founder	Bowling Green Lane Clerkenwell 32	5		C D5	A5B5C5
2928	Morgan	Thomas Jun.	Member's son	Henry St. Doughty St. 10	5		C D5	AsBsCs
2930	May	George M.	Carpenter	Union St. Borough 91	5		C D5	A5B5C5
2944	Mason	William	Law-stationer	Serles Place Carey St. 18	20		C Ds	AsBs
2961	Mothersole	Thomas	Printer	Dean St. Fetter Lane 8	5		C	
2966	Morris	Joseph	Upholsterer	St Pauls Church Yard 26	5		C D5	A5B5C5
2987	Monro	William	Engineer	Bankside	20		C Ds	AsBs
3019	Murphy	Thomas	Merchant	Camden St. Camden Town 9	20		C Ds	AsBs
3031	Mace	Lewis	Printer	Villier St. Strand 32	5		C	
3050	Metcalfe	Thomas	Draper	Conduit St. Bond St.	5		C	
3051	Myer	Richard	Gentleman	Wapping St. 32	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3076	Morse	John	Tailor	Cork St. 4	10		C Ds	
3086	Morland	Richard	Engineer	Old St.	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3110	Mellet	M.	Gentleman	Castle St. Liester Sq. 25 [Leicester]	5		C	
	[Mellete]							
3123	Munro	George	Printer	Grosvenor Market 19	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3117	McCullock	Alexander	Dentist	Montagu Place 19	5		C	
3136	Muston	James Hoskins	Warehouseman	Hatton Garden 81	20		C Ds	AsBs
3179	Martin	Henry	Engraver	Swinton St. 8	5		C	
3191	Mann	Robert	Book-binder	Southampton Buildings 46	5		C	
3194	Mills	Richard	Brass-founder	Well St. Oxford St.	20		C Ds	AsBs
3195	Mills	Daniel	Brass-founder	Well St. Oxford St.	20		C Ds	AsBs
3199	Mullins	Charles	Engraver	Suffolk St. Pall Mall East 2	20		C Ds	AsBs
3207	Morris	John	Painter	Mount St. Grosvenor Sq. 99	10		C Ds	A10BsC10Ds
3208	Morris	Robert	Member's son Painter	Mount St. Grosvenor Sq. 99	10		C Ds	A5BsC5Ds



No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
3218	May	Thomas	Clerk	Charlotte St. Clerkenwell 1	5		C	
3277	Marshall	Thomas	Gentleman	College Hill 22	5		C	
3279	Macpherson	Phillip	Clerk	Haughton Sq. Clare Market	5		C	
3283	Muddock	James	Gentleman	Craven St. Hoxton	5		C D5	A5B5
3285	Metcalfe	William	Clerk	Holborn 2	10		C Ds	A20BsCsDs
3294	Muddock	George	Painter and Glazier	Red Lion St. Holborn 53	5		C D5	A5
3295	Minte	Frederick	Silversmith	Banbury Row Islington	5		C	
3303	Mawman	John	Tailor	Dorset St. Fleet St. 64; 14 New St. Sq.	5		C D5	
3304	Morton	James	Clerk	Shafts Court Leadenhall St.	5		C D5	
3361	Mitchell	John	Watch-maker	Bond St. Clerkenwell Rd	5		C	
3410	McBride	William	Tailor	Hemming Row St Martins 16	5		C	
3411	Marshall	Henry	Haberdasher	Newgate St. 79	5		C D5	A5
3399	Mosley	Richard	Watch-maker	Fetter Lane 113	10		C Ds	
3481	Matthews	Charles	Paper-hanger	Castle St. Holborn 11	10		C Ds	A5
3509	Matthews	William	Mathematician	High St. Marylebone 52	5		C D5	
		Peter						
3483	Muddock	James Jun.	Member's son	Craven St. Hoxton	2.6		C D2	A2
3559	Modral	William	Joiner	Adams Row Hampstead Rd 7	5		C	
3561	Mason	William	Plumber and Glazier	Gutter Lane Cheapside	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3568	Merrick	Henry	Cabinet-maker	St Johns Sq.	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3581	Mead	Samuel	Joiner	Richmond Buildings	5		C D5	
3541	Mallett	Robert	Shoe-maker	Globe Terrace Balls Pond 4	5		C D5	
3538	Manderson	William	Book-binder	Strand Lane 1	5		C	
3581	McGill	John	Carpenter	William St. Hampstead Rd 34	5		C	
3582	Mavey	John	Plumber etc.	Baldwin's Gardens 14	5		C D5	
3411	Mitchell	John	Printer	Henry St. Grays Inn Lane 8	5		D	
379	Matthews	Richard	Stationer	High Holborn 38	20		D	AsBsCs
3627	Mackenzie	John	Goldsmith	Marys Place Somers Town 14	5		D	A5B5C5
3632	Martin	Joseph	Carpenter	Drummond St. Somers Town 8	5		D	A5B5C5
3634	Miller	Frederick	Coach-maker	Bains Place Cold Bath Sq. 8	5		D	A5
3643	Mayer	Antonio	Engineer	Wynatt St. Clerkenwell 22	5		D	
3644	March	Samuel	Bricklayer	Willington St. St Lukes 16	5		D	A5B5
		William						
3678	Mountain	James	Cabinet-maker	Douglass St. Westminster 33	5		D	A5B5C5
3682	Morgan	Benjamin	Herald-painter	North St. Marylebone 27	5		D	
3724	Morley	Ebenizer		Dorset St. Fleet St. 84	5		D	A5
3727	Morrison	Thomas		Leigh St. Red Lion Sq. 9	5		D	A5B5C5
3746	Morian	John	Water-gilder	Ship place Temple Bar	5		D	
3764	Molee	P. H.	Watch-maker	St John Sq. 16	5		D	A5B5
3870	Machin	George	Cutler	Leadenhall St. 76	5		D	
3873	Murray	James	Printer	Margaret St. Pentonville	5		D	A5B5C5
3874	Mattress	William	Printer	Fleet St. 117	5		D	A5B5C5
3875	Milne	John	Painter	Vine St. Clerkenwell 6	5		D	
3879	Morris	William	Engineer	Commercial buildings Blackfriars Rd 6	5		D	
3886	Marsden	John	Carpenter	Acton St. Grays Inn Lane 6	5		D	A5
	Millington	John	Professor of Natural Philosophy etc	Bloomsbury Sq.	40	Ds	AsBsCsD40	AsBsCs
3822	Morris	James	Member's son		2.6		D	A5BsC5Ds
3843	Maddin	James	Smith	Ironmonger St. 34	5		D	
3934	Murdock	James	Vinegar-maker	Bethnal Green	5		D	A5B5
3958	Muston	George	Watch-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 18	20		D	AsBsCs
3981	Mason	Joseph	Hairdresser	St Martins Lane	5			A
4004	McLean	John	Bookseller	Little Queen St. 14	5			A
4012	Mills	Henry	Carpenter	Goswell St.	5			A
4033	Medlicott	Frederick	Cellar-man	Poppins Court Fleet St. 13	5			A B5
4034	Moss	Matthew H.	Spirit dealer	Vine St. Chandos St. 1	5			A
4035	Miller	George	Clerk	Eaton St. Pimlico 7	5			A
4060	Monro	William	Printer	Little Coram St. 15	5			A
4069	Moulder	John	Cutler	Charles St. Covent Garden 17	5			A
4085	Murray	Robert	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Regent St. St James's 122	5			A
4086	Murray	R. Charles	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Regent St. St James's 122	5			A
4090	Mellor	Austin	Chemist	Wells St. Oxford St. 18	5			A
4134	Marion	Thomas	Water gilder	Ship place Temple Bar	5			A B5
4135	Marion	Emanuel	Musician	Ship place Temple Bar	5			A B5
4149	Marsh	William	Engineer	Castle St. Leicester Sq.	5			A
4171	Moss	Henry	Clerk	Crown Court Broad St.	5			A B5
4187	Mason	Thomas	Tailor	Chapel St. Bedford Row 3	5			A
4197	Mettall	Peter Austin	L. L. D.	Brook St. Lambeth	5			A

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824 1825	1826
4200	Menzies	John	Watch- escapement- maker	Kensington	5	A B5
4236	Morgan	Charles	Stationer	Bell Sauvage Yard 9	5	A B5C5
4238	March	John	Builder	Wellington St. St Lukes 16	5	A
4240	Muston	Charles	Watch-case-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 18	5	A
4264	Moore	John	Private teacher	Dowgate Hill	5	A B5C5
4268	Mullett	James	Stockbroker	Rotherhithe	5	A
4290	Magnus	James	Joiner	Harrison St. Grays Inn Rd 4	5	A B5C5
4295	Middleton	William		Lambs Conduit St.	5	A
4298	Moorby	George	Spinner	Oxford St. 76	5	A
4306	Martin	Charles	Clerk	Hunter St. Brunswick Sq. 21	5	A
4316	Morgan	Edward	Member's son	Henry St. Doughty St. 10	2.6	A B2C2
4335	Marchant	George	Carpenter	Old Bailey Court 43	5	A B5
4422	Myland	William	Upholsterer	Green St. Grosvenor Sq. 23	5	A
4439	Milestone	James	Gentleman	Fetter Lane 34	5	A B5C5
4452	Mackintosh	John	Cabinet-maker	Brook St. New Rd 26	5	A B5
4463	Mosley [Masley]	Richard	Jeweller	Castle St. Holborn 39	5	A
4471	May	Thomas	Artist	Strand 161	5	A B5C5
4481	McFayden	William	Upholsterer	Carburton St. Fitzroy Sq. 21	5	B C5
4505	Morris	William	Carver	Crescent Place 27	5	A
4506	Mirchell	Richard	Carver	Carrington Place Mayfair	5	A
4563	Mellows	Frederick	Clerk	Upper Edmund St. St Pancras	5	B
	Martineau	John	Engineer V. P.	City Rd		
4570	Miller	William	Painter	Grange Court Cary St. 2	5	B C5
4601	Moore	Joshua	Letter founder and printer	Quadrant Regent St. 84	5	B
4613	Merelie	John	Iron-monger	Dean St. Soho 64	5	B
4628	Mitchell	David	Mason	Creed Lane St Pauls 2	5	B C5
4631	Mathison	Daniel	Printer	Stamford St. Cornwall Rd 17	5	B
4632	Mawe	J. H.	Surgical- instrument- maker	Aldermanbury 55	20	B CsDs
4637	Meek	George	Pianoforte-maker	Queen St. Soho 8	5	B C5
4656	Morrison	James	Printer	Hosier Lane Smithfield 9	5	B
4659	Maxwell	George	Painter	Frederick Place Hampstead Rd 32	5	B
4671	Mullens	John	Tin-foil manufacturer	Union Buildings Leather Lane 8	20	B CsDs
4677	Matthews	Luke		Lime St.	5	B
4718	Mullett	Robert		Holborn 300	20	B CsDs
4719	Morris	Luke	Clerk	Goswell St. Rd 3	5	B C5
		William				
4736	Mannin	William	Clerk	John St. Blackfriars 38	5	C
		Carlton				
4739	Mande	Henry C.	Merchant's Clerk	Waterloo Rd 9	5	C
4742	Mannin	Archibald		John St. Holland St. Blackfriars 38	5	C
4770	Murgatroyd	Samuel	Bookseller etc	Cromer St. Brunswick Sq. 31	5	C
4772	Marchant	James	Compositor	Mount Pleasant 7	5	C
4798	Meek	Charles	Coach-maker	Great New St. Fetter Lane 25	5	C
4812	Methnish	Samuel	Boot-maker	Lambs Conduit St. 53	5	C
4814	Murdoch	Henry	Merchant	Newington Rd	5	C
4833	Marshall		Oilman	Cursitor St.	5	C
4835	Monro	William	Carpenter	Marchmount Pl. Little Coram St. 13	5	C
4915	Miller	William	Painter	Grosvenor Market 19	5	C
4920	Moore	Robert	Gentleman	Southampton St. 11	5	C
		Ogilby				
4902	Martin	Thomas	Surgical- instrument- maker	Aldermanbury 55	5	C
4859	Murray	William	Pianoforte-maker	Howland St. 5	5	C
4865	McIntosh	John	Carver	Clipstone St. 22	5	C
4872	Musgrave	John				
4888	Marshall	Thomas	Seal-engraver	Hatton Garden 46	5	C
4945	Melhuish	William	Baker	Henrietta St. Manchester Sq. 14	5	C
4965	Machin	George	Cutler	Leadenhall St.	5	C
4969	Meller	William	Jeweller	Oxford St. 342	5	C
4974	Mitchell	Abraham	Cabinet-maker	Red Lion St. 50	5	C
4975	Murray	James	Builder	Castle St. Oxford St. 36	5	C
4979	Mason	Richard	Whip-maker	Wild St. 12	5	C
4994	Matthewman	Benjamin	Plumber	Jermyn St. 126	5	C
4996	Minett	Jonathan	Clerk	New Sq. Lincolns Inn 10	5	C
5018	Moody	Benjamin	Statuary	Red Lion Place 2	5	C
125	Norwood	William	Jeweller	Old North St. Red Lion Sq 3	20	D AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs
151	Nichols	John	Printer	Margaret St. Spa fields 12	5	D A5B5C5D5 A5B5C5
179	Niven	Andrew	printer	Berkeley St. Clerkenwell 19	5	D
279	Nash	Eliezer	Jeweller	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell	20	D AsBsCsD20 AsBsCs

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
389	Nash	Joseph	Oil and Colourman	Fetter lane 54	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
386	Nicholson	James	Solicitor	Percy St. Bedford Sq. 27	5	D	A5	
412	Newton	Robert	Carver	George St. Lambeth 18	5	D	A5	
571	Newman	Robert	Mathematical- instrument-maker	South St. New Rd 16	5	D	A5	
586	Nash	Ebenezer	Tallow-chandler	Aldersgate St.	5	D		
1079	Newbury	Robert	Paper-stainer	Hemlock Court Carey St. 3	20	D	AsBsCs	
1081	Nicholas	David	Carpenter	Great Queen St. Westminster 6	20	D	AsBsCs	
1562	Nanson	Thomas	Painter	Bath Buildings City Rd 1	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1574	Norris	Charles	Weaver	City Rd 35	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1587	Nelson	George	Smith	Carey St. 61	5	D		
1599	Noble	N.	Engineer	Grange Place Bermondsey 1	5	D		
1739	North	John	Carpenter	St Martins St. Leicester Sq. 11	5	D		
1856	Norman	John	Clerk Imperial Gas works	Battle Bridge Stationer	5	D	A5	
1934	Nichols	Richard	Warehouseman	Maiden Lane Wood St. Cheapside 12	20		A BsCsDs	A5B5C5
2005	Nichols	William S.	Member's son	Maiden Lane Wood St. Cheapside 12	20		A BsCsDs	A5B5C5
2068	Newton	Edward	Apprentice to W. R. Morland, Painter	Whitechapel	2.6		A B2	
2092	Nicholson	G.	Clerk	Park St. Islington 46	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5
2108	Nicoll	James	Engineer	Wardrobe Terrace	5		A	
2109	Nicoll	John	Engineer	Wardrobe Terrace	5		A	
2231	Nicholson	W. W.	Iron-monger	Union St. Borough 189	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2356	Newman	Joseph W.	Printer	Mile End Rd	5		A B5C5	
2368	Nicholson	William	Engineer	Cornhill 22	20		A BsCsDs	
2490	Nicols	R. Shaw		Maiden Lane City 12	5		B C10Ds	A5B5C5
2543	Nicholson	Joseph George	Clerk	St Johns St. Rd 27	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2587	Nanson	John	Clerk	Camberwell	5		B C5D5	A5
2612	Newton	John	Cork-cutter	St Johns St. 50	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2667	Nicholas	Charles	Carpenter	Dartmouth St. Westminster 8	10		B Cs	
2725	Newcomb	Christopher	Clerk	Money Order Office G. Post Office	5		B C5D5	A5
2729	Nixon	Henry	Carpenter	Warwick Lane Newgate St. 7	5		B C5D5	
2731	Newcomb	James	Manufacturer of Card board ornaments	Northampton St. Clerkenwell 51	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2768	Norris	Richard	Attorney	Inner Temple	20		B CsDs	As
2869	Noden	Stephen	Hearth Key Manufacturer	Baldwins Gardens	20		B CsDs	As
3034	Newbury	Benjamin William Charles	Accountant	Broad St. 58	5		B	
3064	Norton	Theophilus	Linen-draper	Conduit St. Bond St. 20	5		B C5	A5
3206	Newman	Thomas	Brush manufacturer	Walworth	5		B	
3209	Noble	William	Carpenter	Oxford market	20		B CsDs	As
3249	Nelms	Richard	Clerk	Tottenham Court Rd 200	20		B CsDs	As
3298	Nye	Thomas	Smith	Falconberg Court Soho	5		C D5	
3318	Newbury	George	Accountant	Upper Marylebone St. 54	5		C D5	
3320	Newbury	John	Artist	Upper Marylebone St. 54	5		C	
3389	Nelms	Richard	Engraver	St James's Walk Clerkenwell 20	5		C	
3499	Nicolay	Thomas F.	Gentleman	Grafton St. Berkeley Sq. 23	20		C Ds	AsBs
3050	Nutcher	Charles	Compositor	Leather Lane 24	5		D	
3560	Nicholas	John	Gentleman	King St. Holborn 32	20		D	AsBsCs
3706	Nieson	John	Musical- instrument-maker	Whisler St 3; 48 Howland St.	5		D	A5B5
3969	Nowland	J. C.	Clerk	Grays inn Lane 7	5		D	A5
3972	Morton	John	Mathematical- instrument- maker	Pentonville	5		D	
4022	Newcombe	Joseph	Watch-maker	Great Turnstile Holborn 9	5			A
4029	Nixon	John	Stonemason	Brook St. Holborn 35	5			A B5
4218	Newton	Edward	Printer	St George's Terrace Commercial Rd	5			A
4477	Nelson	Robert	Draftsman	Greece St. Rathbone Place 26	5			A
4489	Nicholl	John		Portland St. 117	20			B CsDs
4544	Neave	William	Carpenter	Exmouth St. Euston Sq. 10	5			B C5
4561	Nixon	William	Carpenter	Kings Palace St. James's Walk	5			B C5
4655	Nichol	Peter	Clerk	Peters Hill Doctor Commons 1	5			B C5
4813	Nott	James A.	Painter	Parish St. Horsley Down	5			C
4822	Neeves	William	Philosophical- instrument- maker	Great St Andrew St. 16	5			C
4982	Nott	John	Brewer	Cold Bath Sq.	5			C

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
5064	Nutting	John	Apprentice mathematical instrument-maker	Fleet St. 136	2.6			C
200	O'Connor	James	Compositor Member's son	Dove St. St John's Square	2.6	D	A2B2C2D2	A2
350	O'Connor	Jeremiah	Compositor	Dove St. St John's Sq.	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1582	Onion	James	Jeweller	Charles St. Hatton Garden	5	D		
1658	Ovenden	Alfred	Engraver	Brays Place Lower Rd Islington 1	5	D		
1667	Olilver	Isaac	Ornamental painter	Upper John St. Fitzroy Sq. 52	5	D	B5	A5 C5
1680	Oldershaw	William	Bricklayer	Great Knight Rider St. 3	5	D		
1748	O'brien	Joseph	Clerk	St Pauls Church Yard 1	5	D		
1772	Oliver	John	Black-smith	Wapping Wall 56	5	D		
1858	O'Neil	Francis	Reporter	Angel Inn City Rd	5	D		
2098	Ogg	George	Gentleman	Kensington	20		A BsCsDs	
2034	Oates	Henry	Carpenter	Kings Head Court Lincolns Inn Fields 5	5		A	
2535	O'Halloran	John	Hairdresser	Whitfield St. Finsbury	5		B	
159	Oxford	Isaac		Foundry Place Pitfield St. Hoxton 10	5		B	
2626	Orlton	James John	Gentleman	Great Surry St.	5		B	
	Ottey	Edward	Tavern-keeper	Crown and Anchor Strand	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
2699	Oades	Joseph	Clerk	Edward St. Blackfriars Rd 31	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2719	Ogden	John	Compositor	Vernon Place Bloomsbury	5		B	
2735	Oliver	Isaac						
2883	Owen	Frederic	Hair manufacturer	Queens Sq. Moorfields 8	20		B CsDs	As
2884	Orchard	James	Solicitor	Grays Inn Sq.	5		B	
3125	Oates	James	Compositor	Chandos St. Covent Garden 31	5		B	
3325	Oram	Samuel	Clerk	Old Sq. Lincoln's Inn 19	5		C D5	A5B5
3365	Oakley	Andrew	Engraver	St James's St. Clerkenwell 7	5		B	
3545	Orton	John	Hosier	Great Surey St.	5		C D5	A5
3575	O'Brien	William	Law student	Lincoln's Inn	10		B Cs	
3809	Owers	William	Victualler	Broad way Blackfriars	5		D	
3819	O'brien	William	Clerk	Coram St. Russell St.	5		D	
4005	O'Le...y [O'Leary]	Cornelius	Silk-weaver	New St. Golden Sq. 13	5			A
	splodge							
4077	Oliver	Isaac						
4321	Oldrew	Benjamin	Tailor	Great Pultney St. 16	5			A B5C5
4369	Owen	Henry	Draper	Mount St. 6	5			A
4415	Ong	Samuel	Carpenter	Acton St. Grays Inn Lane 6	5			A
4847	Osmond	George	Gun-maker	Bury St. Chelsea 11	5			C
5032	Oliver	Isaac						
5120	Oliver	Evan	Cooper	Wells St. Oxford St. 65	5			C
101	Preston	James	Pianoforte-maker	Bayham St. Camden Town 5	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs5
		Michael						
105	Porter	Richard	Dentist	Regent St. St James's 19	20	D	AsBsCs	
119	Poole	Henry	Mason	Princes St. Westminster 16	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
123	Pearsall	Thomas J.	Teinter	Birch's Place Symons Inn 9	5	D	A5B5C5D5	B20CsDs
130	Parry	James	Shoe-maker	Castle St. Finsbury Sq. 4	20	D	AsBsCs	
181	Pickard	Alfred	Dyer	Fitchets Court Newgate St.	5	D	A5B5C5	
197	Pillow	William	Book-binder	Savoy Strand 1	5	D	A5	
		Henry						
210	Pickering	John	Painter	Bridgwater Gardens Aldersgate St.	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
226	Palmer	J. G.	Watch-maker	London Wall 3; 2 Fenchurch St.	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
474	Pitt	Charles	Architect	Pulteney St. Pentonville 16	5	D		
282	Potter	Charles	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Paternoster Row 61	5	D	A5B5C5	
364	Pritchard	Andrew	Optician; Mechanical Draftsman	Upper Thornhaugh St. 52;18 Picket St. Strand	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
433	Packer	John	Printer	York St. Blackfriars 20	5	D		
476	Paradise	Thomas	Fringe-maker	Newgate St. 52	5	D	A5B5C5	
303	Preston	Samuel	Teacher	Constitution Row Grays Inn Rd	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
520	Plato	Richard	Jeweller	Hoxton town	5	D	A5	
525	Patterson	Robert	Soap-maker	Thames St. 101	20	D	AsBsCsD5	A5
541	Parry	Charles	Hatter	Bermondsey St. 281	20	D	AsBsCsD5	A5
614	Peak	W. Henry		Great Trinity Lane	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5
616	Poyner	Joseph	Carpenter	Denmark Yard Hatton Garden 7	5	D	A5	
488	Pye	William	Turner	Shrewsbury Court White Cross St. 10	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
582	Pashen	George	Smith	Old St. 16	5	D	A5	
623	Parsonage		Baker	Cloth Fair	20		A BsCsDs	A5B5C5
626	Peacock	Joseph	Cabinet-maker	Grays Inn Lane 18	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
704	Padley	Paul	Surveyor	Thavies Inn 3	5		A	
763	Pavyer	Benjamin	Type-founder	Eden Place Hoxton Old Town	20	D	AsBsCs	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
901	Place	Ferderick	Tailor	Charing Cross	20	D	AsBsCsD5	A5B5C5
902	Place Jun.	Francis	Tailor	Charing Cross	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1084	Payne	H. C.	Builder	Golden Terrace Wh. Cont Fields 13	20	D	AsBsCs	
1083	Pasquier	W.	Carpenter	St Johns St. 120	20	D	AsBsCsD5	A5B5C5
1531	Pritchard	Henry	Clerk	Leonard St. Shoreditch 82	5	D	A5B5C5	A5
1538	Philipe	George Peter	Solicitor	Myddleton St. Wilmington Sq.	20	D	AsBsCsD5	A5B5C5
1588	Phare	George	Gentleman	Kent Rd	5	D	A5B5 D5	A5B5C5
1637	Pearce	Thomas	Stationer	Gloucester St. Hoxton 18	10	D	As	
1672	Pettit	Charles	Chaser	Devereux Court Strand 18	2.6	D	A2B2C5D5	A5B5C5
1679	Postance	Rowland	Brass-founder	Hatton Wall 23	5	D		
1681	Perry	David	Printer	Wine Office Court Fleet St. 4	5	D		
1695	Piper	Thomas	Printer	Castle St. Holborn 11	5	D	A5	
1706	Proctor	Henry	Cutler	Barton St. Westminster 12	5	D		
1715	Pringle	James	Builder	Quadrant Regent St. 66	20	D	AsBsCs	
1727	Plimpton	George	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Surry Row Blackfriars 46	5	D		
1729	Peirce	Charles	Gentleman	Coleman St. 18	20	D	AsBsCs	
1741	Porter	Richard Jun.	Dentist	Regent St. 19	20	D	AsBsCs	
1573	Plush	James	Plumber	Chancery Lane 30	20	D	AsBsCs	
1773	Paradise	Frederick	Jeweller	Great Sutton St. 34	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1779	Papworth	Thomas	Sadler	Tothill St. Westminster 75	5	D	A5	
1789	Pargeter	Hanbury	Clerk	Wormwood St. 17	5	D		
1791	Palmer	Richard	Smith	Batemans Row Shoreditch	5	D		
1792	Palmer	Richard Jun.	Smith	Batemans Row Shoreditch	2.6	D		
1793	Page	James	China-man	Grays Inn Lane 109	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1811	Paglar	Samuel	Carpenter	Fetter Lane 36	5	D		
1819	Payne	C. B.		Golden Terrace White Conduit Fields 13	5	D		
1821	Pollock	David	Barrister	Lincolns Inn Fields 40	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1827	Peirson	Joseph	Goldsmith	Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell 11	5	D	A5B5	
1844	Peirson	Joseph Jun.	Goldsmith	Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell 11	2.6	D		
1884	Puttock	Charles	Warehouseman	Hoxton Lane 216	5	D	A5B5	
1905	Pivie	Robert	Baker	Fetter Lane 84	20	D	AsBsCs	
1913	Pirie [Pivie]	Robert	Plasterer	Charlotte St. Pimlico 6	5	D		
1995	Pearse	William	Smith	Smiths Buildings City Rd 16	5		A B5	
2004	Powell	John	Gentleman	Clements Lane 15; 13 New Boswell Cr; 18 Cobham Place Upper Shipton St. Finsbury	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2013	Porteous	William	Upholsterer	Mount St. Grosvenor Sq. 119	5		A	
2057	Palmer	Robert	Printer	Denmark Court Strand 11	5		A	
2044	Pratt	Benjamin	Grocer	Judd St. 78	5		A	
2051	Pugh	John	Clerk	James St. Bedford Row 18	5		A	
2072	Pinkham	William	Tin-plate-worker	Cleveland St. Fitzroy Sq. 15	5		A	
2085	Price	Philip	Whitesmith	Bell Sq. Moorfields 5	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2107	Pittway	John	Cabinet-maker	Kirby St. 4	5		A B5C5	
2144	Pridie	Hampden Steven	Gun-maker	Cock Court Jewry St. Aldgate 4	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2146	Parsons	Thomas	Carpenter	North St. City Rd 21	5		A	
2159	Prime	George	Cabinet-maker	Gastigny Place City Rd 6	5		A B5	
2200	Paradise	Benjamin	Vellum-binder	Lawrence Lane Cheapside 71	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5
2179	Potter	Thomas	Tallow-chandler	Crawford St. 73	20		A BsCsDs	
79	Phillips	Richard	Wheel-wright	Addle Hill	5		A	
2211	Pratt	William	Apprentice to John Broughton	Swan Holborn Bridge	2.6		A	
2216	Payne	John	Cabinet-maker	South St. South Audley St. 18	5		A	
2232	Price	James	Silversmith	Bolt Court 4	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2240	Parry	Frederick	Printer	Little Moorfields 8	5		A B5C5	
2269	Paterson	George	Machinist	Webb St. Lambeth 51	5		A	
2242	Pritchard	G.	Painter	Little New St. Shoe Lane 12	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2281	Pastorelle	F.	Barometer	Baldwins Gardens	20		A BsCsDs	
2308	Pearson	John	Iron-monger	Haw Court Upper Thames St.	5		A	
2326	Porter	S.	Plumber etc	Cross Court Blackfriars Rd 3	5		A	
2351	Perkins	Nathaniel	Engineer	Fleet St. 69	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2380	Pitt	William	Clerk	Edgware Rd 92	5		A	
2451	Penney	Thomas	in the Law	Cheapside 132	5		B C5	
2505	Pearson	Abraham	Clerk	Bunhill Row	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2516	Painter	William	Brass-founder	Cow Cross St. 8	5		B C5D5	
2517	Pritchard	William	Printer	Little Wild St.	5		B C5D5	A5
2499	Povah	John	Butcher	Red Lion St. Holborn	5		B C5	
2531	Phelps	George Henry	Vellum-binder	Martins Lane Cannon St.	20		B CsDs	As
2550	Potbury	Gregory	Upholsterer	Horner St. Pentonville 28	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2552	Peake	John P.	Chemist	Horsley Down	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
2559	Pits	Edmunds	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Queen St. Blackfriars 15	5	B C5D5	
1861	Payne	John	Hat manufacturer	Gracechurch St. 35	5	D	
2542	Potilke	Godfried	Goldsmith	Clifton St. Finsbury 27	5	B C5	
2596	Pendlebury	John	Die-turner	H. M. Mint Turnmill St.	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2602	Palser	Henry	Print-seller	Water Lane Fleet St.	5	B C5	
2608	Partridge	Joseph	Coal merchant	Bankside Southwark	20	B CsDs	As
2609	Partridge	Joseph	Coal merchant	Bankside Southwark	10	B CsD5	A5
2646	Price	Charles	Clothier	Basinghall St. 28	5	B C5D5	
		Hammons					
2651	Penborth	Henry	Cabinet-maker	King St. Clerkenwell 12	5	B C5D5	A5B5
2660	Paterson	William	Boot-maker	Broadway Westminster	5	B	
2714	Pass	William	Dyer	Curtain Rd 121	20	B CsDs	As
2730	Patrick	Mack	Carpenter	Upper North Place Grays Inn Lane 51	5	B C5D5	A5
	Piper	John	Optician	Dolland's St. Pauls Church Yard	20	B CsDs	As
2785	Pownall	William	Gentleman	Staple Inn 8	20	B CsDs	As
2793	Price	Edward	Clothier	Basinghall St. 25	20	B CsDs	As
		William					
2808	Pulsford	Henry A.	Tailor	King St. St James's 4	5	B C5	
2812	Pickard	William	Clerk	Kingsgate St. Red Lion Sq. 16	5	B C5	A5B5C5
2819	Parker	James	Tailor	Gower Place Euston Sq. 40	5	B C5D5	
2820	Pearson	Stephen	Tailor and Draper	Chancery Lane 70	5	B	
2825	Palin	George	Rope-maker	Goswell St. 46	20	B CsDs	As
		Frederick					
2833	Parford	Charles	Printer	Cow Cross	5	B C5	
		Frederick					
2835	Purdy	John	Hydrographer	Tookes Court Chancery Lane	5	B C5D5	A5
2858	Pigg	Anthony	Carpenter	Little Windmill St. 1	5	B	
2871	Page	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Cobourg St. Euston Sq. 12	5	B	
409	Pease	William	Gentleman	Hanover St. Newington	30	D AsBsCsDs	AsB20CsDs
2932	Perry	A. O.	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Great Bath St. Clerkenwell 28	5	C D5	A5B5C5
2929	Place	John	Tailor	Charing Cross 16	5	C D5	A5B5C5
31	Poole	Moses	Gentleman	Patent Office	15	D AsBsC20Ds	AsBsC20Ds
2950	Purnell	William	Smith	Charlton St. Somers Town 22	5	C	
2967	Pickworth	John	Book-binder	Kerby St. Hatton Garden 43	5	C	
2260	Paxton	James	Apprentice to R. Cummings		2.6	A B2C2	
3037	Posford	Joseph	Printer	Pool Terrace City Rd 27	5	C	
2992	Poplett	Henry F.		Jewin St. 10	5	C D5	
3007	Perkins	William	Tailor	Argyll St. Oxford St. 21	20	C Ds	AsBs
3050	Phillips	James	Carpenter	Northumberland St. Strand 1	5	C	
3053	Paterson	George	Machinist	Webber St. Lambeth 51	5	C	
3072	Pearsall	Thomas	Warehouseman	Shaftsbury Place 28	5	C D5	A5B5
141	Page	G. W.	Builder	Southwark Sq.	15	D AsBsC20Ds	AsBs
3084	Pinkham	William	Tin-plate-worker	Dork Sq. Regents Park 29	5	C D5	A5
127	Pegg	Samuel	Iron wharf	Bankside	20	C Ds	AsBs
3065	Palmer	James	Enamel-painter	Richmond St. Bartholomew Sq. St Lukes	5	C	
3115	Painter	William	Printer	Guilford St. East 14	5	C	
3121	Persent	Frederick	Clerk	Tysore St. Spafields 34	5	C D5	
3134	Pridden	William	Tallow-chandler	High St. Borough 77	20	C Ds	AsBs
3135	Pridden	Charles	Member's son	High St. Borough 77	2.6	C D2	A5B5C5
3146	Pitcher	William	Clerk	Charlotte St. Fitzroy Sq. 20	10	C Ds	
		Henry					
3149	Parker	James	Clerk	Old Sq. Lincolns Inn	5	C	
3155	Paterson	William	Coal merchant	South St. Grosvenor Sq.	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3172	Prosser	William	Linen draper	Leonard St.	5	C D5	
3184	Phillips	John	Carpenter	Old St.	20	C Ds	AsBsC20Ds
3157	Palmer	Thomas	Secretary to the London Friendly Society	Newgate St.	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3247	Perman	George	Carpenter	Page St. Westminster	5	C D5	A5B5
3254	Powles	Stephen	Clerk	Westminster gas works	5	C	
3321	Preston	William	Carver	Little George St. Hampstead Rd 35	5	C D5	A5
3322	Preston	Charles	Carver	Little George St. Hampstead Rd 31	5	C D5	A5
3341	Porter	James	Carpenter	Barons Buildings Blackfriars Rd 5	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3342	Periera	Jonathan	Apothecary	Aldersgate St.	5	C	
	[Pemera]						
3343	Periera	Jeremiah	Apothecary	Aldersgate St.	5	C D5	
3353	Puckett	J.	Paper-hanger	Goode St.	5	C	
3354	Pinnock	W. John	Coach-carver	Drury Lane 177	5	C D5	A5
3364	Pope	Roofe	Tailor	Charles St. Hatton Garden 26	10	C Ds	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
3371	Prior	John	Carpenter and turner	Old St. St Lukes	5	C D5	
3401	Pile	John	Carpet manufacturer	George St. Blackfriars	10	C Ds	A5B5C5
3404	Puckett	John George	Artist	Grafton St. Fitzroy Sq. 10	5	C	
3405	Puckett	Charles	Paper-hanger	Grafton St. Fitzroy Sq. 10	5	C	
3395	Philips	B. Joseph	Stationer	Paternoster Row 27	20	C Ds	AsBsC5
3316	Parker	Edward	Printer	High Holborn 110	5	C D5	A5
3484	Pilbrow	Edward	Carpenter	Regent St. Chelsea	5	C	
3498	Pienot	Andre	Watch and clock- maker	Duke St. Adelphi 2	5	C	
3508	Peake	James	Clerk	Leadenhall St. 2	5	C D5	A5
3431	Peppiette	William A.	Jeweller	Fitzroy Place New Rd 19	5	C D5	A5
3554	Parrott	Robert	Gentleman	Leicester Place	5	C	
3460	Price	John	Gentleman	Northumberland Court Strand	5	C	
3565	Puzey	Thomas	Hatter	Titchborne St. Piccadilly	5	C	
3574	Pegion	Henry Clarke	Draftsman	Isleworth Middx	5	C	
311	Papps	Thomas	Gentleman	Charlotte St. Pimlico 1	20	C Ds	AsBs
3053	Proctor	Robert William	Printer	North St. City Rd 53	5	D	
3415	Pratt	William	Book-binder	Brill Row Somers Town 48	5	D	
3583	Price	Edward	Colourman	West Smithfield 53	5	D	A5
3616	Phare	G.					
3619	Powell	James	Gentleman	New Boswell Court	5	D	
3631	Parker	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Bartholomew Close 52	5	D	A5
3734	Peter	C. J.	Jeweller	Red Lion St. Holborn 14	5	D	
3735	Perkinson	Robert	Warehouseman	Ashley St. 3	5	D	
3740	Perkins	William	Carpenter	Allen Terrace Islington 1	5	D	A5B5C5
3780	Pye	Henry	Mathematical- instrument-maker	Nelsons Buildings City Rd 6	5	D	A5
3816	Page	Henry	Cutler	Benjamin St. 3	5	D	
3702	Pratt	James	Painter	Benjamin St. Clerkenwell 4	5	D	A5
3787	Parry	Henry	Tallow-chandler	Fleur de lis Court Norton Falgate 15	5	D	A5
3791	Perkins	William	Trimming-maker	Curtain Rd 61	5	D	
3852	Plaskett	William	Builder	Charlotte Terrace Blackfriars 36	5	D	A5
3884	Proctler	Henry	Surgical- instrument- maker	Burton St. Westminster 12	5	D	A5B5
3835	Page	William	Silversmith	Ludgate Hill	5	D	A5
3848	Preston	William	Apprentice to S. Preston	Harrison St. 5	5	D	
3900	Papworth	Thomas	Gentleman	Tothill St. 75	5	D	
3913	Palmer	John	Cutler	Cattle St. Leicester Sq. 40	5	D	A5B5C5
3949	Poole	Edward	Timber merchant	North St. Westminster 11	5	D	
4000	Palmer	William	Dealer in wines	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 48	5		A
4030	Pearse	Robert	Whitesmith	Brook St. Holborn 33	5		A
4036	Pickerell	Robert	Bricklayer	Poppins Court Fleet St. 11	5		A
4054	Palser	Henry	Print-seller	Fleet St. 67	5		A
4092	Pallett	James	Leather-dresser	Bread St. 8	5		A B5
4095	Parker	John	Jeweller	Clerkenwell Green 18	5		A
4107	Parker	William		Theobalds Rd 56	5		A B5
4125	Prall	Edward	Clerk	Maiden Lane Southampton St.	5		A
4126	Prockter	W.	Turner	Burton St. Westminster 12	5		A B5
4130	Porter	John	Upholsterer	Welbeck St. 41	5		A
4141	Potto	Fermin	Currier	Newton St. 7	5		A B5C5
4148	Pritchard	John H.	Carpenter	Harrison St. Grays Inn Lane 28	5		A
4163	Pritchard	William	Engraver	Newport St. Long Acre 9	5		A
4164	Pritchard	G.	Engraver	Newport St. Long Acre 9	5		A B5
4185	Parnell	Thomas	Apprentice of Mr Commings	Red Lion St. Spitalfields 26	2.6		A B2C2
4199	Poole	Thomas	Ornamental painter	Church St. Soho	5		A
4213	Pickworth	John	Book-binder	Kerby St. Hatton Garden 42	5		A B5C5
4220	Payne	Joseph	Teacher	Rodney Buildings New Kent Rd 3	5		A B5C5
4225	Parker	William	Carpenter	George St. Foley Place 29	5		A
4231	Plummer		Tailor	Ship Yard Temple Bar	5		A B5C5
4233	Phillips	Samuel	Cutler	James's Court St Mary Axe 5	20		A BsCsDs
4235	Pollard	George	Engineer etc	Tottenham Court New Rd 3	5		A
4222	Paris	R.		Fleet St.	5		A
4242	Parry	Edward	Chemist and druggist	Gracechurch St. 63	5		A
4245	Pocock	William	Painter etc	South St. Manchester Sq. 30	5		A
4250	Pearsall	Samuel	Tailor	Boundary Row Blackfriars Rd 3	5		A
4259	Place	Francis	Tailor	Charing Cross	20		A BsCsDs
4299	Purdy	Isaac	Draftsman	Leather Lane 87	5		A

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824 1825	1826
4312	Paterson	James	Cabinet-maker	New St. Clare Market 20	5	A B5C5
4350	Pember	Samuel	Tin-plate-worker	Holborn 139	5	A
4356	Pulford	William	Surveyor	Clerendon Sq. S. T. 17 [Somers Town]	20	A BsCsDs
4558	Price	William	Member's son	Hanway St. 10	2.6	A
4359	Perry	H.	Artist	Hanover St. 7	5	A B5
4382	Pengam	William	Member's son	Golden Court Great New St. 2	2.6	A B2
4420	Paxton	James	Apprentice to R. Commings		2.6	A B2
4430	Pullin Esq	Samuel		Hampstead	20	A BsCsDs
4441	Pijko	William	Carpenter	Tottenham Court Rd 258	5	A
4448	Pontefex	Henry	Copper-smith	Popens Court Fleet St. 2	5	A
4449	Pascall	James Jun.		Wilderness Row 18	20	A BsCsDs
4459	Phillips	Frederick		Gloucester Buildings Kent Rd 3	5	A B5C5
4467	Price	James		Sackville St. 6	5	A
4494	Perkins	Joseph	Engraver	St Mary Axe 35	5	B C5
4500	Pascall	James Jun.	Engine-turner	Wilderness Row 18	20	A BsCsDs
4512	Pallen	Joseph	Scowerer	Little Moorfields 13	5	A B5C5
4533	Purdy	Edward	Book-binder	Tookes Court Castle St.	5	A
4545	Penry	J.	Watch-maker	John St. Clerkenwell 113	5	A
4571	Perkins	John	Tanner	Elizabeth Place Kennington 14	5	A B5
4579	Payne	William	Cabinet-maker	Church St. Soho 27	5	A
4580	Parker	James	Taylor [Tailor]	Gower Place Euston Sq. 40	5	A
4582	Pattinson	William	Warehouseman	Skinner St. 44	5	A B5
4584	Penrudcluck	Isaac	Teacher	North St. City Rd 31	5	B C5
4595	Perrin	George	Clerk	Gough Sq. 2	5	B C5
4598	Price	Vardon	Merchant	Little Distaff Lane 1	5	B
4615	Penn	Daniel	Engraver	Cow Cross 79	5	B
4636	Parsons	Thomas		Southampton Buildings 6	5	B
4642	Purvis	George	Printer	Angel St. St Martins Le Grand 23	5	B
4649	Parr	William	Engraver	Commercial Place City Rd 16	5	B
4669	Porter	William		Charing Cross 56	20	B CsDs
4670	Porter	Henry	Member's son	Charing Cross 56	2.6	B
4703	Pitt	Richard	Metal dealer	Brownlow St. 20	5	B
4743	Pratt	James	Painter	Long Lane Smithfield 7j9	5	C
4760	Price	Edward	Colourman	West Smithfield 53	5	C
4765	Price	James	Coffee house keeper	Great Turnstile	5	C
4771	Porter	Robert	Compositor	Sutton St. Clerkenwell 8	5	C
4774	Porter	John	Gentleman	Hatton Garden 111	5	C
4787	Pratt	William	Book-binder	Brill Row Somers Town 48	5	C
4795	Parsons	James	Silk-weaver	New Castle St. Shoreditch 17	5	C
4830	Perkins	N. M.	Engineer	Fleet St. 69	5	C
4910	Pote	William	Goldsmith	Denmark St. Soho 17	5	C
4916	Porter	Henry				
4916	Porter	William	Drawing-instrument-maker	Penton St. Walworth 4	5	C
4858	Prockter	Robert	Clerk	Tottenham Court Rd 93	5	C
4879	Pearson	Cornelius	Writing-engraver	Paternoster Row 53	5	C
4957	Partridge	Joseph	Coal merchant	Bankside	5	C
4967	Piercy	Josiah	Silversmith		5	C
4993	Powell	John	Carpenter	Coburg St. Hampstead Rd 16	5	C
5010	Payne	Henry	Builder	Goulden Terrace White Conduit Fields 13	10	C Ds
5011	Payne	C. B.	Member's son		10	C Ds
5012	Payne	Albert	Member's son		10	C Ds
5014	Parry	David	Printer	St Johns St. Clerkenwell 20	5	C
5100	Priest	William	Cabinet-maker	Queen Ann St. Marylebone 18	5	C
5057	Price	E. W.	Umbrella-maker	Strand 221	5	C
5068	Phillips	Edward	Wheel-wright	Addle Hill 17	5	C
5076	Parratt	J.	Chemist and druggist	Mount St. Grosvenor Sq.	5	C
5125	Price	John	apprentice to Mr Staples	Serles Place 15	2.6	C
5130	Poynter	Robert	Coach-maker	Lambs Conduit St. 57	5	C
5132	Peek	William	Grainer	Bartholomew Terrace City Rd 2	5	C
617	Quaintance	Joseph	Tailor	Cold Bath Sq. 15	5	D A5
3301	Quin	Joseph D.	Coach-maker	Margaret St. Cavendish Sq	5	C
3782	Quarterly	F. W.	Wood-engraver	Edward Place Alderry St. 27	5	C D5
5134	Pilcher	Henry J.	Gentleman	Furnivals Inn	20	C Ds
125	Ranwell	Edward	Coach-maker	James St. Broad Wall 1	5	D



No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
135	Robason	Edward	Plater and Silversmith	Little Bath St. Cold Bath Sq. 9	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
152	Robinson	Henry Sen.	Bricklayer	Basket Alley Golden Lane 5	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
164	Raper	Thomas	Silversmith	Brooks Row Bagnigge Wells 3	5	D		
152	Richards	William	Apprentice [Silversmith] to Mr Clements		2.6	D		
168	Richard	John	Jeweller	East St. Spa fields 44	5	D	A5B5C5	
201	Rapley	William Robert	Cabinet-maker	Edmunds Place Aldersgate St. 31	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
204	Robertson	Thomas	Hatter	Strand	5		A B5C5D5	A5
218	Rogers	W. S.	Wine-cooper	Hungerford St. Strand 8	20	D	AsBsCsD5	
226	Ramsay	George	Turner	Clements Lane Strand 62	5	D	A5B5	
296	Ryder	Samuel	Coach-maker	Liquorpond St. 37	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
358	Rait	George	Tailor	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 9	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
382	Richards	James	Carpenter	North St. Red Lion Sq. 28	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5
391	Rorison	William	Carpenter	Marylebone St. 28	5	D	A5B5C5	
405	Richardson	William	Printer	Guilford St. East Wilmington Sq. 14	5	D	A5B5C5	
451	Rathke	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Boston St. Marylebone 27	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
490	Robinson	Henry Jun.	Bricklayer	Basket Alley Golden Lane 5	5	D	A5B5C5	
504	Reynolds	John	Teacher of mathematics	Arlington Place St Johns St. Rd	20	D	AsBsCsDs	AsB20CsDs
542	Ritchie	David	Mechanist	Wormwood St. 5	5	D		
551	Roupell	Richard	Smelter	Blackfriars Rd	5	D	A5B5C5	
553	Reynolds	Thomas Baker	Printer	Denmark Court 18	5	D		
1525	Rose	William	Stationer	Catherine St. Strand 12	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1528	Ryder	Samuel Jun.	Coach-maker	Liquorpond St. 37	5	D	A5B5C5	
1544	Riches	John	Carpenter	High St. Marylebone 104	20	D	AsBsCsD10	AsB5C5
1547	Richards	William	Stonemason	Bishopsgate St. 76	5	D	A5B5C5	
1580	Roberts	Samuel	Clerk	Theobalds Rd 51	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1616	Richards	William	Clerk	Assay Offices Goldsmiths Hall	5	D	A5	
1653	Roberts	George Frederick	Compositor	Lombard St. Whitefrirs 10	5	D		
1677	Richman	Francis	Builder	Great Pulteney St. 35	20	D	AsBsCs	
1686	Rigge	John	Carver etc	Southampton Row Russell Sq. 5	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1688	Rolt	John	Draper	Basinghall St.	5	D		
1711	Reynolds	Joseph	Card-maker	Vere St. Clare market 29	5	D		
1762	Raxworthy	George	Wool-comber	Great Suffolk St. Borough	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1763	Robottom	William	Jeweller	Ironmonger St. 18	5		A B5	
1798	Ryde	Henry T.	Gentleman	Southampton Place Bloomsbury 6	5	D	A5B5	
1799	Rickards	Robert	Clerk	Clarendon Sq. 15	5	D		
1808	Robertson	John	Rope-maker	Lucas St. St Georges East 108	10	D	As	
1814	Rothery	Samuel	Chaser	Charlton St. Somers Town 71	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1824	Roberts	John	Carpenter	Cromer St. 43	5	D		
1854	Rogers	Joseph	Jeweller	Marshall St. St Johns St. 6	5	D	A5B5C5	
1867	Robinson	Samuel	Muslin manufacturer	Watling St. 7	20	D	AsBsCsD5	A5B5C5
1892	Rushbrock	Ben	Tailor	Hatton Garden 90	5	D		
1896	Richards	Thomas S.	Iron-monger	Martins Lane Cannon St. 21	5	D		
1919	Rosser	R.	Gentleman	Skinner St.	20	D	AsBsCs	
1935	Rainford	Edward	Bookseller	Alfred Place Albany Rd 2	5		A B5C5	C5
1939	Rug	John	Printer	Stoney Lane Houndsditch 2	5		A	
2006	Rose	James	Watch jeweller	Wood St. Spa fields	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2037	Robertson	John	Engraver	Tookes Court 1	5		A	
2065	Rogers	Richard	Clerk	Cornhill 84	20		A BsCsDs	
2071	Robinson	William	Pianoforte-maker	Lower Edmund St. Battle Buildings 23	5		A	
2087	Robertson	William	Hosier	Kings Arms buildings Wood St. 7	5		A	
2039	Rysdale	Edward	Clerk	Baynes Row Cold Bath Sq. 9	5		A	
2120	Roberts	George	Warehouseman	Bells Buildings Salisbury Sq. 8	5		A	
2186	Robbins	Frederic	Haberdasher	Bow Lane 11	5		A	
2199	Ross	Charles	Cotton manufacturer	St Pauls Church Yard 43	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2206	Reid	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Great Russell St. Bloomsbury 107	5		A B5	
2213	Robson	Charles	Printer	Bethnal Green	5		A	
2212	Rance	Edward	Silver-polisher	Dorrington St. Clerkenwell 9	5		A B5	
2277	Redaway	George	Attorney	Clements Inn 16	5		A B5C5	
2294	Reynell	George	Gentleman	Chancery Lane	20		A BsCsDs	
2333	Robinson	James	Baker	Grafton St. Soho	5		A	
2353	Robinson	Samuel	Clerk	Lambs Conduit St. 64	5		A B5C5	
2362	Rosenberg	Charles			5		A B5C5	
2376	Randall	Benjamin	Mariner	Gun Alley St Georges East 25	5		A B5	
2379	Read	Thomas	Warehouseman	St Mary Hill 33	5		A B5	

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2393	Rogers	John	Gentleman	Charlotte St. Blackfriars 9	5		B	A5
2401	Ramsay	William	Apprentice to D. Cherie	Rawstorn St. 15	2.6		B	
2425	Read	Samuel	Vellum-binder	Tower St.	5		B C5	
2426	Read	Harry M.	Carpet manufacturer	Coleman St. 57	5		B C5D5	A5
209	Reader	C. J.	Bookseller	Bell Yard Temple Bar	20		B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
2440	Reeves	Henry	Baker	Smith St. Northampton Sq. 8	20		B CsDs	As
2470	Rowell	John	Boot-maker	Charter House Lane 26	5		B	
2494	Rothery	James	Cabinet-maker	Titchfield St. 84	5		B C5	
2495	Russell	George	Cabinet-maker	Newman St. 58	5		B C5D5	A5
2498	Read	John	Carpet manufacturer	Coleman St.	5		B C5	
2561	Rowlings	Thomas	Smith	Ironmonger Row St Lukes	5		B	
2606	Rioardan	Timothy	Carpenter	Granby Buildings Drury Lane	20		B CsDs	As
215	Reynolds	E. H.	Painter	City Rd	5		B C5D5	A5
2641	Reeve	I. O.	Bookseller	Newgate St.	5		B C5	
107	Robinson	John			5		B	
2668	Reed	William	Sail-maker	Bridge Place Bermondsey 2	5		B C5	
	Reeves	John	Colour-maker	Holborn Bridge	20		B CsDs	As
		William						
2700	Richardson	John	Surveyor	Barbican 20	20		B CsDs	As
2703	Rigby	Joseph	Carpenter	Broad St. Golden Sq. 21	5		B C5D5	
2745	Redgreave	William	Brass-founder	Great Queen St. Lincolns Inn fields 22	5		B	
2750	Rogers	Samuel	Brass-founder	Aldersgate St. 146	5		B C5D5	A5
2807	Ranwell	Ebenezer	Coach-maker	Wellington St. Blackfriars Rd 3	5		B C5D5	
2852	Robertson	David	Book-binder	Cornwall Rd Lambeth 3	5		B C5D5	
2853	Rutt	William	Gentleman	Hackney and 5 Hatton Garden	10		B Cs	
2898	Ray	Joseph	Barrister	Newman St. 20	5		B C5	
2942	Rontree	George	Printer	Norton St. Fitzroy Sq. 33	5		C	
2970	Richardson	Henry	Builder	Mount Pleasant Grays Inn Lane 24	5		C	
2972	Richards	William	Measure-maker	Guilford St. Southwark	10		C Ds	
2973	Richards	John	Measure-maker	Guilford St. Southwark	5		C	
3028	Reid	George	Smith	Museum St. Bloomsbury 52	5		C D5	
3120	Robinson	Edward	Clerk	Lombard St. 76	5		C D5	A20BsCsDs
3168	Ribbell	William	Hot-presser	Berkley St. Clerkenwell	5		C D5	A5
3175	Rosser	George	Brass-founder	Dorrington St. 4	5		C	
3224	Reid	William	Printer	Litchfield St. Soho	5		C D5	A5
3260	Randall	Frederick G.	Law-stationer	Staple Inn Buildings 3	5		C	
3300	Roberts	Henry	Coach-maker	Castle St. Oxford st. 5	5		C D5	A5B5
3311	Robinson	Henry	Artist	Gloucester Buildings Walworth 3	5		C	
3377	Richardson	Behjamin	Gentleman	Pentonville	5		C D5	
3418	Rumble	James	Cabinet-maker	Windmill St. Finsbury Sq. 29	5		C	B5C5
3423	Rolfe	C. F.	Pattern-drawer	Stenning Lane 6	20		C Ds	AsBs
3426	Robinson	Benjamin		Gloucester St. Queen Sq. 40	5		C D5	A5B5C5
		James						
3489	Russell	John	Cabinet-maker	Cross Court Drury Lane 6	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3521	Rooke	Thomas	Gentleman	Upper Seymour St. Euston Sq. 15	5		C	
3057	Robertson	Charles	Book-binder	Rolls Buildings Fetter Lane 10	5		D	A5
3058	Robertson	James	Clerk	Rolls Buildings Fetter Lane 10	5		D	A5
3414	Reynolds	William	Gentleman	Southampton Buildings 43	5		D	A5
3625	Ruff	Thomas	Gentleman	Camden St. Islington 25	5		D	A5
3636	Reilly	John	Sadler	Finsbury Place 15	5		D	A5
3637	Ramsay	William	Apprentice to D. Charice		2.6		D	A2B2C2
516	Reid	J. W.	Merchant	Red Bull Wharf Upper Thames St.	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
409	Russell	J.			5		D	
3708	Reid	John		Rosomans St. 15	5		D	A5B5
3710	Retana	Julian		Ann St. Pentonville 12	5		D	
3714	Riece	Francis Dec		Tabernacle Walk 38	5		D	
3224	Reid	William	Mans mercer	Old Compton St. 9	10		C Ds	
3802	Ramsay	Henry	Jeweller	Red Lion St. 51	5		D	A5
3804	Riley	Shaw	Upholsterer	Seymour Place Bryanston Sq. 13	5		D	
3887	Reynolds	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Queen St. Oxford St. 6	5		D	
3888	Rogers	William	Clerk	Holborn Hill 25	20		D	AsBsCs
3895	Roberts	John	Lace manufacturer	Wood St. 46	5		D	A B5
3830	Roodey	William	Coach-maker	Napan St. Midd. 21	5		D	A5
		Sinclair						
3841	Reynell	John	Member's son	Chancery Lane	2.6		D	
3942	Reynell	Alfred	Member's son	Chancery Lane	2.6		D	
3844	Rowland	John E.	Hatter	Swan St. Minories	5		D	A5B5C5
3847	Rowley	Richard	Sign-painter	Barbican 79	5		D	
3914	Reymond	Jonathan	Engineer	Paul St. Finsbury 9	5		D	
3964	Rodwell	Godfrey Jun.	Linen-draper	James St. Covent Garden 6	5		D	A5B5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824 1825	1826
3973	Ross	James	Gentleman	Haberdasher Place Hoxton	5	A
3987	Rea	John	Musical-instrument-maker	St Rathbone Place 9	5	A B5C5
3991	Rance	Edward	Silver-polisher	Southampton St. 16	5	A B5C5
3994	Robinson	B.	Tailor	Gloucester St. Queens Sq. 40	5	A B5C5
4023	Rummins	John	Cabinet-maker	Camden Place Camden town 7	5	A B5C5
4035	Ross	Robert	Apprentice Bookbinder to Chas Robertson Bookbinder	Rolls Buildings	2.6	A
4042	Robb	David	Gilder	Brook St. Lambeth 55	5	A
4048	Rowell	John	Boot-maker	Charter House Lane 26	5	A
4094	Russell	William	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Staples Inn Buildings 7	5	A B5C5
4098	Robinson	A. W.	Accountant	Mount St. White chapel 21	5	A B5C5
4132	Robertson	Frederick	Tailor	Southampton buildings 13	5	A
4144	Rogers	Richard	Printer	Denmark Court Strand 2	5	A B5C5
4160	Reid	John	Milkman	Union St. Bond St. 6	5	A B5
4167	Rowe	John	Joiner	Castle St. East Oxford St.	5	A
4178	Richards	James	Printer	Half Paved Court Salisbury Sq. 112	5	A
4132	Rushall	George	Cabinet-maker	Blackfriars 8	20	A BsCsDs
4189	Richards	Thomas S.	Iron-monger	St Martins Lane	5	A
4023	Roberts	James M.	Engineer	Chalcroft Terrace Blackfriars Rd 17	5	A
4210	Reid	William	Engineer	Oakley St. Lambeth 29	5	A
4244	Reynolds	Joseph	Card-maker	Vere St. 29	5	A
4258	Reynolds	William	Card-maker	Breams Buildings	5	A
4274	Richardson	Henry	Builder	Mount Pleasant 24	5	A
4275	Rowels	W. N.	Mechanic	Weston Place Pancrass Rd 23	5	A
4282	Richardson	W.	Carver	Upper Charlton St. Fitzroy Sq. 13	5	A
4291	Redman	Mark	Joiner	Upper Edmond St. Battle Bridge 3	5	A
4305	Randall	Richard	Tailor	Warwick St. 26	5	A
4377	Roberts	William	Surveyor	Featherston Buildings 13	5	A
4423	Robins	John	Stationer	Tooley St.	5	A
4435	Ralfe	I. E.	Clerk	St John St. Rd 34	5	A
4442	Rudducts	I. B.	Gentleman	Southampton Buildings 37	5	A B5
4470	Routledge	Thomas	Solicitor	Furnivals Inn 6	5	A B5
4301	Rogers	John				
4177	Ramsay	Alexander	Printer	Guilford Place Spa fields 20	5	A
4555	Richardson	Benjamin		John St. Bedford Row 29	5	A
4585	Rait	Alexander Jun.	Member's son	Red lion St. Clerkenwell 9	2.6	B C2
4587	Reebes	George		North St. Fitzroy Sq. 9	5	B
4603	Ray	George	Printer	Regent St. Westminster 71	5	B C5
4605	Ranson	John	Iron-monger	Oxford St. 203	5	B
4608	Rowe	James	Iron-monger	Blandford St. Portman Sq. 7	5	B
4610	Robertson	John	Engraver	Tookes Court Castle St. 1	5	B
4623	Reid	Thomas	Upholsterer	Theobalds Rd 38	5	B C5
4624	Robinson	John	Engraver	Newington Green	5	B C5
4640	Richards	John	Smith	John St. Blackfriars 9	5	B
4662	Roper	Thomas	Engraver	Tothill St. Westminster 14	5	B
4704	Reveley	H. W.	Civil Engineer	Gloucester Place New Rd 1	20	B CsDs
4721	Robinson	Francis	Teacher in school	Camden Place Camden Town 27	5	B
4740	Rinman	F.	Jeweller	Grenville St.	5	C
4808	Reilly [Rully]	William	Chemist	Apothecaries Hall	5	C
4810	Robertson	James	Clerk	Rolls Buildings 18	5	C
4823	Robertson	J.	Gentleman	Sackville St. 21	5	C
4828	Ross	Charles	Clerk	St Pauls 43	5	C
4913	Reid	William	Coach-painter	Vemlam [Verularn] Buildings Grays Inn. 1	5	C
4873	Rouse	Frederick	Book-binder	Bedford Court Covent Garden 4	5	C
4878	Rouse	Benjamin	Chemist	Windsor Terrace City Rd 17	5	C
4948	Richards	James	Carpenter	Chancery Court 3	5	C
5052	Reynolds	E. H.	Printer	City Rd	5	C
5006	Richards	James	Printer	Dorset St. Fleet St. 112	5	C
5017	Rainford	Edward				
5153	Rummins	John Frederick	Member's son	Camden Place Camden Town	5	C
5080	Reid	Robert	Printer	Queen St. St James's Westminster 24	5	C
5084	Read	John	Painter and Glazier	Mount St. Grosvenor Sq. 32	5	C
5094	Roberson	John	Fringe-maker	Charles St. Long Acre 4 ½	5	C
100	Strong	Samuel	Clerk	Prices St. Blackfriars Rd 17	5 D	A5B5C5
102	Smart	William	Millwright	Winsley St. Oxford St. 2	5 D	B5C5D5
106	Smith	F. William	Member's son		2.6 D	A2B2C5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
107	Strange	William	Bookseller	Fetter Lane 24	5	D	A20BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
115	Selman	William	Goldsmith	Dorrington St. Clerkenwell 4	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A20BsCsDs
120	Stacy	George	Jeweller	Charlotte St. Sadlers Wells 2	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
124	Sounnes	William	Die-sinker	Great Suffolk St. 36	5	D	A5B5	
137	Stratford	William	Clerk	Sydney St. Goswell St. 24	5	D	A20BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
		George						
143	Saunders	John	Baker	Tothill St. Westminster 12	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
147	Salmon	Moris	Printer	Gough Sq.	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5C10
154	Sage	Jeremiah	Architect	St Johns Lane	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
165	Stratton	William	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Boundary Row Blackfriars Rd 12	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
169	Sevan	James	Lock-smith	Catherine St. Pimlico 3	5	D	A5B5C5	
179	St. Leger	Barry	Book-binder	Grays Inn Lane 18	5	D	A20BsCsDs	A5B5
180	Smith	John	Plumber	Crown Court Russell St. 23	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
	Styles	William	Mathematical instrument maker	Sharps Alley Cow Cross 1	20	D	AsBsCs	
204	Smith	William	Cutler	Lombard St.	5	D	A5B5	
227	Simpson	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Clifton St. Finsbury 1	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
		James						
311	Storer	Alfred	Printer	Warwick Sq. 23	5	D		
313	Stokes	Isaac	Cabinet-maker	Wardour St. 125	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
321	Sowden	Thomas	Tailor	Gough Sq. 8	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
354	Shallard	James	Printer	William St. Spa fields 10	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
368	Smith	Peter	Gentleman	East India Chambers	20	D	AsBsCs	
370	Storey	Robert	Printer	East Harding St. 11	5	D	A5B5	
373	Straker	Samuel	Printer	Southampton St. Pentonville	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
385	Symms	Frederick	Cabinet-maker	Broad way Blackfriars Rd 4	5	D	A5	
		Walter						
423	Smythe	Thomas	Accountant	Oxford St. 309	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
424	Smythe	Thomas	Member's son	Oxford St. 309	2.6	D	A2B2C2D2	A5B5C5
		William						
438	Strong	Valentine	Hatter	Great Suffolk St. Southwark 6	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
439	Sparks	William	Stationer	Theobalds St. Kent Rd 39	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5C5
456	Smeaton	John	Solicitor	Mercers St. Long Acre 4	5	D	A5	
467	Sweet	George	Bookseller	Chancery Lane 3	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
476	Soper	William	Schoolmaster	Bunhill Row 120	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
482	Straker	John	Turner	Red Cross Sq. 11	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
514	Sinclair	Edward	Member's son	Trinity Sq.	2.6	D	A2B2	
527	Stutchbury	Samuel		Hatton Garden 14	5		A	
550	Shuttleworth	George	Carpenter	Great Suffolk St. Borough 5	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
579	Smith	Francis	Compositor	Swan Court William St. Blackfriars 6	5	D		
587	Sutton	William	Sail-maker	Bankside 37	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
613	Swan	Thomas	Clerk	Great Queen St. Westminster 9	5	D		
625	Simms	Alfred	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Bowmans Buildings Aldersgate St.	2.6	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
779	Stanley	Christopher	Brush-maker	Tavistock Row Covent Garden 14	5	D		
828	Smart	Thomas	Artist	Tichborne St. 10	5	D		
937	Squire	William	Goldsmith	Strutton Ground Westminster 58	5	D	A5B5C5	
1010	Stutter	Thomas	Merchant	Wooton Place Lambeth 7	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1065	Smith	Josiah	Cabinet-maker	King St. Snow Hill 45	5		A B5C5	
1076	Serle	Frederic	Gentleman	Portman Place Edgware Rd 10	20	D	AsBsCs	
1545	Stuart	James	Woollen-draper	Mays Buildings 1	5	D	A5	
1570	Smith	William	Compositor	Prospect Place Southwark	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1583	Somersall	F. R.	Warehouseman	Ashford St. Hoxton	5	D		
1593	Sowerby	James W.	Gentleman	Birchin Lane 7	5	D		
1602	Smart	Henry	Artist	Titchborne St. 10	5	D		
1624	Stewart	Thomas	Printer	31 Duke St. Lincolns Inn Fields 31	5	D	A5B5C5	
1656	Sealey	William	Wine merchant	Trinity Sq. 6	20	D	AsBsCs	
1657	Stevenson	Robert	Spirit broker	Tower St.	20	D	AsBsCs	
1675	Salter	Thomas	Clerk	Goldsmith St. Gough Sq. 3	5	D		
1696	Steward	John	Compositor	Islington St. Ludlow Wells 20	5	D		
1697	Spong	Benjamin	Upholsterer	Pratts St. Camden Town 11	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5
1699	Storey	John	Appraiser	Whitechapel 81	5	D	A5B5	
		Thomas						
1707	Somersall	Richard	Gentleman	Mansion House Place	20	D	AsBsCs	
1726	Stephens	John	Teacher	Dorset St. Salisbury Sq. 61	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1759	Spargo	William	Clerk	Wood St. Cheapside 17	5	D	A5B5	
1801	Seabrook	Thomas	Builder	Hatton Garden 78	20	D	AsBsCs	
1822	Selwood	James	Sales-man	Newgate Market	5	D	A5	
1832	Sparey	James	Coach-maker	Tysoe St. Clerkenwell 30	5	D		
1835	Squire	John	Coach-maker	Strutton Ground Westminster 58	5	D		
1840	Skelton	John Henry	Gentleman	Chandos St. Covent Garden	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1849	Silence	Epher	Printer	Tottenham Court Rd 207	5	D	A5B5D5	A5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
1859	Scott	Edward Thomas	Carver	Marshall St. London Rd 31	5	D	A5B5	
1870	Smith	George	Upholder	St Johns Sq. 35	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1881	Sowerby	Dickenson	Gentleman	Brick Lane Spitalfields	5	D	A5B5	
1882	Sowerby	Frederic	Gentleman	Brick Lane Spitalfields	5	D		
1887	Saunders	Daniel	Chemist	Kings Rd Pentonville 9	5	D	A5B5	
1898	Sanford	William	Paper-maker	Strand 482	5	D		
1929	Shaw	Thomas C.	Printer	Dean St. Fetter Lane 3	5		A B5C5D5	
1921	Sheringham	John	Gentleman	Francis St. Bedford Sq.	5		A B5	
1949	Sandison	Robert	Clerk	Maiden Lane Covent Garden 6	5	D	A5	
2011	Symonds	Robert	Painter	Cross St. Hatton Garden	20		A BsCsDs	
2012	Shayler	Henry	Gentleman	Stones Buildings Lincolns Inn 1	5		A B5	
2019	Simpson	Frederic	Ornamental painter	Coppice Row Clerkenwell 4	5		A B5C5	
2029	Sinclair	Archibald	Chaser	Rathbone Place 24	5		A	
2030	Simons	Robert	China-painter	Curtain Rd 67	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2036	Spiers	Walter	Printer	Dean St. Soho 102	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5
2053	Shepherd	Samuel	Schoolmaster	Charles St. Hatton Garden	5		A	
2079	Sledge	John S.	Clerk	Friday St. Cheapside 42	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2080	Stubbs	Thomas	Hosier	Wood St. 119	5		A	
2081	Slade	Joseph	Tin-plate-worker	Norman St. St Lukes 3	5		A B5	
2088	Simpson	William	Carver	Clifton St. Finsbury	5		A B5	
2096	Sprague	Samuel	Cabinet-maker	Aldersgate Buildings 4	5		A	
2099	Showell	William	Cabinet-maker	John St. City Rd 8	5		A	
2151	Sanders	George B.	Hosier	Holborn 319	5		A	
2152	Shear	Andrew	Tailor	Craven St. Strand 31	20		A BsCsDs	
176	Smith	Charles	Hosier	Brydges St. Covent Garden 3	25		A BsCsDs	
2163	Stevens	Richard Jun.	Bookseller	Bell Yard Temple Bar	5		A B5C5	
2106	Slade	William May	Clerk	Charles St. Covent Garden 18	5		A B5C5	
2118	Sanger	Thomas	Jeweller	Middle Row Place	5		A B5C10Ds	
2128	Smart	George	Artist	Titchborne St. 10	5		A	
2170	Slibbard	George Davy	Clerk	Clements Lane Lombard St. 2	5		A	
2174	Stroud	Thomas	Goldsmith	Craven Buildings 17	20		A BsCsDs	
2175	Scott	Austin	Goldsmith	George St. Adelphi 17	20		A BsCsDs	
2182	Sly	Stephen	Draftsman	Gough Sq. 18	5		A B5C5D5	
2190	Savage	George	Watch-maker	Wynyard St. 61	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2191	Somers	Joseph	Watch-maker	Strand 65	5		A B5	
2193	Seabrave	William	Cabinet-maker	Crescent Place Euston Sq. 44	5		A B5	
2208	Smith	Thomas	Warehouseman	Red Lion Court Fleet St. 4	5		A B5	
2214	Shippard	Frederick	Jeweller	Newcastle Place 5	5		A B5	
2226	Skeen	George	Jeweller	St Johns St. 129	5		A B5	
2239	Shakel	Edward	Clerk	Swan Holborn Buildings	5		A B5C5D5	
	[Strakel]							
2241	Smith	Andrew	Carpenter	Kings St. Golden Sq. 24	5		A	
2251	Strong	Robert		Great Suffolk St. Borough 6	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C4
2254	Smith	Richard	Gentleman	Borough Market	10		A Bs	
2274	Sumner	Samuel	Printer	Windsor Court	5		A B5	
2279	Stutchbury	Joseph Sidney	Chemist	Poultry	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2286	Sands	Robert	Lace manufacturer	Kings Arms Buildings Woods..	5		A	
2290	Stevenson	George	Smith	Little Portland St. Titchfield St. 2	20		A BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
2301	Strong	William	Hatter	St James's St. 78	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2307	Snoxell	William	Venetian-shade-maker	Dorset St. Salisbury Sq.	5		A B5	
2329	Sylvester	Charles	Civil engineer	Great Russell St. 85	20		A BsCsDs	
2332	Smignot			Finsbury Place South 14	5		A	
2334	Sheppard	Wiliam	Cabinet-maker	Queen St. Finsbury 3	5		A B5	
2355	Stevens	Frederick	Brass-founder	Holborn 87	5		A B5	
2364	Saull	Thomas	Wine merchant	Aldersgate St. 19	5		A B5	
2374	Spicer	James	Rope-maker	Fleet Market	5		A B5C5D5	A5
1968	Sadd	John	Machinist	Vauxhall	5	D	A5B5C5	
1970	Saull	William Devonshire	Wine merchant	Aldersgate St. 19	20	D	AsBsCsDs	AsBsCs
1996	Swan	George	Solicitor	Felix House Back Rd Islington	20	D	AsBsCs	
1984	Smith	William John	Printer	High Timber St. Upper Thames St. 4	5		A B5C5	
1989	Spencely	Jackson	Clerk	Hatfield St. Blackfriars 20	10		A Bs	
2372	Steuart Stewart	Henry	Coach-maker	Great Queen St. Lincolns Inn Fields 4	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2377	Steward	M.	Gentleman	Ashbury St. Northampton Sq.	5		A	
2382	Sowerby	Frederic	Gentleman	Brick Lane Spitalfields	5		A	
2398	Sledge	Thomas	Clerk	Wellington St. Goswell St. Rd 33	5		B	
2399	Smith	Henry	Upholsterer	Nelson Sq. 6	20		B CsDs	As

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
2401	Shaw	John	Jeweller	Finsbury St.	5		B	
2404	Smith	William Jun.	Print-seller	Lisle St. Leicester Sq. 24	5		B C5D10	AsB5C5
2405	Smith	George	Print-seller	Lisle St. Leicester Sq. 24	5		B C5D10	AsB5C5
2416	St Leger	Barry Jun.	Member's son	Grays Inn Lane 18	2.6		B	
2421	Spiers	Walter	Smith	Dean St. Soho 102	5		B C5	
2443	Smith	Charles	Tailor	Mays Buildings 13	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2445	Stevens	James J.	Engraver	Duke St. Stamford St. 4	10		B Cs	
2457	Sharp	James	Clerk	Hyde Place Hoxton 21	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2463	Stevens	William	Mattress-maker	Lant St. Borough 48	5		B	
2469	Swan	Charles	Artist	Great Bond St. Clerkenwell 30	5		B C5D5	
2481	Smith	George	Belt-maker	Wilson St. 3	5		B C5	
2485	Springall	Robert	Printer	Stanhope St. Clare Market 6	5		B	
2491	Sumshon	William	Apprentice to Robert Cumming		2.6		B C2	
2509	Swan	John	Glass-cutter	Mitre St. 34	5		B C5D5	
2519	Staniford	Thomas	Smith etc	Grove St. Southwark 2	5		B C5	
2526	Somersall	Frances	Warehouseman	Ashford St. Hoxton	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
		Robert						
2535	Spurgeon	Michael	Carpenter	Graces Alley Well Close Sq. 15	5		B C5D5	
2560	Stacy	George Jun.	Jeweller	Charlotte St. Sadlers Wells 1; 165 Aldersgate St.	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2564	Secker	Richard	Movement-maker	John St. Wilmington Sq. 3	5		B	
		George						
2554	Smart	William						
2580	Straker	Frederick	Printer	Staining Lane Wood St. 3	5		B	
2584	Smith	George	Iron-monger	High St. Borough	5		B	
2586	Simpson	George	Pewter-maker	Union Buildings Leather Lane 8	20		B CsDs	As
2592	Stackel	Richard	Apprentice chaser	Catherine St. Strand	2.6		B C2D2	A2B5C5
2595	Simon	Alexander	Millwright	Gravel Lane Southwark 38	5		B	
2594	Smith	Thomas	Upholsterer	Brewer St. Golden Sq. 41	5		B C5D5	A5B5
2614	Sadd	Burgess		South Lambeth	5		B C5D5	
2619	Sewell	Richard	Confectioner	Titchborne St. 6	20		B CsDs	As
2621	Seares	George	Gentleman	Henrietta St. Covent Garden	20		B CsDs	As
		Alexander						
2635	Southgate	Richard	Printer	Shoe Lane 38	5		B C5D5	
		Theodore						
2638	Saunders	John	Shoe-maker	Charles Court St Martins Lane 1	5		B	
2640	Smith	Isaac	Wine merchant	Great Queen St. Lincolns Inn Fields 14	5		B	
2654	Surridge	William	Cheese-monger	West Smithfield 21	5		B C5	
2655	Stevens	William	Compositor	Bell Yard 39	5		B C5D5	A5
2666	Smith	George	Boot and Shoe-maker	Red Lion St. Holborn 34	5		B	
363	Sewell	Samuel	Painter	Aldersgate St. 57	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
2684	Stevenson	George	Member's son	Little Portland St. (schools) 2	2.6		B C10Ds	AsBsC2
2683	Shldrake	Thomas	Confectioner	Holborn Bridge 77	5		B C5	
2701	Swallow	Benjamin	Carpenter	Great Quebec St. 25	5		B C5	
365	Sowerby	Thomas	Pawnbroker	Chiswell St. 78	20		B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
311	Stratford	W. S.	Gentleman	Metropolitan Loan Office	5	D	Cs [arrears]	B20CsDs
2718	Stephenson	Jonathan	Printer	Douglass St. Westminster	5		B	
2710	Sheringham	John	Gentleman	Howard St.	5		B	
2751	Simpson	George	Cabinet-maker	Clifton St. 1	5		B	
2755	Savage	William	Builder	Grays Inn Lane 37	5		B C5	
2756	Sugg	Ebenezer C.	Operative Chemist	Old John St. Commercial Rd 26	5		B C5	
2782	Summerfield	Jos <sup>h</sup>	Gentleman	Noble St.	5		B C5	
2790	Swan	William	Gentleman	Swinton St. Grays Inn Rd 5	20		B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
2796	Shayler	George	Tailor	Queen St. Oxford St. 16	5		B C5	
2801	Shuckford	John	Carpenter	Watling St. 74	5		B	
2802	Shuckford	James	Carpenter	Watling St. 74	5		B C5	
707	Stiles	Richard	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Round Court Sharps Alley Cow Cross 2	20	D	AsBsCs	
2821	Scorer	John	Clerk	Staple Inn Buildings 5	5		B	
2831	Smith	P. J.	Gentleman	Doughty St.	5		B C5	
2834	Stacy	Isaac	Tailor	Newcastle St.	5		B	
2841	Stratford	Arthur	Gentleman	Clifton St. Finsbury 8	5		B C5	
2887	Smith	John	Silversmith	Picket St. Strand 18	10		B Cs	
2872	Smith	John	Painter	Mercer St. Long Acre 22	5		B	
2874	Smith	Arthur	Stockbroker	Doughty St.	5		B C5D5	A5
2875	Smith	Edward	Gentleman	Doughty St.	5		B C5D5	A5
2876	Smith	Matthew	Coach-maker	Smith St. Pancrass 5	5		B C5	
2896	Scott	John H.	Water color manufacturer	High Holborn 145	20		B CsDs	As
2905	Stewart	D.	Printer	St Andrews Hill Doctors Common 31	5		B	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
2914	Smart	Jasper	Carpenter	Stonecutters Buildings Lincolns Inn Fields 8	5	C	D5	
2194	Savage	Thomas	Watch-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 3	10	C	Ds	
2926	Savage	David	Watch-maker	Wynyard St. 61	5	C		
2934	Straker	Ezra	Printer	James's Gardens Islington	5	C		
2935	Straker	Joseph	Printer	Duke St. Smithfield	5	C		
2936	Straker	William	Bookseller	Wardrobe Place Doctors Common	5	C		
2953	Seeling	John Lewis	Turner	Boston St. Regents Park 6	5	C	D5	A5C5
2959	Smith	Henry	Architect	Fenchurch St. 14	5	C		
2971	Snoxell	Edward	Clerk	Dorset St. Fleet St. 84	5	C	D5	
2973	Steward	John	Wine-cooper	Tavistock Place 14; 23 Upper Woborn Place	5	C	D5	A5B5C5
2976	Straiton	David	Watch-maker	Upper St. Martins Lane	5	C	D5	A5B5
2981	Sharpe	William	Carpenter	Colbrook Row Islington	5	C	D5	
		Edward						
364	Smith	Michael	Gentleman	East Side Bethnal Green 20	5	C	D5	A5B5
3027	Spickett	John	Clerk	Leathersellers Buildings 3	5	C	D5	A5B5C5
3033	Stevens	George	Artist	Gloucester Place Commercial Rd 13	5	C		
2995	Scholfield	William	Upholsterer	Cirencester Place	5	C		
2997	Story	Benjamin	Cabinet-maker	South St. Marylebone 32	5	C	D5	
3002	Sowerby	George	Teacher of Music	Stafford St. Lisson Grove 1	5	C	D5	
3046	Sinclair	Alexander	Chaser	Rathbone Place 24	5	C		
3049	Spiller	Charles	Gentleman	Little Charlotte St. Blackfriars 1	5	C		
3080	Sherratt	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Dean St. Westminster	5	C		
3085	Styles	J. D.	Carpenter	Vine St. Westminster 5	5	C	D5	A5B5
3077	Stevens	John	Engineer and Smith	Drake St. Stamford St. 104	20	C	Ds	AsBs
302	Staniford	Charles	Merchant	Hanover Sq.	20	C	Ds	AsBs
3132	Stack	Robert	Woollen draper	High Holborn 213	5	C		
3133	Simmons	Frederick	Cabinet-maker	Broad Way Ludgate 4	5	C	D5	A5B5C5
		Walter						
3147	Sasserson	Joseph	Clerk	Catherine St. Pimlico 8	20	C	Ds	AsBsC20Ds
3161	Stones	James	Carpenter	Tottenham Court Rd 29	5	C	D5	A5B5
3170	Sutton	John	Carpenter	Torrington St.	5	C	D5	
3180	Slater	Henry	Carpenter	White Lion St. Islington 41	5	C		
3188	Shakel	Charles	Chaser	Weston St. Somers Town	5	C	D5	A5B5C5
3203	Strachn	John	Chaser	Marchmount Place	5	C		
3231	Smith	William	Watch-maker	Edward St. Portman Sq. 29	10	C	Ds	
3212	Simpson	William	Plasterer	Woborn Lane Rd 54	5	C	D5	A5B5C5
3215	Sibley	C.	Linen-draper	Maiden Lane 18	5	C	D5	A5B5C5
3234	Smith	Thomas	Apprentice to W. Jarvis Dyer	White Lion St. Pentonville 62	2.6	C	D2	A2B2C2
3253	Snoxell	James	Cabinet-maker	Dorset St. Fleet St. 85	5	C		
3258	Smith	Thomas	Painter and Glazier	East Row Hoxton 13	5	C		
3267	Stamper	William	Coach-painter	Aldersgate St. 53	5	C	D5	A5
3275	Sheat	William	Pianoforte-maker	Charles St. Soho 24	5	C		
3245	Smith	Martin	Accountant	High Holborn 300	20	C	Ds	AsBsC20Ds
3292	Smith	Thomas	Gentleman	Hatton Garden 21	5	C		
3296	Smith	George	Architect	Hatton Garden 21	5	C		
3323	Steed	Jos.	Carver and gilder	Brook St. Hampstead Rd 4	5	C	D5	A5
3327	Shephard	Edward	Clerk	Blackfriars Rd	5	C		
3349	Seapzingses	William	Butcher	Cross St. St Lukes	20	C	Ds	AsBs
3350	Smith	George	Builder	Paternoster Row 4	5	C	D5	
3309	Spurnell	Charles	Herald painter	Queen St. Blackfriars Rd 13	5	C	D5	A5B5C5
376	Simms	William	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Bowmans Buildings Aldersgate St. 1	20	C	Ds	AsBs
3375	Spicer	Robert	Pocket-book-maker	Basinghall St. 57	5	C	D5	
3376	Sauniac	Edmond	Gentleman	Bell Yard Carey St. 22	5	C		
3388	Shearer	James	Watch-maker	Devonshire St. Queens Sq. 23	5	C	D5	A5B5C5
3391	Searle	Henry	Surgeon	Charlotte St. Bloomsbury 21	10	C	Ds	
3416	Stephens	Thomas	Silversmith	Wardour St.	5	C	D5	
401	Staples	Samuel	Architect and Surveyor	Staple Inn 1	20	C	Ds	AsBs
3437	Stirling	George	Grocer	Little Queen St. Lincolns Inn Fields 39	5	C	D5	A5
3502	Smith	John	Geographer	Strand 172	20	C	Ds	AsBsC5
3518	Soloman	George	Ornamental paper manufacturer	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 10	5	C		
3531	Symns	William	Engraver	Britannia Terrace City Rd 62	5	C	D5	
3511	Swindell	Abraham	Mast master	King St. Southgate	5	C		
3539	Swann	John	Jeweller	Harrison St. Grays Inn Rd 11	5	C		
3531	Smith	William	Surveyor	South Molton St.	5	C		
3412	Sowerby	Dickenson	Gentleman	Brick Lane	5	D		A5B5C5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
3413	Stanley	Christian	Brush manufacturer	Tavistock St. Covent Garden 14	5	D	
3416	Scheffer	J.	Penograph manufacturer	Beckford Place New Kent Rd	20	D	AsBsCs
3653	Strong	Robert	Printer	East Harding St. 11	5	D	
3702	Simpson	W.	Plasterer	Gainsford Place 2	5	D	
3717	Sherwin	Joseph		Bydes Place Shoreditch 3	5	D	
3730	Smith	W. Brett		Devonshire St.	5	D	A5
2691	Samshan	William	Apprentice to G. Cumming		2.6	D	A2B2
3747	Stone	Edward	Carpenter	Tottenham Court Rd 39	5	D	
3805	Swaine	John	Brewer	Ossulton St. Somers Town 34	5	D	
3810	Sommers	Benjamin	Gentleman	Camden Place Camden Town 18	5	D	
3753	Scott	W.	Clock-maker	Waterloo Place Clerkenwell 8	20	D	AsBsCs
3846	Stephenson	Fred	Member's son	Little Portland St.	2.6	C D2	AsB2C2
3929	Sard	Francis	Tailor	Dean St. Soho 33	5	C	
3937	Sean	Richard	Stationer	Lambs Conduit St.	5	D	
3942	Swift	Thomas	Hosier	Fenchurch St. 59	10	D	As B5
3946	Sedding	Richard	Printer	St John St. Sq. 22	5	D	
3799	Smith	Charles	Tailor	Little Pultney St. 18	5	D	A5B5C5
3858	Stevenson	William	Hatter	Southwark Bridge Rd 21	5	D	A5B5C5
3863	Sherwin	J. G.	Member's son	Bydes Place Shoreditch	2.6	D	A2B2
3871	Smith	David	Carpenter	Brighton St. Somers Town 23	5	D	
3951	Sheppard	Thomas	Clerk	Rosomans St. Clerkenwell 8	5	D	
3954	Smith	John	Surgeon	King St. Cheapside 34	5	D	
3959	Silence	Epher					
3979	Saunniac	Edmond		Bell Yard Cary St. 22	5		A
3989	Seymour	Ed <sup>d</sup>	Clerk	Elm Court Temple 6	5		A
3998	Steward	William	Carpenter	Dawn St. Piccadilly 9	5		A B5C5
4015	Stutchbury	George	Lighter-man	Seething Lane 38	5		A B5
		Thomas					
4018	Stirling	Robert	Surveyor	Pembroke Place Vauxhall Rd 27	5		A
4065	Saville	Alfred	Compositor	Meard St. 6	5		A B5
4067	Stubbs	George	Printer	Chapman St. Pentonville 22	5		A B5C5
4073	Shaker	Samuel	Apprentice to A. Pritchard	Picket St. 18	2.6		A
4081	Snow	William	Tailor	Windmill St. Tottenham Court Rd 41	5		A
4084	Sanders	John	Clerk	Crown St. Finsbury 2	5		A B5C5
4097	Salkeld	John	Flannel manufacturer	Clements Court Wood St.	5		A
4102	Sopelte	Henry	Harp-maker	Grafton St. 25	5		A
4105	Spence	W. R.	Builder	Featherstone St. City Rd 13	5		A B5C5
4114	Stone	George	Gentleman	Canterbury	5	D	A20BsCsDs
4124	Sims	F.	Joiner	Great Titchfield St. 54	5		A
4137	Swift	Charles	Mechanist	Willow St. Westminster 27	5		A B5C5
4138	Sheren	Francis	Botanist	Willow St. Westminster 27	5		A
4152	Samson	Augustus	Goldsmith	Denmark St. Soho 11	5		A
4154	Spilsbury	Samuel	Goldsmith	Oxford St. 42	5		A
4172	Slater	Henry		White Lion St. Clerkenwell	5		A B5
4173	Sitch	Samuel	Brass-finisher	Chandos St. Covent Garden 32	5		A
4188	Skidmore	John	Brass-founder	Northampton Row Clerkenwell 16	5		A
4247	Schofield	John	Tobacconist	St Johns Lane Smithfield 4	5		A B5
4248	Squire	William	Goldsmith	Shulton Ground 38	5		A B5C5
4257	Stratton	William	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Boundary Row Blackfriars 12	5		A B5C5
		Mason					
4281	Stones	Edward	Carpenter	Kings Rd St Pancrass 11	5		A
4284	Starkey	B.	Jeweller	Fetter Lane 38	5		A B5C5
4285	Sprague	Edward	Compositor	Tothill St. Westminster 14	5		A B5
4314	Sutton	Joseph	Sail-maker	Bankside	5		A
4328	Sparrow	James	Machine Engraver	St Johns Sq. 14	5		A
4333	Soper	Ebenezer		Holborn Hill 56	5		A
4342	Simpson	John	Carpenter	Chancery Court Chancery Lane 3	5		A B5C5
4357	Steward	Richard	Carver	Drummond St. Somers Town 21	5		A
4364	Storm	James	Tailor	Newman St. 81	5		A B5
4365	Scott	James	Pianoforte-maker	Newman St. 8	5		A
4381	Smith	Dixon Henry	Printer	Fleet St. 148	20		A BsCsDs
4392	Stratford	Arthur	Clerk	Clifton St 8	5		A B5C5
4389	Stamper	Charles	Coach-painter	High St. Marylebone	5		A B5
4411	Saull	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Little Titchfield St. Oxford St. 7	5		A B5C5
4414	Simpson	Charles	Mason	Newgate St. 22	5		A
4433	Starkey	Joseph	Gold-lace-man	Regent St. 203	5		A B5C5
4437	Spiller	William	Carpenter	Frederick St. Edgware Rd	20		A BsCsDs
4460	Scott	Robert	Carpenter	Lant St. Borough 34	5		A
4474	Smith	George	Draftsman	Brewer St. Golden Sq. 41	5		A



No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824 1825	1826
4476	Stitchell	John	Law-stationer	Cary St. Lincolns Inn Fields 10	5	A
4483	Sinclair	Alexander		Trinity Sq. 11	5	B
4484	Sinclair	Edward	Member's son	Trinity Sq. 11	2.6	B
4493	Servant	John	Printer	Wellington St. Bethnal Green 25	5	B
4501	Soames	William	Engraver	Great Suffolk St. Borough	5	A
4514	Sewell	William	Clerk	Red Cross St. 40	5	A B5
4529	Steward	Thomas	Japanner	Chapel Row Clerkenwell 11	5	B C5
4535	Stevens	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Frogwell Court Charterhouse Lane 12	5	B C5
4553	Sabage	William	Watch-maker apprentice to Legros	Upper Crown St. Westminster 6	2.6	B C5
4557	Sadd	John	Machinist	Vauxhall	5	B
4558	Sadd	Benjamin		South Lambeth	5	B
4559	Stevens	Thomas jun.	Member's son	Frogwell Court Charterhouse Lane 12	2.6	B C2
4560	Stevens	George	Member's son	Frogwell Court Charterhouse Lane 12	2.6	B C2
4594	Sumeran	James	Jeweller	Lilse St. Leicester Sq. 27	5	B C5
4597	Sayer	William	Tailor	Kirby St. Hatton Garden 22	5	B C5
4609	Salter	Frederick	Tailor	Charlton St. Somers Town 74	5	B C5
4618	Seymour	Frederick R. Spencer	Printer	Stanhope St. Clare market, 43; 10 Chicester Rents	5	B C5
4635	Stangroom	Jeremiah	Shoe-maker	Northumberland Court	5	B C5
4658	Servant	Job	Member's son	Wellington St. Bethnal Green 25	2.6	B
4666	Sargeant	William	Bookbinder member's apprentice	Wells St. Cripplegate 8	2.6	B C2
4686	Salter	William		Russell Hotel Covent Garden	5	B
4690	Salter	George		Russell Hotel Covent Garden	5	B
4709	Sutton	Isaac	Draftsman	Great East Cheap 28	5	B
4712	Sweeting	John S.	Warehouseman	Friday St. 17	5	B
4727	Southgate	Thomas		Old North St. Red Lion Sq. 9	20	B CsDs
4734	Sim	Robert	Builder	Torrington Sq.	5	C
4769	Smith	John	Painter	Martha St. St George East 13	5	C
4752	Skelton	Thomas	Carpenter	Stanhope St. Clare Market 22	5	B C5
4764	Sacker	Peter	Painter	Great St Andrews St. Seven Dials 16	5	C
4781	Steward	James	Chemist	Old Bond St. 40	5	C
4784	Smith	John	Carpenter	Birch St. 34	5	C
4790	Seeling	John Lewis				
4799	Shelley	John Darby	Gentleman	Charlotte St. Bloomsbury Sq. 5	20	C Ds
4816	Smelling	William	Paper-hanger	West Harding St. 7	5	C
4824	Stokoe	Charles Henry	Clerk	Chancery Lane	5	C
4905	Savage	George	Watch-maker	Wynyard St. Clerkenwell	5	C
4906	Saul	Michael	Engineer	Little Titchfield St. 7	5	C
4909	Swap	William	Cutler	Miles Lane Cannon St. 24	5	C
4911	Slolesbury	Robert John	Printer	Union St. Borough 25	5	C
4930	Stames	Robert	Engraver Historical engraver	Great Titchfield St. 30	5	C
4928	Staines	Thomas	Auctioneer	Park St. 46	5	C
4864	Simpson	Robert	Baker	Bell Yard Fleet St. 30	5	C
4941	Stiles	Mason	Instrument maker	Cow Cross St.	5	C
4949	Stubbs	James	Engraver	Allsopps Buildings 28	5	C
4950	Stedman	James	Japanner	Belton St. Long Acre 6	5	C
4973	Spence	T. W.	Feather merchant	Newton St. Holborn 19	5	C
4992	Shore	William	Carpenter	Clarence Market Regents Park 58	5	C
4990	Skeate	William	Pianoforte maker	Church St. Soho 21	5	C
5008	Sparks	William				
5009	Stubbs	Thomas Edward	Clerk	Upper Frederick St. Hampstead Rd 3	5	C
5016	Shotton	Thomas	Tailor	Upper Charlton St. Fitzroy Sq. 19	5	C
5020	Stoker	Peter	Tailor	New Bond St.	5	C
5036	Staples	John	Law Stationer	Serles Place Lincolns Inn	5	C
5037	Staples	John Jun.	Member's son	Serles Place Lincolns Inn	2.6	C
5056	Seaton	Alexander	Tin-plate-worker	Colman St. Bunhill Row 10	5	C
5057	Scott	William	Tailor	Duke St. Bloolmsbury 27	5	C
5070	Sergent	Thomas	Clerk	Stamp office Somerset House	5	C
5075	Stengus	John Henry	Clerk	St Shads Row 14	5	C
5086	Speare	Thomas	Carpenter	Gower Place 7	5	C
5095	Sansom	George	Plasterer	Duke St. Lisson Grove 7	5	C
5110	Smith	Francis	Butcher	Addle Hill Doctors Commons	5	C
5123	Strahan	Robert	Accountant	Queen St. Cheapside	10	C
5118	Scott	Thomas	Basket-maker	Old Compton St. Soho 43	5	C
5128	Story	William	Merchant	Rupert St. Coventry St. 5	5	C
5097	Smith	William	Builder	Woodland Place 4	5	C

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
5098	Smith	Edward	Builder	Mortimer La 7		5		C
5159	Sewell	William	Clerk	Red Cross St. 40		5		C
5101	Scholey	J. B.	Coffee-dealer	Seward St. Goswell St. 60		5		C
62	Tucker	Thomas	Clerk	Strand 68	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
69	Truman	Henry		Westminster Gas Works	5	D	A5B5C5D5	5B5C5
70	Taylor	Richard	Printer	Shoe Lane	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
102	Taylor	David jun.	Boot-maker	Clifford St. Bond St. 14	10	D	AsB5	
103	Turtle	Peter	Vellum-binder	Fair St. Horsley Down	5	D	A5B5C5	
114	Thomas	William	Tin-man	Prices St. Blackfriars 7	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5
117	Thompson	John	Silk-winder	Monkwell St. 35	5	D	A5B5	
127	Taylor	Richard		Hadlow St. Burton Crescent	5	D	A5	
161	Trewinnard	Joshua	Ruby-pen-maker; later entry, Watch- maker	Great Ormond St.; later entry, 51 White Lion St. Pentonville	5	D	A5B5	A5
167	Thorn	James William	Cabinet-maker	Brook St. Grosvenor Sq. 20	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
171	Taylor	John James	Printer	Little New St. Shoe Lane 11	5	D		
177	Thick	Robert	Carver etc	Clipstone St. Marylebone 35	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
179	Thompson	William	Printer	Edmund St. Pancrass 5	5	D		
225	Thurnell	George	Jeweller	Margaret St. Spa fields	20	D	AsBsCs	
244	Turpin	Thomas	Clerk	Haines Court Bond St.	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5
250	Tennant	Benjamin	Wine merchant	Trinity Sq.	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
312	Turner	Jos <sup>h</sup>	Clerk	Goswell St. 8	5	D	A5B5C5	
341	Taylor	William	Clerk	York Buildings Islington 2	5	D	A5	
380	Tapley	John	Silversmith	Queen St. Blackfrairs Rd 51	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
432	Turner	John	Saw-maker	Vince St. Hatton Garden 15	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
437	Tunstall	Charles	Printer	Three King Court Lombard St. 11	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
460	Talmage	Henry	Dyer	Fetter Lane 15	5	D	A5B5	
465	Thompson	William			5	D	A5B5C5D5	
477	Twigg	Thomas	Clerk	Miles Lane 27	5	D	A5B5	
478	Twigg	John Henry	Dry salter	Coleman St. 35	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
546	Thompson	Peter	Carpenter	Great Newport St. 23	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
709	Tijou	William	Carver and gilder	Greek St. Soho 17	20		A BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
722	Taylor	William	Gentleman	Brompton Terrace 4	20	D	AsBsCs	
786	Thorn	James	Clerk	Cannon St. 56	5	D		
1001	Talkes	Thomas	Gentleman	Ram Inn Uxbridge	20	D	AsBsCs	
1524	Tatum	John	Gentleman	Park Place Camberwell 4	20	D	AsBsCs	
1525	Thomas	William	Carver and gilder	London St. Tottenham Court Rd 39	20	D	AsBsCs	
1569	Tovey	Richard	Engraver	Felix Place Islington 10	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A20BsCsDs
1572	Thompson	Henry	Warehouseman	Fetter Lane 109	5	D	A5B5C5	
1584	Tattersall	John	Compositor	Brewers Row Westminster 2	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1600	Turner	William	Currier	Tomney Terrace Horseferry.. 10	5	D	A5	
1605	Thrupp	William	Coal merchant	Newington	5	D		
1628	Tibbetts	Thomas	Clerk	Wood St. Cheapside 25	5	D	A5B5C5	
1630	Taine	James	Bricklayer	Lace Lane	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1643	Turner	Henry John	Gentleman	Percy St. St Pancrass	5	D	A5	
1644	Thomas	Charles	Clothier	Basinghall St.	5	D		
1665	Tindale	Richard	Clerk	West Place Bath St. City Rd 6	5	D		
1678	Thomas	James	Clerk	Prices St. Blackfriars Rd 10	5	D		
1690	Toplis	Charles	Surgeon	Carlisle St. Soho 10	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1703	Thorn	Daniel	Upholsterer	Stanhope St. 10	5	D		
1704	Thorn	Simeon	Clerk	Great Newport St. 4	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1718	Taylor	Stephen Matthew	Printer	Whites Court Rolls Buildings 10	5	D	A5B5C5	
1723	Taylor	James	Engraver	Chapel St. Pentonville 70	5	D	A5	
1804	Trent	Thomas	Lighterman	Hungerford Market 34	5	D		
1838	Tucker	William Henry	Glass-cutter	High Holborn 127	20	D	AsBsCs	
1864	Turner	Charles	Surgeon	Charles Sq. Hoxton	5	D		
1876	Taitt	G. W.	Herald Painter	Cheapside 143	5	D	A5B5C5D20	AsBsCs
1878	Taylor	Thomas	Bookseller	Brompton Library Brompton	5	D	A5	
1907	Taylor	John Jun.		Shoe Lane	5	D		
1915	Tovey	William	Seal engraver	Tookes Court 1	5	D	A5	
1927	Thompson	John L.	Printer	Wingrove Place St Johns St. Rd 15	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1982	Tuely	Charles	Sash-maker	Kenton St. 41	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1990	Taylor	David	Shoe-maker	Clifford St. Bond St. 14	20		A BsCsDs	
2006	Thurbell	Alfred	Hair factor	Great Surry St. Blackfriars Rd 145	20		A BsCsDs	
2009	Thornton	Henry	Clerk	Patent Office	21		A BsCsDs	
2014	Tomkins	John	Book-binder	White Horse Yard Drury Lane	5		A	
2046	Tapley	Sparks	Member's son	Queen St. Blackfriars Rd 51	2.6		A	
2047	Tapley	George	Member's son	Queen St. Blackfriars Rd 51	2.6		A	
2061	Thomas	William	Coal-merchant	Carmarthen St. 6	5		A	
2095	Thorp	William	Bookseller	Well St. Oxford St. 21	5		A B5C5D5	A5
2103	Tyler	Abraham	Carpenter	Church St. Bethnal Green 119	5		A B5C5D5	A5B5C5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
2102	Todd	John	Clerk	Salisbury Sq.	5	A B5C5	
2172	Thornton	James	Silversmith	Cromer St. Grays Inn Lane 15	20	A BsCsDs	
2180	Tapley	William	Silversmith	Weston's Place Pancrass Rd 13	20	A BsCsDs	
2187	Towgood	Frederic	Paper-maker	Sherborne Lane 14	20	A BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
2204	Treharne	T.	Clerk	Godlisman St. Doctors Commons 12	5	A	
2259	Taylor	W. G.		Aldermanbury	5	A	
2264	Thurnall	W.	Gentleman	Duxford Cambridge	5	A	
2282	Try	John	Gentleman	Stockwell	5	A	
2306	Tucker	William	Schoolmaster	Hackney	10	A BsC10Ds	A5B5C5
2318	Tyler	George	Lace-man	Bedford St. Covent Garden 26; 7	5	A B5C5D5	
		Henry		Brunswick St. Blackfriars Rd			
2406	Tucker	F.	Gold-beater	Flick Lane 40	5	B C5D5	
2417	Thurrell	John	Carver	Dorset Sq.; 27 Albermarle St. Piccadilly	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2427	Thomson	Alexander	Cabinet-maker	Fore St. Cripplegate 52	5	B C5	
2442	Torkington	Percival	Clerk	Chancery Lane 93	5	B	
2450	Turner	John L.	Printer	Aldersgate St.	5	B	
2491	Thompson	Thomas	House painter	Duke St. Tavistock Sq. 13	5	B	
2512	Taylor	Charles	Broker	Great Prescott St. 67	5	B C20Ds	AsBs
		Thomas					
2528	Tilsey	Frederick	Apprentice to Mr Preston		2.6	B	
2530	Talfourd	John	Cabinet-maker	Aldersgate St. 150	5	B	
2556	Tibbells	William	Clerk	New Union St. Moorfields 13	5	B C5	
107	Treffry	William	Apprentice	Apprentice to Mr Martineau	2.6	A B2	
		Henry	Engineer to Martineau				
101	Thomas	Joseph	Accountant	Exeter St.	10	B CsD5	
2611	Thompson	George Frederick	Ship-broker	Catherine Court Tower Hill	5	B	
2632	Taylor	John	Upholsterer	Bedford Court Covent Garden	5	B	
2637	Turner	James	Draper	High Holborn 70	5	B C5	
2662	Townshend	J. Vitruvius	Gentleman	Staple Inn 10	20	B CsDs	As
		William					
2685	Taylor	William	Printer	High Holborn 110	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2701	Tuck	Henry	Vellum-binder	Little St. Thomas Apostle	5	B C5	
2748	Thompson	William	Printer	Edmund St. Battle Bridge	5	B C5	
2759	Townley	William	Carpenter	Sermon Lane St Pauls 11	5	B	
2763	Talbot	Robert	Carpenter	Tabernacle Walk 61	5	B	
2780	Taylor	Samuel	Timber merchant	Macclesfield St. 4 Macclesfield	5	B	
2783	Townsend	William	Jeweller	Newcastle Place Clerkenwell 5	5	B	
2795	Thomas	John	Tailor	Charles St. Long Acre 7	5	B C5	
2818	Thompson	John	Clerk	Lombard St. 71	20	B CsDs	As
2823	Taylor	John	Bookseller	Wardour St. 34	5	B C5	
2846	Turner	Hewet Fish	Printed baize manufacturer	Tysoe St. Clerkenwell 24	20	B CsDs	As
2856	Terry	William	Gentleman	Southampton Buildings 45	20	B CsDs	As
2885	Toone	Thomas	Cooper	Salisbury Lane Bermondsey 14	5	B	
2873	Tabor	James A.	Gentleman	Crescent Jewin St. 2	20	B CsDs	As
2918	Tovey	William	Goldsmith	Key St. Clerkenwell 1	5	C	
2920	Tucker	Anderson	Clerk	Bartletts Buildings 29	5	C D5	
2940	Teasdale	Benjamin	Book-binder	Bartletts Buildings 22	5	C D5	A5B5C5
2955	Thomas	John	Linen-draper	Regent St. 9	5	C	
3017	Thompson	Robert William	Silk manufacturer	Monkwell St. 35	5	C	
403	Thomas	James			20	C Ds	AsBsC20Ds
3044	Tollets Follets	William	Iron-monger	Broad St. Golden Sq.	5	C	
3059	Tibbetts	Caleb	Plumber	Little St. Andersons St. 13	5	C D5	A5
3083	Tinney	William	Modeller	New Peter St. Westminster	5	C	
3092	Thompson	Abraham	Tailor	Hatton Yard	5	C	
3097	Thornley	Samuel	Chymist	Great St Helens 33	5	C	
3254	Taylor	Richard	Vellum-binder	Devonshire St. Queen Sq. 17	5	C D5	
3164	Thorp	George	Coach-painter	Well St. Oxford St. 21	5	C	
3189	Truscoat	John	Watch-maker	Rosamond St.	5	C D5	
3208	Tucker	Isaac	Carpenter	Little Weld St. Drury Lane; 103 Great Titchfield St.	20	C Ds	AsBsC5
3244	Taylor	John	Stationer	Clifford St. Bond St. 14	5	C	
3255	Traice	W.	Carpenter and joiner	Eccleston St. 17	5	C D5	A5
3259	Tappsell	Charles	Carpenter	Harrison St. Grays Inn Lane Rd 16	5	C D5	A5
3265	Taylor	William	Enameller	Wilderness Row 22	5	C D5	A5
3269	Tapsell	William	Artificial florist	Great Pultney St. 29	5	C	
3326	Tyler	Peter	Clerk	Queens Buildings Knightsbridge 12	5	C	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
3351	Tapp	James	Hosier	King St. Seven Dials 2	5	C	
3310	Taylor	Josiah	Brasier	Britannia St. City Rd 19	5	C D5	
3373	Tyler	Joseph	Upholsterer	Broad St. Bloomsbury	5	C	
3387	Trotter	Lionel	Brass-finisher	Finsbury Market 14	5	C	
3415	Taylor	William	Clerk	Frederic Place Goswell St. 12	5	C	
3440	Townes	Henry	Chaser	Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell 53	5	C	
3482	Tipton	A. G.	Chemist	Kent Rd	5	C	
3500	Thompson	W. John	Trunk and case-maker	George Yard Bow Lane	20	C Ds	AsBs
3507	Toone	V.	Hosier	King St. Cheapside 39	5	C	
3588	Tapster	T.	Gentleman	Craven St. 46	5	D	
3589	Tunbury	Charles	Engineer	Cursitor St. Chancery Lane 8	5	D	AsBsCs
3408	Turner	S.	Clerk	Birchin Lane	5	D	
3651	Tymms	Samuel	Printer	Church St. Westminster 10	5	D	A5B5C5
3652	Tymms	Thomas	Printer	Church St. Westminster 10	5	D	A5B5C5
3684	Taylor	Henry	Engineer	Crescent Jewen St. 11	20	D	AsBsCs
3680	Tunnicliff	Jos.	Engineer	Gunpowder Alley Fleet St. 4	5	D	
3684	Thompson	Robert	Gentleman	Adelphi Terrace	5	D	A5
3690	Thomas	Edward	Cabinet-maker	Cross St. St Leonards 3	5	D	
3704	Timbury	C. J.	Member's son engraver	Cursitor St. 8	2.6	D	A2B2C2
3732	Thomas	James	Printer	Clerkenwell	5	D	A5B5C5
3744	Thurgar	J.	Teacher	Somerset Place Havit Sq. 7	5	D	
3755	Thorne	James	Apprentice to Mr Preston	Harrison Camberwell 15	2.6	D	A5B5C5
3747	Tapley	George	Member's son		2.6	D	A2
3767	Throsselle	Charles	Sadler	East Harding St.	5	D	A10BsC10Ds
3972	Thompson	John	Shoe-maker	King St. Golden Sq. 7	5	D	A5
3854	Traice	William Henry	Member's son	Eccleston St. North Pimlico 17	2.6	D A5	
3856	Teede	George	Printer etc	Eaton St. Pimlico 18	5	D	A5
3873	Turnbull	John	Carpenter	Harrison St. Grays Inn Lane 14	5	D	A5
3829	Thompson	Thomas	Coach W. wright [wheel wright]	Little Welbeck St. 3	5	D	A5B5C5
3905	Thompson	Peter	Merchant	Adelphi Wharf 7	5	D	
3920	Try	John	Gentleman	North Brixton	5	D	A5
3938	Torkington	P. J.	Clerk	Chancery Lane 23	5	D	A5B5
3955	Toms	Josiah	Tailor	Brighton St. Coram St. 23	5	D	A5B5
3986	Taylor	William	Gold-beater	Bean St. Blackfriars	5		A
4001	Thomson	George	Egg merchant	Orange Court Leicester Sq. 4	5		A
4056	Timbury	William	Member's son	Cursitor St. 8	2.6		A C2
4067	Trewinnard	Joshua					
4076	Taylor	William	Tailor	Charlotte St. Whitechapel 52	5		A B5
4096	Taylor	Frederick	Watch-maker	Devonshire St. Queen Sq. 44	5		A B5C5
4103	Thum	George	Gun-maker (Harp-maker crossed out)	Grafton St. 25 and 34 St Martins Lane	5		A B5
4104	Talbot	Hooper	Plumber	Cunies Hall London Wall 5	5		A B5
4113	Townsend	Edward	Silversmith	Sutton St. 9	5		A
4150	Taylor	Edward	Boot-maker	Great Ormond St. 31	5		A B5
4166	Thomas	Frederick	Harp-maker	Regent St. 26	5		A B5
4168	Tily	James	Joiner	Castle St. East Oxford St.	5		A
4261	Turner	Rowland	Tailor	Upper Charlton St. Fitzroy Sq. 13	5		A
4323	Tapple	George	Draftsman	Chapel St. Bedford Row	5		A B5C5
			[Topple]				
4331	Taunton	Arthur	Attorney	Weston Place Somers Town 23	5		A
4332	Taunton	Charles	Solicitor	Weston Place Somers Town 23	5		A
4336	Teagam	John	Carpenter	Goldsmiths Court Great New St. 2	5		A
4373	Taylor	Ridge	Architect	Francis St. Beauford Sq. 28	20		A BsCsDs
4443	Turner	James	Mercer	Marshall St. Golden Sq. 4	5		A
4450	Turpin	Charles Henry	Watch-maker	Banner St. St Lukes 62	5		A
4475	Thomas	John	Coach-plater	Eagle St. Red Lion Sq. 21	5		A
4499	Taylor	John	Upholsterer	Bedford Court Covent Garden 16	5		B
4600	Taylor	George	Member's son	Bedford Court Covent Garden 16	5		B
4635	Thornton	William	Joiner	Brompton	5		B
4646	Teasdale	John	Carver	Selby Place New Rd 5	5		B
4668	Torkington	John		Chancery Lane 93	5		B
4679	Tate	George		Chapel St. Pentonville 18	5		B C5
4689	Till	William	Dealer in Coins etc	Great Russell St. Covent Garden 17	5		B
4698	Taylor	C. N.	Jeweller	Ryders Court Leicester Sq. 2	5		B C5
4711	Thompson	Peter	Jeweller	Brewer St. Bolden Sq. 8	5		B C5
4735	Timbury	Frederick		Turner St. Commercial Rd	5		C
4783	Truscot	John	Watch jeweller	Rosomans St.	5		C
4796	Towers	Samuel	Clerk	Stoney Lane Borough 2	5		C

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
4819	Taylor	Henry	Gentleman	Miles's Lane Carmon St. 24	5			C
4845	Taylor	J.		Printing House Lane Blackfriars	5			C
4921	Taylor	William	Warehouseman	Bucklersbury 31	20			C Ds
4924	Theobalds	William	Silversmith	Greville St. Hatton Garden 22	5			C
	Jun.							
4857	Timbury	William						
4874	Tapster	Stephen	Wine merchant	Craven St. Strand 46	5			C
4898	Todd	John	Tailor	Tottenham Court Rd 204	5			C
4959	Treble	William	Clerk	Camden St. Islington 25	5			C
4960	Thomas	David	Accountant	Castle St. Bloomsbury 7	5			C
5031	Tickner	Edward	Leather-seller	Beale Lane 24	10			C Ds
5078	Todd	David	Cabinet-maker	New Rompton St. Soho 26	5			C
5085	Thomas	William	Silk-weaver	Ludgate Hill 36	5			C
5102	Taylor	Edwin	Boot and shoe-maker	Hanway St. Oxford St.	5			C
5161	Thomas	John	Stay-maker	Wood St. Cheapside	5			C
335	Vale	Samuel	Carpenter	John St. Waterloo Bridge 27	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
401	Vandy	William	Printer	Red Lion Court Shoe Lane	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
464	Vowles	Samuel	Lithographic Printer	St Michaels Alley	5	D	A5B5	
561	Vale	John	Saw-maker	Old St. 140	5	D	A5	
602	Vale	John	Carpenter	John St. Waterloo Bridge 26	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1632	Uffendale	Thomas	Composer	Francis St. Hoxton	5	D	A5B5C5	
1700	Vachee	Anthony	Oilman	John St. Bedford Sq. 1	5	D		
	Vachie							
1771	Verinder	James Henry	Cutler	St Pauls Church Yard	5	D		
1781	Vigurs	Francis	Printer	St Martins Court 9	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
1807	Varney	Richard	Cook	Newcastle St. Strand 16	5	D	A5	
2196	Utting	Horatio	Upholsterer	Buckingham St. Strand 21	5		A B5	
2245	Vigers	Thomas	Iron-monger	Strand 479	20		A BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
2258	Uzielli	Matthew	Clerk	Fenchurch St. 29	5		A B5C5	
2313	Vallance	William	Carpenter	Bath Buildings St Lukes 4	5		A	
2315	Vigurs	Francis	Carpenter	New Wharf Whitefriars	20		A BsCsDs	
		William						
2538	Vannet	Alexander	Carpenter	George St. Marylebone 18	5		B	
2767	Vickers	John	Engineer	Whitefriars	5		B C5D5	A5B5C5
2952	Van Bever	Ignace	Smith	Nussan St Middx Hospital 24	5		C D5	A5
3016	Underhill	Henry	Glass-cutter	Bartletts Buildings HOLborn 15	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3143	Underhill	Robert	Chaser	Bartletts Buildings 15	5		C	
3271	Virtue	John	Carpenter	Newman St. 58	5		C D5	A5
3305	Underhill	James	Glass-cutter	Bartletts Buildings 15	5		C D5	A5B5C5
3498	Urquhart	David	Gentleman	Scotland Yard Whitehall 2	5		C	
	Vila	Augustin	Gentleman	Carmarthen St. Bedford Sq. 34	5		C	
3898	Unite	William	Bit-maker	Lisle St. Soho 7	5			A
		Alphonsus						
4003	Urquhart	Leonard	Silversmith	Baldwins Gardens 34	5			A
4051	Underwood	A.	Silver-chaser	Gloucester St. Hoxton 45	5			A
4370	Vine	Henry	Hatter	Denmark St.	5			A
4486	Viner	William	Hot-presser	Fell St. Wood St. 7	5			B
4537	Unite	Samuel	Japanner	Pratt St. Bethnal Green 19	5			B C5
4589	Unwin	Robert	Painter	Dukes St. Lincolns Inn Fields 31	5			B
4634	Underwood	Abraham	Coach-body builder	Red Cross St. 35	5			B
4753	Vincent	George	Sculptor	Seymour St. Somers Town 10	5			B
4962	Vila	Domingo M.	Gentleman	Olstor St. Somers Town 66	5			C
102	Widdrington	George	Painter	Charles St. Manchester Sq. 13	5	D	A5B5C5D5	
105	Webber	Benjamin	Leather-cutter	Young St. Kensington 18	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
115	Wood	Charles	Painter	Poppins Court Fleet St.	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
131	Watson	William		Hampden Court Somers Town	5	D	A5B5	
139	Willard	D. H.	Chemist	West Smithfield 30	5	D	A5B5C5	
144	Webster	William	Engineer	Little Henry St. Waterloo Rd 5	5	D	A5B5C5D20	AsBsCs
152	Wilks	Joseph	Cotton-yarn Manufacturer	Strand 202	20	D	AsBsCs	
162	White	Alfred		Chapman St. Islington 29	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5D5
173	Whitaker	Jos..h. Lister	Cabinet-maker	Thomas St. Grosvenor Sq. 41	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
174	Wright	George	Printer	Poppins Court Fleet St.	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
209	Weston	William	Cabinet-maker	Orange Court Leicester Fields 3	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
211	White	Joseph	Gold-beater	Well St. Jewin St. 16	5	D		
228	Waterman	William	Carpenter etc	Winsley St. Oxford St. 3	20	D	AsBsCs	
280	Walker	Richard	Coach-maker	Crown St. Russell St. 23	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5C5
281	Wilson	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Duke St. St James's 42	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
282	Whiting	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Wells St. Oxford St. 41	10		A Bs	
285	Wheeler	John	Clerk	Botolph Lane 46	5		A	
321	Warner	John	Turner	Hertford Place Somers Town 1	5	D	C5	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824	1825	1826
335	Wood	Henry	Carver	Wellington St. Goswell St. 50	2.6	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
		Robert Jun.						
336	Wood	George	Carver	Wellington St. Goswell St. 50	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
341	West	Edward	Iron-manufacturer	High Holborn 251	20	D	AsBsCs	A5B5C5
351	Warren	Henry	Printer	Tichborne St. Piccadilly 9	5	D	A5B5C5	
365	Webb	John	Upholsterer	Old Broad St. 72	5	D	A5	
370	Waterman	William	Carpenter	Winsley St. Oxford St.	5	D	A5B5	
399	Wood	John	Carver	Wellington St. Goswell St. 50	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
406	Whitlock	Thomas	Gentleman	Paradise Place Stockwell 14	20	D	AsBsCs	
441	Wilmot	William	Gilder	Greek St. Soho 17	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
444	Wheeler	D. E.	Watch-maker	Grays Inn Passage 9	5	D	A10BsC10Ds	A10BsC10Ds
451	Wilson	Alexander	Jeweller	Northumberland Court Strand 1	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
456	Williams	John	Engine-maker	Pimlico	5	D		
454	Walton	George	Clerk	Black Hill Timber Yard	5	D	A5B5	
460	Wallace	Thomas	Smith	Bridgwater St. Somers Town 22	15	D	AsB5C5D5	A5
490	Webster	James	Clerk	Throgmorton St. 37	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
491	William	Owen	Clerk	Drury Lane 73	5	D	A5B5C5	
		Thomas						
496	Warner	James	Turner	Marson St. Somers Town 6	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
512	Wellington	John	Printer	Saracens Place Fitzroy Sq. 31	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5
570	Wilson	Thomas	Tailor	Goodwins Court St Martins Lane 4	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
571	Whitaker	John	Plumber etc	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 12	5	D	A5	
585	Wilkinson	James	Gun-maker	Church St. Mile End	5	D	A5B5	
584	Windley	John	Compositor	Bull Crescent Somers Town 5	5	D		
589	Woolley	Robert	Music engraver	Jewin Court Jewin St. 4	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
607	Wells	George	Clerk	Fleet Market 88	5	D		
609	Wrigglesworth	James	Chemist	Felix House Back Rd Islington	20	D	AsBsCs	
903	Wills	Joseph	Whitesmith	Park St. Camberwell	20	D	AsBsCsD10	AsB5C5
706	Wallen	William			5		A	
994	Winter	John	Carpenter	London Wall 20	5	D		
1042	Watson	Samuel	Weaver	George St. Bethnal Green 2	20	D	AsBsCs	
1082	Watts	Francis	Gentleman	New St. Vincent Sq. Westminster 7	20	D	AsBsCsD20	AsBsCs
1526	Waugh	Alfred W.	Carpet manufacturer	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 3	20	D	AsBsCs	
1542	Whitehead	John	Wine-cooper	Dean St. Soho 23	5	D	A5B5C5	
1548	Willis	Thomas	Gold-beater	Fetter Lane 48	5	D		
1565	Walker	J. H.	Silk manufacturer	Artillery St. Spitalfields	5	D	A5B5	
1576	Woolley		Jeweller	Upper Clifton St. Finsbury 11	5	D		
1586	White	William	Painter	New St. Sq. 10	5	D		
1609	Whyte	Robert	Upholsterer	Earl St. West Edgware Rd 25	5	D	A5B5	
1610	Whittingham	Samuel	Upholsterer	Bow Lane Cheapside 10	5	D	A5	
1636	Wood	Samuel	Gentleman	St Johns St. 35	5	D		
		James						
1640	Wheeler	William	Glass-cutter	Leather Lane 80	5	D	A5B5C5	
1662	Waller	George	Clerk	Pleasant Place Kingsland Rd 74	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
1664	Wilson	Robert	Painter	Middletons Buildings Marylebone 3	5	D	A5B5C5D5	A5
1671	Webb	Joseph	Mathematical-instrument-maker	St James St. Clerkenwell 15	5	D	A5	
1698	Weatherly	William E.	Silversmith	Fleet St.	5	D	A5B5	
1702	Walker	William	Chemist	Judd St. 25	5	D	B5	
1710	Walters	William	Mathematical Teacher	Bell Yard Temple Bar	5	D	A5B5	
1745	Wigan	A. L.	Surgeon	Dowgate Hill	20	D	AsBsCs	
1753	Walker	Charles	British Lace manufacturer	Maiden Ash Ongar	20	D	AsBsCs	
1757	Wilson	Henry	Bookseller	St Pauls Church Yard 5	5	D	A5	
1778	West	Thomas	Gentleman	London St. Fitzroy Sq.	5	D		
1784	Williams	William	Surgeon	St Bartholomew Close	5	D		
1802	Wooll	James	Clerk	St Dunstons Hill	5	D	A20BsCsDs	
1825	Wise	J. C.	Gentleman	Hermitage Place St Johns St. Rd	20	D	AsBsCs	
1830	Walbancke	George	Jeweller	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 59	20	D	AsBsCs	
1833	Williams	James	Gentleman	Great St Helens	5	D		
1855	Wornell	Charles	Carver	London Wall 12	5	D	A5B5	
1893	Watson	Henry	Warehouseman	Cheapside 156	10	D	AsB5C5	
		Sparks						
1903	Wooller	T. J.	Printer	Gough Sq.	20	D	AsBsCs	
1921	Walker	J. W.	Carpet manufacturer	Castle St. Holborn 6	5	D		
1946	Wilson	George	Warehouseman	Boverie St. Fleet St. 10	5		A B5C5	
1967	Wilson	John	Gentleman	Walworth	20	D	AsBsCs	
1972	Whitaker	Thomas	Law-stationer	Breams Buildings Chancery Lane 2	5	D	A5B5C5	
1979	Wilkins	Thomas	Merchant	Homerton	5		A	
1980	Wilkins	Edward	Merchant	Homerton	5		A	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
1999	Wilmott	William	Umbrella-maker	Little Bell Alley Colman St. 3	20	A BsCsDs	A10Bs
2007	Willson	Henry	Gentleman	Stockwell Surry	5	A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2010	Warwick	Mark	Clerk	Theobalds Rd 4	5	A B5C5D5	
2027	Westlake	G.	Gentleman	Billeter St. 21	10	A Bs	
2028	Wrighton	James	Gentleman	Billeter Sq. 21	10	A Bs	
2045	Wheeler	Henry	Architect	St Bartholomews Hospital	5	A	
2049	Wood	Edward	Clerk	Newcastle St. Strand 21	5	A B5	
2069	Ward	William	Operative chemist	Fitchets Court Noble St. 4	20	A BsCsDs	
2083	Williams	Richard	Cloth factor	Ross St. Commercial Rd	5	A	
2089	Wilson	T.	Bookseller	St Pauls Church Yard 5	5	A	
3114	Wanstall	Richard	Hosier	Wood St. Cheapside 18	20	A BsCsDs	
2115	Wanstall	William	Hosier	Wood St. Cheapside 18	20	A BsCsDs	
2119	Wood	Edward	Member's son	Wellington St. 150	2.6	A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
		George					
2140	Wilson	W.P.	Clerk	Mansion House St. 1	5	A	
2141	Walther	William	Oilman	Whitecross St. 145	5	A	
2150	Witherington	James	Cabinet-maker	Baldwin St. City Rd 6	5	A	
2160	Webster	Alexander	Clerk	Brownlow St. Long Acre 35	5	A	
		John					
2166	Wornell	Alexander	Trimming Manufacturer	St Anns Lane City 6	20	A BsCsDs	A5B5C5
2192	Wilkie	Robert	Watch-maker	Strand 65	5	A B5	
2198	Williams	T. W.	Carver	Great Quebec St. Montague Sq. 5	5	A B5	
2200	Wilkinings	J. R.		Duke St. Westminster 50	5	A B5C5	
2217	Ward	Richard	Sack-dealer	Horsley Down Lane 8	5	A	
2219	Whiskin	William	Glazier	Red Cross St. Borough	10	A Bs	
		Daniel					
2243	Wilkinson	James	Gun-maker	Church St. Mile End 64	2.6	A	
2247	Walther	Charles	Book-binder	Castle Court Strand	5	A B20CsDs	As
		Davis					
2266	Warner	John	Brass-founder	Crescent Cripplegate 8	5	A B5C5	
2266	Walford	Samuel	Carpet manufacturer	Rosomans St. Clerkenwell 8	20	A BsCsDs	A20BsCsDs
2284	Warner	John	Brass-founder	Crescent Cripplegate 8	20	A BsCsDs	
2328	Whitwell	Stedman	Architect	Regent St. 12	20	A BsCsDs	
2350	White	William	Engineer	Fleet St. 69	5	A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2354	Warner	Robert	Brass-founder	Crescent Cripplegate 9	20	A BsCsDs	
2336	Ware	Thomas	Clerk	Kingsland Rd	5	A B5	
2381	Wachers	Thomas	Upholsterer	Bennetts Hill Doctors Commons	5	A	
2395	Woolmer	Shirley	Gentleman	Spencer St. Northampton Sq. 15	5	B	
2422	Whitby	Timothy		at Messrs Martineaus	20	B CsDs	As
2434	Ward	Cornelius	Musical- instrument-maker	Great Titchfield St. 38	20	B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
2437	Webb	James	Shoe-maker	London St. Rd 3	5	B	
2438	Wilson	James	Shoe-maker	Goldens Place Kennington 12	5	B	
2456	Waterman	Thomas	Carpenter	Winsley St. Oxford St. 3	5	B C5D5	A5
2468	Wicksteed	Thomas	Engineer	John St. Adelphi 19	5	B	
2466	Walker	Jos <sup>b</sup> John	Upholsterer	Hanover St. Long Acre 10	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2479	Weston	John	Builder	Cambridge Heath Hackney	5	B	
		Thomas					
2486	Wrench	William	Gentleman	Buckingham St. Adelphi	5	B	
2487	Wrench	Edward	Philosophical- instrument-maker	Red Lion St. Holborn	5	B	
2492	White	Charles	Chaser	Suffolk St. Borough 2	5	B	
2506	Woodgate	George	Book-binder	Bunhill Row	5	B C5	
2508	Wright	William	Clerk	Windsor Terrace City Rd 21	5	B C5	
2525	Watson	James	Hydrographer	Printers Place Bermondsey	5	B C5D5	A5
2527	Wilkinings	William	Clerk	Pentonville	5	B	
2533	Wheeler	Joseph	Cock-founder	Tottenham Court Rd	20	B CsDs	As
		W. O.	Clerk	Mabledon Place Burton Crescent 16	10	A Bs	
1926	Walker	Edward	Book-binder	Edmunds Place Aldersgate St. 7	20	A BsCsDs	
141	Wilson	Alexander	Engraver	Leigh St. Red Lion Sq. 6; 55 Upper Marylebone St. Marylebone	5	D A5B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2580	Watts	Joshua	Pewterer	Shoe Lane 61	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2582	Ward	Samuel	Tobacconist	Newgate St.	5	B	
2591	Ware	John James	Carver	Chiswell St. 15	5	B	
2599	Want	John	Gentleman	Vauxhall Place 1	5	B	
2600	Want	Randolph J.		Vauxhall Place 1	5	B C5	
2605	Wren	David	Carpenter	Southville Lambeth	20	B CsDs	As
2615	Williams	John	Iron-plate-worker	Great Suffolk St. 33	5	B	
2623	Winsor	Frederick Albert	Gentleman	Upper Stamford St. Blackfriars 4	20	B CsDs	As
2649	Wyburd	William	Chaser	Wynyatt St. Islington 67	20	B CsDs	As

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub	1824 1825	1826
2656	Wighton	James	Baker	Pimlico Rd 13	5	B C5	
2657	Walker	J. W.	Carpet manufacturer	Castle St. Holborn	5	B	
2670	Watson	John	Linen-draper	Strand 171	20	B CsDs	As
2671	Whitworth	Joseph	Engineer	Gibson St. Oakley St. 3	5	B	
2674	Wheeler	John Alexander		Grays Inn Passage 9	10	B CsD5	A5B5C5
2679	Wooley	John	Gentleman	Piccadilly	5	B	
2690	Wilkinson	Joseph	Merchant	Barge Yard Bucklersbury 5	20	B CsDs	AsB20CsDs
2702	Wyatt	Thomas	Carpenter	Ampton St. Grays Inn Rd	5	B	
2717	Woolley	Alfred	Compositor	John St. Islington	5	B C5	
621	White	Paul S.	Chemist	Chapman St. Islington 29	5	A B5C5D5	A5B5C5
2728	Witney	William	Carpenter	Grange Yard Cary St.	5	B D5D5	A5
2743	Wicksteed	John	Bookseller	Duke St. Lincolns Inn Fields	20	B CsDs	As
2748	Williams	John	Hatter	Rawstorne St. Clerkenwell 15	5	B C5D5	A5
2753	Wyatt	Thomas	Draftsman	Denmark St. 42	5	B C5	
	Wild	Richard	Tailor	Craven St. Strand 8	20	D AsBsCs	
2771	Wood	John	Cutler	Bishopsgate within 111	5	B	
2781	Weight	John	Smith	Charter House Lane 23	5	B	
2784	Wood	John	Mercer	Little Newport St. 8	20	B CsDs	As
2787	Wollen	Frederic	Clerk	Camden St. Islington 18	5	B	
2799	Wagstaff	George	Carpenter	Bartletts Place 15	5	B	
2800	Wagstaff	James	Member's son	Bartletts Place 15	2.6	B	
2826	Wilson	Sir Robert	[Gentleman]	Regent St. 18	20	B CsDs	As
2845	Wacey	George	Book-binder	Kirby St. Hatton Garden 7	5	B C5D5	A5B5C5
2881	Wilkinson	John	Gentleman	Clements Inn	5	B	
2886	White	James	Iron-monger	Borough 165	5	B D5	
2865	Ward	Thomas	Builder	Jewin St.	5	B D5	
2904	Walker	Samuel	Miller	Oxford St. 422	5	B	
2907	Watson	James	Bookseller	Fleet St. 135	5	C D5	A5
2911	Wallis	Charles	House agent	Regents Circus Piccadilly 44	20	C Ds	AsBs
2913	Wild	John	Clerk	Union St. Southwark	5	C	
2916	Weston	John S.	Silk-merc	Bread St. 62	5	C D5	A5B5C5
2978	Walker	Charles	Geographer	Bernard St. 47	5	C D5	
2980	Webb	Joseph	Printer	St James's Walk	20	C Ds	AsBsC20Ds
2970	White	Charles	Silk-merc	Regent St. St James's 9	5	C D5	A5
2985	Weary	John	Carpenter	Hand court Fleet St. 3	5	C	
361	Warwick	Guy			20	C Ds	AsBsC20Cs
3035	Wilkinson	John	Accountant	Walbrook Buildings 2	5	C D5	C5
3041	Woodward	John	Watch-maker	Clerkenwell	5	C	
3056	White	Joseph	Gold-beater	Shaftsbury Place 28	5	C D5	
3060	Walker	John	Tailor	Hanover St. Long Acre 10	5	C D5	A5B5C5
		Goadby					
3081	Ward	Samuel	Weaver	Tatham Place Walworth	5	C	
3087	Welch	Thomas	Engineer	Leopards Court Leather Lane 1	5	C	
3099	West	James John	Cabinet-maker	Oxford St. 19	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3116	Warren	Edward D.	Printer	Dean St. Fetter Lane 3	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3138	Walker	F.	Engraver	John St. Somers Town 47	5	C	
3165	Whomes	Henry	Coach-painter	Well St. Oxford St. 214101	5	C D5	
3156	Wright	Henry	Printer	Douglass St. Vauxhall	5	C	
3200	Wylie	James	Oil and colourman	Drury Lane 150	20	C Ds	AsBsC20Ds
3201	Webb	William	Pianoforte-maker	Henry St. Hampstead Rd 22	5	C	
3202	Whiffin	William	Carpenter	Wilmington St. 1	5	C Ds	As
3216	Wilson	John	Coach-maker	Berry Place Oxford St. 1	5	C Ds	As
3239	Whitefield	John	Pocket-book-maker	Shoe Lane 3	5	C	
		Henry C.	Law-stationer	Staple Inn Buildings 3	5	C	
3256	Wharton	Henry C.	Law-stationer	Staple Inn Buildings 3	5	C	
3257	Wentworth	John	Engineer	Wandsworth	5	C	
3248	Webb	John	Haberdasher	Strand	20	C Ds	AsBs
3245	Wood	Samuel	Silversmith	St Johns St. 35	10	C Ds	A10Bs
		James					
3270	Wright	Ambrose	Cabinet-maker	Upper Marylebone St. 8	5	C	
3232	West	William Jun.	Wire-worker	Strand 329	5	C	
3297	Wray	William	Stonemason	Angel St. St Martins Lane 14	5	C	
3315	Webber	John	Watch-maker	York St. 58	5	C D5	A5
3332	Weatherstone	Henry	Seed merchant	High St. Borough 15	10	C Ds	
3346	Wire	William	Stationer	Wellington St. 4	20	C Ds	AsBs
3356	Williams	William	Clerk	Great St. Helens	5	C	
3307	Woodrow	Charles	Carpenter	Wellesley St. 2	5	C	
254	Williams	William		Castle St. Holborn 14	20	C Ds	AsBsC20Ds
3379	Whitethorn	James	Gentleman	Terrace Grays Inn Lane 13	5	C D5	
3367	Worster	Samuel	Tailor	Fetter Lane 31	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3374	Weaver		Printer	Dyers Buildings Holborn	5	C	



No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824	1825	1826
3414	Whitbourn	Edward	Coach-maker	Goswell St. 8	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3334	Willson	James	Artist	Tottenham Court Rd	5	C D5	
3422	Woodcock	James	Accountant	Ravens's Place Hammersmith	10	C Ds	
3491	Widdrington	James	Painter	Grey St. Manchester Sq. 11	5	C	
3497	Waterman	James	Carpenter and Builder	Winsley St. Oxford St. 3	5	C	
4020	Whitcombe	Arthur		Coventry St. Piccadilly 23	5	C D5	A5
3519	Wilkinson	Benjamin	Artist	Cooks Row Pancras 16	5	C D5	
3536	Warrington	Robert	Chymist at Mr Cooper's	Paradise St. Lambeth	20	C Ds	AsBs
3512	Wilson	James	Carpenter	Denmark St. Soho 14	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3517	West	Robert	Accountant	Upper Marylebone St. 51	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3555	Williams	Francis Fortesque	Clicker	Little Russell St. Covent Garden 7	5	C D5	A5B5C5
3580	Wilson	T. W.	Linen Manufacturer	Barnsley Yorkshire [Barnsley]	10	C Ds	A10Bs
3574	Wright	Anthony	Goldsmith	Strand 75	5	C	
3051	Wilson	William	Printer	Skinner St. 57	5	D	
3055	Webb	John	Upholsterer	Kings St. St Lukes 14	5	D	
3564	Wildman	George	Whitesmith	Great St Andrews St. 21	5	D	
3626	Whitaker	William	Floor-cloth Manufactory	Newington Causeway 37	5	D	
3640	Wray	Robert	Water-gilder	Penton Place Pentonville 37	5	D	
3642	Walsh	John	Painter	Abbey Place Little Coram St. 6	5	D	A5
3654	Ward	John	Builder	Jewin St. 9	5	D	A5
3660	Wildman	J. T.	Clerk	New Gloucester St. Hoxton 12	5	D	
3722	Watson	Edward			5	D	A5B5C5
3731	Williams	William		Hunter St.	5	D	A5B5
3751	Watkins	George	Solicitor	Lincolns Inn	20	D	AsBsCs
3759	Warr	Richard	Clerk	Duke St. Euston Sq. 7	5	D	
3762	Wing	William	Leather-cutter	Gray St. Marylebone 13	5	D	
3676	Wilson	Alexander	Clerk	Jeffrey Sq. St Mary Axe 3	5	D	A5B5
3783	Wheeler	Samuel Edward	Tailor	Lambs Conduit St. 15	5	D	
3820	Whitney	Edward	Shoe-maker	Kings St. Golden Sq.	5	D	A5
3794	Woodward	George	Clerk	Queen St. Theobalds Rd 6	5	D	A5B5C5
3857	Wilson	John P.	Schoolmaster	Walworth Place 8	5	D	
3859	Widnull	Josiah	Carpet manufacturer	Holborn Bars 14	5	D	
3885	Wallis	Thomas	Varnish-maker	Long Acre 611	5	D	
3893	Williams	Thomas	Harp-maker	Wardour St. Soho 98	5	D	
3833	Whitfield	Jackson	Musical instrument maker	Romney Terrace Westminster 15	5	D	A5B5C5
3840	Warren	Edward Ord	Gentleman	Guilford St. 12	20	D	AsBsCs
3845	White	James	Surveyor	Deans Place 5	5	D	
3910	Weston	Henry	Bricklayer	Chapel Court South Audley St.	5	D	
3911	Weymouth	Henry	Gentleman	Wandsworth	20	D	AsBsCs
3930	West	Randal	Undertaker	Red Cross Sq. 27	5	D	
3953	Wilkinson	John	Gentleman	Great East Cheap 5	5	D	B5
3956	Watson	John	Carpenter	Brighton St. Coram St. 23	5	D	
3966	Wilson	Edward	Accountant	Cannon St. 65	5		A
3971	Webb	J. B.	Watch-maker	Clerkenwell	5		A B5C5
4025	White	Thomas	Apprentice Watch- maker	White Lion St Pen [Pentonville]	2.6		A BsCs
4040	Web	James	Carver	Rupert St. St James's 52	5		A
3045	Wilcoxon	Robert	Coach-maker	Wilson Place Grays Inn 4	5		A B5C5
4053	Walker	Arthur	Clerk	Argyle St. 24	10		A Bs
4072	Waller	Robert		Ampton St. Grays Inn Rd 1	5		A
4078	Warwick	Joseph	Clerk	Theobalds Rd Bloomsbury 4	5		A B5
4111	Wiltshire	John	Joiner	Poland St.	5		A
4116	Webb	William	Carpenter	Little George St. Hampstead Rd 44; 3 Chancery Court Chancery Lane	5		A B5C5
4118	Ward	B.	Carpenter	Little George St. Hampstead Rd 44	5		A
4126	Wilson	James	Carpenter	Peters Court St Martins Lane	10		A BsC5
4180	Watson	Henry	Upholsterer	Dean St. Soho 40	5		A
4187	Wilson	Thomas	Wine merchant	Hoxton Old Town 151	5		A
4204	Wells	George	Clerk	Fleet St. 22	5		A B5
4205	Wells	Thomas	Clerk	Carey St. Lincolns Inn Fields 1	5		A
4206	Webster	A. J.	Clerk	Old St. Rd 72	5		A
4232	Watts	Henry	Clerk	Brookly St. Islington	5		A
4234	Wright	Robert	Carpenter	Theobalds Rd 52	5		A B10Cs
4241	Watson	William	Watch-case-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell	5		A
4255	Wilson	John	Clerk	Guilford Place Moorfields 21	5		A B5C5

No.	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Residences	Sub 1824 1825	1826
4263	Wheeler	Joseph	Plate-glass manufacturer	Coventry St. 23	5	A B10Cs
4286	White	James		Ludgate Hill	5	A
4296	Wells	James	Clerk	Fleet St. 22	5	A B5
4303	Wakefield	George	Gentleman	Ossulton St. Somers Town 7	5	A
4311	Walker	Joseph	Tin-plate-worker	Pancras St.	5	A B5
4324	West	W.				
4367	Warnell	Charles	Hosier	Maiden Lane 11	5	A
4404	Whitaker	W.	Perfumer	Holborn Hill	5	A
4408	Whitestone	Robert	Gentleman	Camden Place Brixton 10	5	A B5
4417	Whitmore	Henry	Surgeon	Bath St. Cold Bath Sq.	5	A C5
4419	Wood	D.	Law-stationer	Basinghall St. 81	20	A BsCsDs
4446	Warner	Ebenezer	Plumber	Great Bell Alley 21	5	A B5
4457	Watkins	Richard	Cooper	Drake St. Red Lion Sq. 2	5	A
4465	Wright	Thomas	Decorative painter	Wingrove Place St Johns St. Rd 16	5	A B5C5
4531	Wallis	I.	Bow-maker etc	Chancery Lane 120	5	B C5
4532	Webb	William	Pianoforte-maker	Little Portland St.	5	B
4562	Wilson	Thomas	Carpenter	Window St. Bryanston Sq. 10	5	B C5
4565	Withington	Thomas jun.	Iron-monger	Upper North Place Grays Inn Lane 49	5	B
4568	Wheeler	Thomas	Goldsmith	Tavistock St. Covent Garden 38	5	B C5
4591	Whitfield	Samuel	Silversmith	Porter St. 4	5	B
4603	Watkinson	Isaac	Carpenter	Goulds Buildings Strand 5	5	B
4621	Woodcock	John	Printer	Leigh St. Red Lion Sq. 13	5	B
4625	West	William	Gold Lace-man	Richard St. Islington 21	5	B C5
4629	Williams	Theodore	Jeweller	Cobham Row 6	5	B C5
4647	William	Joseph	Stationer	Chichester Rents Chancery Lane	5	B C5
4672	Wecke	Charles	Surgical-instrument-maker	Broad St. Carnaby Market 37	5	B C5
4682	Williams	Thomas	Engineer	Shaftsbury Place Aldersgate St. 9	5	B
4684	Whitford	William	Clerk	Wells St. Hackney 1	5	B
4685	Wake	Charles Oliver	Clerk	Bread St. 14	5	B C5
4716	Wright	William	Gentleman	Grays Inn Coffee House	5	B
4728	Wood	Charles	Glass engraver	Crown Court Fleet St. 11	5	C
4729	Wyatt	A.	Builder	Finsbury Sq.	5	C
4782	Wilson	George	Gentleman	Holborn Court Grays Inn 3	5	C
4793	Walker	Richard				
4906	Wrede	Herman	Flute-maker	St Johns Sq. Clerkenwell	5	C
4867	Wood	Frederick	Land surveyor	Hans Place Chelsea 21; 28 Queens St. Brumton	5	C
4869	William	Eli	Carpenter	Windmill St. Tottenham Court Rd 16	5	C
4870	Ward	John	Coach-maker	Great Surry St. Blackfriars 139	5	C
4880	Walker	John	Cooper	King St. West Smithfield 72	5	C
4885	Wernham	George	Joiner	Constitution Row 3	5	C
4890	Wheeler	Samuel Edward	Tailor	Lambs Conduit St. 15	5	C
4893	Wilkinson	James C.	Gentleman	Castle St. Falcon Sq. 23	5	C
4933	Watts	Henry	Clerk	Brooksby St. Islington	5	C
4977	Wheeler	Daniel Dubois	Gentleman	Coventry St. 23	5	C
5008	Wallis	John	Tailor	Bermondsey Sq. 16	5	C
5023	Whitehead	Charles	Clerk	New Bank Buildings	5	C
5027	Wonfor	Thomas	Jeweller	New Bond St. 83	5	C
5048	West	Benjamin	Bookbinder	Bacchus Walk	5	C
5089	Webster	John	Picture-frame-maker	Portland St. Wardour St. 5	5	C
5105	Wood	Henry	Painter	Museum St. 7	5	C
5152	Whiteridge	Matthew	Tea dealer	Cheapside 91	5	C
495	Young	William	Jeweller	Bartholomew Close 53	5	D A5B5C5D5
1527	Young	Robert	Tailor	Bartholomew Close 54	5	D
1764	Yates	Charles C.	Gentleman	Inner Temple	20	A BsCsDs
2236	Youl	James	Gentleman	Bishopsgate St. 105	5	A
2263	Young	Walter	Watch and clock-maker	Strand 156	20	A BsCsDs A20BsCsDs
2385	Young	Thomas	Builder	Water Lane Fleet St.	20	B CsDs As
2386	Young	Thomas Jun.	Builder	Water Lane Fleet St.	20	B CsDs As
2478	Yonge	John	Law-stationer	Exeter St. Strand	20	B CsDs As B20CsDs
2637	Yonge	Joseph	Lace manufacturer	Aldermanbury 69	5	B C5D5 A5B5
2816	York	Jehoshaphat	Bricklayer etc	Marshall St. Golden Sq.	5	B C5D5
3571	Young	James	Gentleman	Furnivals Inn	5	B
3060	Young	John Jonkin	Plumber etc	East Rd City Rd 3	5	D
3738	Yearsley	John	Machinist	High Holborn 266	5	D A5
3749	Young	Robert	Tailor	Bartholomew Close 53	5	A

<b>No.</b>	<b>Last Name</b>	<b>First Name</b>	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Residences</b>	<b>Sub 1824 1825</b>	<b>1826</b>
4177	Younge	William Clarke	Stationer	Essex St. Strand 10	5	A B5
4834	Yewings	William	Clerk	Sherborne Lane 5	5	C
4919	Yems	John	Gentleman	Clapham Rd	5	C
4922	Yeates	Robert	Warehouseman	Bucklersbury 31	5	C
5017	Yapp	George	Chemist	Quaker St. Spitalfields	5	

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No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
12	Adam	George	Joiner	Little Queen St. Holborn 38	5	D	A6B12CsD12	As	
85	Austin	James	Weaver	St Andrews Hill, Skinner St. 36: 4 Angel Court	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
86	Alford	Thomas	Coach-maker	Newington Rd Surry	5	D	A12BsC6D6	A6B12CsD6	A6B6C6
120	Aumonier	Henry	Jeweller	North St. Pentonville	5	D			
154	Applegarth	G. W.	Cabinet-maker	Bow St. Covent Garden 22	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
155	Anderson	David	Carpenter	Horse Shoe Court, Clements Lane; Stanhope St. Clare Market 12	5	D	A6B6		
195	Atkinson	John	Merchant	Castle St. Falcon Sq. 23	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
340	Ash	Sergeant Edward	Bead-maker	George St. Trafalgar St. Walworth; Kirby St. Hatton Gdn 11; Victoria St. Pentonville 23	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
440	Aitkin	William B.	Brewer	Whitecross St.		Ds	As		
452	Abeling	William	Watch-maker	Wynyard St. 7	12	D	As		
468	Atkinson	James	Merchant	St Mildred's Court Poultry	24		B CsDs	AsB24CsDs	As
502	Aughtie	Thomas	Carpenter	Dean St. Soho 18	5	D	A6		
531	Adshead	Joseph	Warehouseman	Skinner St. Snowhill 11	5	D	A6		
621	Ash	Charles	Dry-salter	Princes St. Drury Lane 27	5	D	A6B6C6		
652	Anderson	Peter	Cabinet-maker	Oxford St. 342	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
688	Austin	John	Engraver	Bedford Bury 14	5	D	A6B6C6C6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
856	Akhurst	W. V.	Cabinet-maker	Northampton Row	5	D	A6B6C6		
863	Acet	G. S.	Truss-maker	Smith St. Pancrass 2	5	D	A6		
864	Acet	Robert		Smith St. Pancrass 2	5	D	A6B6C6		
940	Andrews	William	Gentleman	Hampstead		Ds			
1002	Anderson	William	Chemist	Dean St. Tooley St. 17	5	D	A6B6C6		
1020	Armstead	William	Carpenter	Newington Causeway 18	5	D	A6		
1165	Ashton	A. F.	Carver	Old Quebec St. 6	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
1195	Amadio	Francisco	Philosophical-instrument-maker	St Johns St. Rd 118	5	D	A6B12CsD5	A5B5C5D6	A6B6C6 D12
1252	Alexander	W.	Shoe-maker	Broad St. Golden Sq.	5	D	A6		
1257	Aborn	G. L.	Floor cloth manufacturer	Lambeth Walk 7	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
1264	Arnold	Joseph	Builder	Great St Helens 1	5	D			
1484	Alford	Robert	Engraver	Bridge St. Southwark 10	5	D	A6		
1485	Andrews	William	Law-stationer	Great Warner St. 6	24		A BsCsDs		
1540	Ashton	Robert	Mason	Marylebone St. Oxford St. 31	5	D	A6		
1668	Allsop	George	Shoe-maker	James St. Kensington	5	D			
1682	Adams	Alexander	Law-stationer	Symonds Inn 4	5	D			
1700	Aldred	John	Printer	Gloucester Place Kentish Town	5	D	A6B6C6		
1765	Arnold	John	Plane-maker	New Compton St. St Giles 45	5	D			
1866	Arrow	John	Auctioneer	Great Ormond St. 29	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1870	Attwell	Thomas		Union St. Hoxton New Town 20	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6C8.6	
1896	Alderson	M. A.	Architect	Clarendon Place Somers Town 11	5	D	A6		
1934	Arnold	John	Carver and gilder	Clarendon Place Somers Town 11	5	D			
1935	Astle	James	Tailor	Bentick St. Berwick St. 4	5	D	A6B6C6		
2016	Anger	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Old Change 28	8.6		A		
2046	Allison	Thomas	Engineer	Haberdasher Row Hoxton 7	8.6		A		
2054	Anderson	John	Printer	Fountain Court Strand; Bedford St. Strand 2	6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C12Ds	A6
2067	Alexander	Charles	Carpenter	Jewin St.	5		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
2091	Avery	George	Cabinet-maker	Wells St. 62	8.6		A B6		
2100	Attwaters	Charles	Clerk	Lyons Inn 4	8.6		A B6C6		
2110	Acet	George Edward		Smith St. St Pancrass 2	8.6		A B6C6		
2126	Arnold	George	Clerk	Regent St. 216	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
2185	Ashton	Henry	Architect	Quebec St. 6	8.6		A B6C6		
2205	Atkinson	Frances		Shoemaker Row 15	8.6		A		
2293	Alcock	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Panton Sq. 7	8.6		B C6D6	A6	
2411	Abbitt	George		James St. Manchester Sq. 57	8.6		B C6		
2422	Angel	James	Gentleman	Bead St. Cheapside 1	8.6		C D6	A6B6	
2429	Aglen	George William	Carver and gilder	Queen's Row Walworth 50	8.6		C		
2439	Anderson	Thomas	Millwright	Nelson Place Graven Lane Boro 6	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2450	Aston	William	Gun-maker	Little Windmill St. 26	8.6	C		
2509	Ackerman	Henry	Carpenter	St Martin's Court 32	8.6	C D6		
2530	Abel	John	Glove-maker	Great St John's St. Rd 153	8.6	C D6	A6B6	
2585	Acevedo	A.	Clerk	Bridgewater St. Somers Town 14	8.6	C		
2626	Atkinson	William	Gilder	Norfolk St. Middx Hospital 2	8.6	C D6	A6	
2652	Armstrong	William		Wellington St. Stepney 1	8.6	C D6		
2687	Adams	Edward	Silversmith	Aldersgate St. 121	8.6	C D6		
2738	Adams	Stephen	Carpenter	Drapers Place Burton Crescent	8.6	C D6		
2775	Alderson	M. A.	Architect	Clarendon Place Somers Town 11	8.6	C		
2785	Aston	Christophe r	Gentleman	Little Windmill St.	8.6	C		
2797	Aughtie	Thomas	Carpenter	Dean St. Holborn 18	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	
2823	Astbury	John		Portugal St.	8.6	D	A6	
2831	Adams	Nathaniel	Upholsterer	Cleveland St.	8.6	D		
2838	Arnold	John	Plane-maker	New Compton St. 45	8.6	D	A6B6C6	
2860	Ackerman	Edward	Confectioner	St Martins Court	8.6	D	A6	
2895	Adams	Charles	Carver	Mercer St. Long Acre 29	8.6	D	A6B6	
2909	Ayllon	M.	Gentleman	Upper Seymour St. Euston Sq. 43	8.6	D	A6B6	
2978	Ariell	John	Watch-maker	Percival St. Clerkenwell 11	8.6	D	A6	
3003	Allpress	Edward	Stationer	Little St Thomas Apostle 5	8.6	D	A6	
3064	Almasnino	Solomon		Bevis Marks	8.6	D		
3089	Agutter	James	Engraver	Cross Keys Sq. Little Britain	8.6	D		
4021	Angell	Stephen	Printer	Pittfield St. Hoxton 30	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4067	Ashman	Richard	Writing-painter	Fleet Market 20	8.6		A	
4075	Anderton	Jubez	Jeweller	Castle St. Oxford St. 7	8.6		A	
4076	Adams	Joseph	Clerk	Water Lane Fleet St. 34	8.6		A	
4100	Armstrong	William	Engineer	Charlotte Court Redcross St.	8.6		A	
4110	Alderson	William	Linen-drapeer	Strand 425	8.6		A	
4179	Anderson	James	Joiner	Nelson St. Gravel Lane Boro 6	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6
4189	Aldridge	H. G.	Clerk	Edward St. Portman St. 2	12		A BsC6D6	A6
4225	Allison	Thomas	Engineer	Holland St. Blackfriars Rd 7	8.6		A	
4241	Allen	George	Hairdresser	Judd St. 15	8.6		A	
4257	Arundale	William	Clerk	Strand 96	12		A BsC6D6	A6B6C6D6
4259	Adams	Robert	Machinist	Poland St. Oxford St. 58	12		A BsC6	
4261	Ash	George	Jeweller	Durham St. Vauxhall	12		A Bs	
4347	Allen	Henry	Stationer	Lad Lane	8.6		B	
4350	Aldred	John	Carpenter	Gilbert St. 36	8.6		B C6D6	
4360	Alderson	J. L.	Chair-maker	Whites Alley Chancery Lane	8.6		B	
4361	Allamby	George T.	Ornamental painter	St Martins St. Leicester Sq. 5	8.6		B C6D6	
4382	Angell	John C.	Silversmith	Compton St. Clerkenwell 54	12		B CsD6	A6B6C6D6
4403	Anthony	Charles		Martletts Court Bow St. 8	12		B Cs	
4510	Ashley	John	Carpenter	Gilbert St. Oxford St. 42	8.6		C	
4525	Aldwinkle	John	Chemist	Tottenham Court Rd 227	8.6		C D6	
4538	Anger	Charles	Cabinet-maker	St Pauls Church Yard 21	8.6		C	
4589	Alexander	Robert	Cabinet-maker	Edward St. Regents Park 15	8.6		C D6	A6B6
4630	Alexander	William	Carpenter	New Union St. Moorfields 25	12		C Ds	A6
4632	Arundel	Stephen	Printer	Silver St. Golden Sq. 31	12		C Ds	C8.6
4671	Abernethie			Houndsditch 10	8.6		D	A6
4679	Arden	Richard Edward	Gentleman	Red Lion Sq. 18	15		D	As B12CsD12
4823	Armstrong	Francis	Coach-maker	Ground St. Blackfriars 85	8.6		D	A6B6
4842	Anderson		Gun-maker	Broad Court Drury Lane	27		D	AsBsCs
4853	Ashley	William	Clerk	Church Court Old Jewry 1	8.6		D	A6
4873	Ardlie	Ellis		London Fields Hackney	8.6		D	A6B6C6
4886	Angell	George	Carpenter	Charlotte St. Fitzroy Sq.	12		D	AsB6C6D6
4898	Adams	John	Watch-spring-maker	Goswell Rd 5	11.6		D	
4906	Alcock	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Old Compton St. Soho 11	11.6		D	
4955	Atkins	Richard	Silversmith	Bridgewater Sq. 11	8.6			A B6C6D6
5000	Abel	Thomas	Printer	Long Lane Bermondsey	8.6			A
5023	Ashley	Isaac	Tailor	Bagnigge Wells Rd 16	8.6			A
5043	Allender	Stephen		Upper Frederick Place Paddington 18	12			A BsC6D6
5072	Avery	Joseph	Carpenter	North Osnaburgh St. Regents Park 10	12			A BsC6D6
5122	Allen	Thomas G.	Clerk	Edward St. York Rd 5	8.6			B
5169	Allan	Henry		Compton St. Grays Inn Rd 19	8.6			B
5185	Archer	George	Attorney	Hurst Place Strand 9	8.6			B C6D6
5222	Arnott	Henry	at Mr Jones's	Southampton Bldgs 24	8.6			B
5294	Aske	George	Clerk	Tyer St. Lambeth 14	8.6			C
5308	Avern	William		John St. Adelphi 12	8.6			C D6
5370	Austin	Edward		Alie Place Goodmans Fields 3	12			C Ds
5375	Anthony	Samuel		Cross St. Islington 18	12			C Ds
5447	Atkins	William	Painter and Glazier	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 4	12			C Ds
5561	Anderson	Thomas	Millwright	Swan St. Trinity St. Boro 8	8.6			D
5693	Atkinson	Edmond	Jeweller	Kirby St. Hatton Gdn 16	12			D

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
1	Birkbeck	George	M. D.	Broad St. 50	s	Ds	AsBsCsD47	AsBsCsDs	A24BsCsD24
13	Ball	T. M.	Iron-monger	Coleman St. 61	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
15	Buckney	Thomas	Timber dealer	Dorset Wharf Whitefriars	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
23	Bacon	Ebenezer	Machinist and engine Turner [copper plate ruler deleted]	Chancery Lane 130	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
73	Bentley	James	Carpenter	Stanhope St. Clare Market 49	20	D	As		
95	Bright	Richard	Lamp-maker	Bruton St. Bond St.	5	D	A6B6		
78	Barnard	John	Hatter	Nichol Sq. Cripplegate	24	Ds	AsB24CsDs	AsB24CsDs	As
122	Blake	James Frederick	Gentleman	Albion Terrace New North Rd 7	20	D	A4CsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
131	Birkingyoung	Frederick	Weaver	St Andrews Hill 37	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6D8.6
196	Burton	Benjamin	Brasier	Gower Place, Euston Sq. 24; 15 Weston St. Somers Town	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B24CsDs
217	Burn	William	Book-binder	Kerby St. Hatton Garden 37	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
245	Beresford	William	Die-sinker	Kings Head Court St Martins Le Grand 5	5	D	A6B6		
248	Batterbee	Joseph	Appraiser	Grays Inn Lane 108	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
259	Blain	William	Boot-maker	Butcher Hall Lane 21	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
260	Bliss	Samuel	Law-stationer	Cold Bath Sq. 14	5	D	A6		
274	Black	James	Teacher of Languages	Dorset St. Salisbury Sq. 54	20	D	AsBsCs		
275	Brooks	John	Gentleman	Platt Terrace Camden Town	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
296	Browne	Jonas	Upholsterer	Church St. Soho 24	5	D			
312	Brooke	Theodore	Tin-plate-worker	High Holborn 139	5	D			
323	Ball	Isaac	Artist	Coleman St. 61	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
324	Bentley	William	Optician	Britannia Terrace City Rd 41	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
325	Bull	Charles	Clerk	Myddelton St. Spafields 5	5	D	A6B6		
329	Burnett	Henry	Gentleman	High Holborn 10	6	A	B6C6D6	A24BsCsDs	A24BsCsDs
339	Bridges	Samuel	Carpenter	Frederick Place Westminster Rd 13	10	D			
341	Banner	William N.	Chair-maker	Goswell St. 98	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
388	Bowles	James	Vellum-binder	Boswell Court Queen Sq. 10	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
401	Buss	Henry	Engraver	Jewin St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
403	Bowman	William	Cabinet-maker	Southampton Buildings 45	5	D	A6B6C6		
439	Button	Nathaniel	Confectioner	Holborn Bridge 77	24	s	AsB24CsDs	AsB24CsDs	AsB24CsDs
446	Ball	John	Engineer	New St. Sq. 3	5	D	A6B6		
447	Barrett	James L.	Die-sinker	St. James's Walk Clerkenwell 1	5	D	A6BsC12D6	A12Bs	
453	Bawtree	James	Cabinet-maker	Spring Garden Cottage Newington Green	5	D	A6B6C6		
454	Baddely	William	Stationer	George Yard Lambeth 10	10	D	As B12CsD12	AsB12CsD12	AsB12CsD6
504	Bright	James	Carpenter	Dorset St. Salisbury Sq. 53	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
507	Barton	William	Upholsterer	St Saviours Church yard 20	5	D			
530	Burton	James	Music-smith	Northampton St. St Pancrass 25	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
536	Baker	William	Watch-maker	Great Turnstile Holborn	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
537	Bacon	Joseph	Boot-maker	Maze Tooley St.	5	D	A6B6		
539	Barnard	George	Chaser	Nichol Sq. 12	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
558	Bagg	Elijah	Carpenter	Drummond St. 54	5	D	A6B6		
614	Bennett	Isaac	Mathematical-instrument-maker	[illegible]shire St. Bloomsbury 48	5	D	18ABsCsDs	AsBsCs	
623	Bowles	J. C.	Clerk	Cannon St. City 16	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
625	Biggs	George	Printer	King St. Soho 22	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
626	Bishop	Henry	Painter	Duke St. Portman Sq. 14	5	D			
663	Bennett	William	Cheese-monger	Holborn Hill	20	D	AsBsCs		
667	Barlow	James	Tin-plate-worker	Fore St. 85	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
670	Burrell	James		Chapel Place Pentonville 7	5	D	A6B6		
671	Banks	James	Brush-maker	Charlotte St. Battle Bridge 6	10	Ds	A6B6C6D6	A6B12C6	
674	Brannnd	John	Cabinet-maker	Museum St. 5	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
691	Bearmore	William H.	Painter	Frederick St. St Pancrass 3	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
706	Barlow	William	Tin-plate-worker	London Wall	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
707	Blackmoor	John	Surveyor	Brook St. Lambeth 7	5	D			
710	Botham	Richard	Cabinet-maker	Crown Court Fleet St. 15; Eagle St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
711	Brees	Samuel Charles	Surveyor	Warwick Court 7	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
716	Bacon	Joseph	Printer	Great Bath St. Clerkenwell 19	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
728	Brown	John	Whitesmith	North St. Fitzroy Sq. 2	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
744	Baines	George	Warehouseman	Friday St.	5	D	A6		
751	Blake	James	Clerk	Brook St. Holborn 7	5	D	A6B6		
752	Bailis	Richard	Surgeon	St. Johns Sq.	24	D	ABsCsDs	A24BsCsDs	A24BsCsDs
792	Bailey	George	Clerk	Church St. Rotherhithe	5	D	A6		
829	Baker	Alfred		Great Turnstile 9	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
830	Ball	F. W.	Engineer	New St. Sq. 3	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
903	Bryce	Robert	Mason	Harrison St. Grays Inn Lane; 4 Compton St. Clerkenwell	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
905	Brampton	William	Clerk	Rahere St. Goswell Rd 7	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
908	Barrell	Thomas	Carpenter	King St. Golden Sq. 24	5	D			
910	Beavis	John Jun.	Watch-maker	Pear St. 17	5	D	A6B6C6		
988	Brown	Joseph	Engraver	North St. Fitzroy Sq. 2	5	D	A6B6		
990	Barrett	William	Clock-maker	Denmark St. Soho 27	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
1013	Bidder	Henry Bartholomew		West St. Walworth 20	5	D			
1014	Burgess	William	Tailor	Palace St. Pimlico 39	5	D	A6		
1015	Brown	Benjamin	Printer	James St. Westminster	5	D			
1018	Boucher	William	Glass-man	Leadenhall St. 128	5	D	A6		
1094	Buffarn	George	Plumber	Charles St. Shoreditch 10	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
1198	Blagdon	William	Printer	Stamford St. Blackfriar 24	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1202	Beverly	George	Carpenter	Vittoria Place New Rd 1	5	D	A6		
1212	Bowmer	John	Tailor	Hart St. Cripplegate 7	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
1213	Blyth	James	Chair-maker	Whitecross St. 158	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1268	Bibby	Richard	Bricklayer	Shoe Lane 58	5	D			
1270	Boucher	John	Gentleman	Leadenhall St. 128	5	D	A6		
1282	Blake	Robert	Cabinet-maker	Stephen St. Tottenham Court Rd 8	5	D			
1295	Bright	William	Tailor	Red Lion Passage 14	5	D	A6B6C6		
1310	Brayne	William	Schoolmaster	Corporation Lane 7	5	D	A6		
1311	Bird	Thomas	Pianoforte-maker	Brook St. New Rd 31	5	D	A6B6C6		
1384	Butler	C.	Plumber	Cowcross St. 10	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1389	Baker	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Dove Court Leather Lane 4	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1390	Benjamin	Elias	Jeweller	Cock oHoop Yard Houndsditch 10	5	D	A6		
1392	Bruce	James		Thavies Inn 20	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1399	Blake	George	Cabinet-maker	Stephen St. Tottenham Court Rd 8	5	D	A6		
1404	Braidley	John	Gentleman	Warren St. Fitzroy Sq. 62	5	D			
1405	Brown	Charles	Tin-plate-worker	King St. Spitalfields 21	5	D			
1486	Bennett	T. W.	Timber-merchant	Aldersgate St. 110	5	D			
1495	Britton	Richard	Silversmith	Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell 48	5	D	A6B6		
1496	Barton	Thomas	Tailor	Little Windmill St. 26	5	D	A6B6C6		
1518	Bird	Golding		Clarendon St. 14	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
1541	Borgnis	Joseph	Drawing-master	High Holborn 277	5	D	A12BsC12Ds		
1542	Bennett	Joseph	Clerk	Horseferry Rd 20	5	D			
1543	Bevan	George	Carpenter	Peter St. Westminster	5	D			
1599	Bartholomew	Joseph	Clerk	Gloucester Terrace Vauxhall Bridge 10	5	D	A6B6		
1604	Betts	John Thomas		Smithfield Bars 7	20	D	AsBsCsD6		
1616	Bryant	John		Stoke Newington	5	D	A6B6		
1620	Blay	Benjamin	Clerk	Fetter Lane 4	5	D			
1621	Barrett	Daniel	Grocer etc	Fetter Lane 44	5	D			
1634	Balls	Joseph	Clerk	Spring Gardens 7	5	D	A6B6		
1641	Brooks	Thomas	Pianoforte-maker	Euston St. Euston Sq. 20	5	D	A6B6C6		
1662	Beresford	Henry	Die-sinker	Albion Buildings Clerkenwell Close 6	5	D			
1673	Ball	John	Accountant	Coleman St. 61	5	D	A6B6		
1680	Broad	William	Watch-maker	Leadenhall St. 53	20	D	AsBsCs		
1684	Bourchier	William	Watch and Clock-maker	Broad Court Long Acre 19	5	D			
1706	Blythe	John	Engineer	St Johns St.	5	D			
1707	Blythe	Alfred	Engineer	St. Johns St.	5	D			
1712	Betts	John	Stationer	Compton St.	5	D	A6B6C6		
1715	Baker	E. D.	Clerk	Newcastle St. Strand 4	5	D			
1717	Baker	William	Carpenter	Fountain Court Strand	5	D	A6		
1721	Ball	H.	Tailor	Brownlow St. Holborn 7	5	D			
1728	Barclay	James	Machinist	Wellington St. Hewington 15	20	D	AsBsCs		
1744	Barnett	John	Turner	Walbrook 16	5	D			
1746	Booth	William H.	Barrister	Lincolns Inn	20	D	As Bs Cs D24	AsBsCs	
1763	Brandon	Jos <sup>h</sup> S.	Gentleman	Great Aylif St. Goodmans Fields	5	D			
1764	Brown	George	Tobacconist	Great Turnstile 18	5	D	A6		
1766	Berry	Edward Unwin	Flour Merchant	Mount Place Whitechapel 2	5	D	A6		
1797	Boley	James	Drawing-instrument-maker	Panton St. Walworth 4	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1840	Blake	William	Draper	Skinner St. 44	5	D	A6B6C6		
1847	Bainbridge	John	Surgeon	St Martins Lane 88	5	D	A6B6		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
1850	Boyce	James	Carpenter	Grays Inn Terrace 7	20	D	AsBsCs		
1854	Broughton	Richard	Cooper	Stoney Lane Borough 4 ?	5	D	A6B6		
1855	Birch	Charles	Stationer	Wynyard St. Goswell St. 41	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B12Cs D6
1868	Betts	Wilbrium	Artist	Smithfield Bars 7	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1875	Brown	Henry	Comb manufacturer	Whitechapel Rd	5	D	A6B6C6		
1888	Bailey	Edward	Tailor	Baldwin St. City Rd 67	5	D	A6B6C6D5	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
1889	Barlin	J. N.	Tobacconist	Whitecross St.	20	D	AsBsCs		
1898	Brotherton	Alfred	Warehouseman	Houndsditch	5	D	A6		
1899	Burr	Frederick	Draftsman	Bond Court Walbrook 9	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1902	Bickers	Henry	Book-binder	Long Acre 129	5	D	A6B6C6D6	C11.6Ds	
1908	Brewer	Nathaniel	Carver and gilder	Duke St. Manchester 37	5	D			
1919	Blake	James	Clerk	Wellington Place Blackfriars Rd 39	5	D			
1920	Barton	John	Engineer	Seward St. Goswell St. 38	10	D	AsB6C6D6	A6BsCsD18	A6B12Cs
1924	Beazley	George	Gentleman	Cross St. Hatton Garden	20	D	AsBsCs		
1928	Bailey	Walkin L.	Carver	Cottage Place Lambeth Walk 2	5	D			
1932	Bailey	William	Iron-monger	Cornhill 30	10	D	As		
1936	Baseley	Henry	Stationer	Skinner St. 16	5	D	A6		
1965	Burchfield	Samuel	Seale-maker	West Smithfield 1	5	D	A6		
1970	Ballam	James	Chaser	Plough Court Fetter Lane 26	5	D			
		Robert							
1977	Bromley	William	Solicitor	Grays Inn	20	D	AsBsCs		
1980	Bond	Henry	Chemist	Long Acre	5	D	A6B6		
1991	Bird	Joseph	Bricklayer	Seymour Place Bryanstone Sq. 21	10	D	As		
1992	Bird	Isaac	Architect	Seymour Place Bryanstone Sq. 21	10	D	As		
1994	Bushill	Frederick	Architect	Ridinghouse Lane	5	D			
1995	Band	Benjamin	Architect	Montague St. Montague Sq.	5	D			
1996	Ballimont	Hugh	Engineer	Bank Chambers 8	5	D	A6B6C6		
1999	Billing	John T.	Clerk	Carter St. Walworth	5	D	A6		
2022	Barry	Alexander	Chemist	Plough Court Lombard St.	2.6		A B6CsDs		
2026	Brown	Henry	Engineer	Wardour St. 2	8.6	D			
2034	Botley	Christophe	Silversmith	Penton Place Pentonville 4	8.6		A B6C6		
		r							
2036	Barry	J.	Tailor	Porter St. St Anns 19	8.6		A		
2038	Barnett	John	Carver	Tabernacle Row 11	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2039	Bartlett	Charles	Seales-maker	St Martins Le Grand 59	8.6		A		
2040	Bartlett	John		Long Lane 86	8.6		A		
2048	Blaikie	James			8.6		A		
2057	Bardwell	William	Artist	Mabledon Place Burton Crescent 2	6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2060	Blake	James	Gentleman	Albion Terrace Islington 7	27		A BsCsDs	A24BsCsDs	
		Hume							
2068	Barritt	Joseph H.	Die-sinker	St James's Walk Clerkenwell 1	5		A B6		
2072	Byrne	Henry	Tailor	Denmark St. Soho 27	5		A		
2084	Boyle	James	Paper-hanger	Newgate St. 121	6		A		
2098	Bemish	John	Carpenter	Cross Key Sq. Little Britain 4	8.6		A		
2099	Bailey	Thomas	Basket-maker	Quaker St. Spitalfields	8.6		A		
2113	Boys	Edward	Farmer	Warehorn Kent	27		A BsCsDs	As	
2130	Berkley	Michael	Clerk	Basinghall St. 67	8.6		A		
2135	Birch	Thomas		Wynyard St.	8.6		A B6		
2145	Brown	James	Gentleman	Park St. Camden Town 6	8.6		A B6		
2164	Burn	Stephen	Pianoforte- maker	Charles St. Hampstead Rd 18	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
2182	Bridge	William	Tailor	Kerby St. Hatton Garden 13	8.6		A		
2227	Banks	John Fuller	Tailor	Tysoe St. Clerkenwell 8	8.6		A		
2230	Blore	John	Joiner	Michael's Place Brompton 9	8.6		A BsCsDs	AsBsCsDs	AsBsCsDs
2238	Bird	W. J.	Salesman	Blackfriars Rd	8.6		B C6D6	A6C6	
2243	Bull	Edward	Carpenter	Frederick St. Hampstead Rd 4; 10 New Rd Fitzroy Sq.	8.6		B C6D6	A6	
2251	Bull	Thomas	Carpenter	Clapham Rd 3			B C6		
2252	Bluett	Thomas	Musical- instrument- maker	Middle Row Holborn	8.6		B		
2253	Barverena	J.	Gentleman	Baker St. Portman Sq. 58	27		B CsDs	As	
2258	Blake	Obed	Silver-urn- polisher	Glasshouse Yard Islington 15; 9 Birds Buildings Lower Rd	8.6		B CsD6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2270	Barker	George	Architect	Kings Rd Bedford Row 14	8.6		B CsDs	As	
2288	Barnes	James	Tailor	Upper Charlotte St. 44	8.6		B C6		
2300	Brown	Barnard	Painter	Queens Court Great Queen St. 2	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2302	Berry	Thomas	Printer	Baltic St. Old St. 22	8.6		B C6		
2342	Budworth	John	Cordwainer	Brewers St. Golden Sq. 14	8.6		B C6		
2358	Blackie	John	Carpenter	Tash St. Grays Inn Lane 29	8.6		B		
2367	Brown	Samuel		Bouverie St. Fleet St. 20	8.6		B C6		
2379	Browning	E. H.	Sculptor	Peters Lane St. Johns St. 18	8.6		B		



No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2380	Baker	George	Publican	Ship Horseferry Rd	8.6	B		
2382	Bromhead	I.?	Carver and Gilder	Noble St. Cheapside 17	8.6	C		
2389	Bell	William	Silversmith	Ryley St. Grays Inn Lane 3	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	
2395	Bowden	James	Builder	Market St. St Johns St. Rd	8.6	C		
2395	Brien	James	Clerk	Change Alley	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2396	Banks	William	Hatter	Poultry 3	8.6	C D6	A6	
2397	Back	William	Carver and gilder	Cross Keys Court Little Britain 11	8.6	C		
2402	Bishop	Thomas	Glover	Cheapside 127	8.6	B C6D6		
2406	Beeswank	J. W.	Schoolmaster	Bermondsey	8.6	B C6D6	A6	
2425	Bateman	George	Clerk	Bell Yard Fleet St.	8.6	C		
2426	Barnes	William	Carver and gilder	Bedford St. Bedford Row 27	8.6	C D6		
2456	Bright	Thomas	Carpenter	Cornwall Rd Lambeth 8	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
2461	Bennett	William	Jeweller	Cockspur St. 20	8.6	C		
2479	Beresford	Abraham	Ornamental painter	Gun Powder Alley 4	8.6	C D6		
2486	Black	John W.	Warehouseman	Compton St. Brunswick Sq. 28	8.6	C D6		
2495	Barr	James	Silversmith	High Holborn 14	8.6	C D6		
2520	Butler	Edward		Canterbury Row Kennington 19	8.6	C		
2524	Banes	George	Clerk	Queen St. Cheapside	8.6	C		
2533	Butler	William	Turner	Whitcombe Court Whitcomb St. 3	8.6	C		
2538	Bernard	Augustus	Sugar refiner	Clermont Sq. 20	8.6	C		
2561	Brookes	Joseph	Watch and spring-maker	Berkeley Court Clerkenwell 5	8.6	C D6	A12BsC6D6	A6
2563	Belling	Thomas			8.6	C		
2569	Blunt	John	Cabinet-maker	Coppice Row Clerkenwell	8.6	C		
2570	Bailey	Walter	Tool-maker	Warner St. Clerkenwell	8.6	C D6		
2580	Bennett	Alexander	Stonemason	Great College St. Westminster 27	8.6	C		
2608	Brooks	Edward	Butcher	Leigh St. Burton Crescent	8.6	C D6	A6B6	
2611	Boyden	Thomas	Clerk	Charter House	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
2623	Boyle	Joseph	Law-stationer	Carey St. 50	8.6	C D6	A6B6	
2642	Brettingham	M.	Builder	Store St. Bedford Sq. 17	8.6	C D6	A6	
2654	Buds	Robert Henry	Oilman	Grosvenor Place 1	8.6	C D6	A6	
2673	Bass	James		Goswell St.	27	C Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsC24Ds
2677	Brooks	Robert	Butcher	Leigh St. Burton Crescent	8.6	C D6	A6B6	
2705	Brain	J.P.		North St. Red Lion Sq. 24	8.6	C		
2706	Blake	William	Pianoforte-maker	Henrietta St. Manchester Sq. 7	8.6	C		
2708	Burrell	J. B.	Linen draper	Ludgate Hill 16	8.6	C D6		
2711	Borgnis	Joseph			6?	C		
2716	Brettell	Thomas	Printer	Rupert St. Haymarket	27	C Ds	AsBs	
2717	Brice	Alexander	Gentleman	Euston Sq.	8.6	C		
2721	Braby	James	Wheel-wright	Duke St. Stamford St.	8.6	C		
2722	Braby	Edward	Wheel-wright	Duke St. Stamford St.	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	S6B6C6D6
2737	Bates	George	Carpenter	Vine St. Lambeth	8.6	C		
2740	Brown	James	Sadler	Upper Marylebone St. 59	8.6	C D6	A6	
2745	Biller	George	Clerk	Essex St. Strand 12	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6
2773	Berry	William Francis	Organ-builder	Greek St. Soho 18	8.6	C		
2796	Brayne	William	Schoolmaster	Corporation Lane	8.6	D	A6	
2803	Burrell	William	Watch-maker	Chapel Place Pentonville 7	8.6	D	A6B6	
2805	Barber	Joseph	Chemist	Red Lion Sq.	27	D	AsBsCs	
2820	Bruen	Henry	Bookseller	Crown St. Soho 3	8.6	D		
2821	Bowes	Matthew	Artist	Upper North Place Grays Inn Lane 44	8.6	D	A6	
2826	Bayne	Richard	Carpenter	Charlotte St. Portland Place 65	8.6	D	A6	
2833	Bodle	John	Carpenter	Wilson St. Grays Inn Rd10	8.6	D		
2835	Bull	Samuel	Lace-weaver	Bedford Court Covent Garden 18	8.6	D		
2842	Bain	William	Engraver	Warwick Court Holborn 6	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2843	Beattie	William	Chaser	Upper Marylebone St. 56	8.6	D		
2854	Barnard	Thomas	Gentleman	High St. Islington 15	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2856	Bothomley	Joseph		Queen St. Tower Hill	8.6	D		
2859	Bathurst	William B.	Gentleman	Watling St. 50	8.6	D	A6	
2866	Bishop	John	Jeweller	Lepard's Court 3	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6
2873	Baker	John	Law-stationer	Carey St. 17	8.6	D	A6	
2876	Barrett	William	Carpenter	Paul St. Finsbury 7	8.6	D	A6	
2881	Bennett	Henry		Queens Sq. Bartholomew Close	15	D	AsB6C6	
2894	Bennington	Josiah	Carpenter	Primrose St. Bishopsgate St. 29	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2897	Brand	Edmund	Clerk	Cheapside 79	8.6	D		
2900	Butler	Charles	Undertaker	Fleet Market	8.6	D		
2905	Betts	Samuel	Gentleman	Henrietta St. Covent Garden	27	D	AsBsCs	
2916	Burgh	Henry	Clerk	Leadenhall St. 11	8.6	D	A6B6	
2918	Brealey	William	Builder	Broad St. Golden Sq.	8.6	D		
2919	Banes	John	Modeller	Willington Sq. 5	8.6	D		
2926	Bishop	Joseph	Cooper	Whitefriars New Wharf	8.6	D		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2951	Brown	Charles	Tin-plate-worker	King St. Spitalfields 25	8.6	D	A6	
3000	Braidley	James	Gentleman	Albany St. Regents Park 9	8.6	D	A6	
3016	Barnett	Thomas	Carver	Tabernacle Row City Rd 11	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
3038	Barr	John	Clerk	Mansell St. Goodmans ? 59	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	
3046	Black	Thomas	Plate-glass-man	Greek St. Soho 19	27	D	AsBsCs	
3047	Black	Henry	Coach-maker	Greek St. Soho 19	27	D	AsBsCs	
3050	Brande	W. F.	Gentleman	Broad St. Buildings 8	27	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs
3060	Barrat	J. E.	Clerk	Serle St. Lincolns Inn Fields 5	8.6	D	A6 C8.6	
3070	Butler	John	Smith	Caroline Place Edgware Rd 4	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6
3084	Bourne	Ebenezer	Engraver	Beresford St. Walworth	27	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs
4005	Bennett	Richard	Hat-lining-cutter	Charlotte St. Blackfriars 3	8.6		A B24CsDs	AsB24CsDs
4006	Button	Joseph		Nelson St. City Rd 1	8.6		A B6	
4017	Batley	William	Cabinet-maker	Brownlow St. Holborn 13	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4028	Beaver	George	Surveyor	Cold Bath Sq. 20	8.6		A B6	
4053	Brydon	William	Chemist	Abchurch Lane 29	8.6		A B6C6	
4054	Burgess	Stephen	Poulterer	Marchmont St.	8.6		A	
4056	Blake	William		Skinner St. 44	8.6		A	
4061	Birds	John T.	Draper	Vere St. Oxford St. 13	8.6		A	
4062	Bailey	Daniel	Clerk	Goodge St. 46	8.6		A B6	
4079	Baty	John	Bankers clerk	Lombard St. 54	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4085	Biggs	George	Fruit salesman	Covent Garden	8.6		A	
4095	Brown	Mark	Printer	Berwick St. Soho 40	8.6		A	
4098	Barrie	Thomas	Clerk	Limehouse	8.6		A B6	
4111	Beard	William	Cabinet-maker	Brownlow St. Holborn	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6
4124	Burlingham	Charles	Tailor	Frith St. Soho	8.6		A B6	
4148	Baker	John	Cabinet-maker	Queen St. Edgware Rd 55	8.6		A	
4160	Bowyer	William	Jeweller	Fullwoods Rents 13	8.6		A	
4187	Bagot	T. N.	Gentleman		8.6		A	
4190	Browning	John F.	Clerk	Saunders Place Lambeth 6	12		A Bs	
4206	Boteller	James	Jeweller	Rose St. Greek St. Soho	8.6		A	B8.6C6
4215	Burgess	Rev. S. W.		Jewin Crescent Aldersgate St.	8.6		A	
4222	Brown	Joseph	Smith	Ray St. Clerkenwell 14	8.6		A B6C6	
4223	Bowles	William	Clerk	Everett St. Russell Sq. 12	8.6		A	
4227	Bingley	Thomas	Stationer	Sidney St. City Rd 24	8.6		A	
4237	Bourne	Mr.	World Office	Ludgate Hill	42		A BsCsDs	
4242	Barrett	Michael	Clerk	Kingsland	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4243	Brian	John	Cutler	Great St. Andrews St. 8	8.6		A	
4244	Brewer	Thomas		Nelson St. City Rd	8.6		A B6	
4249	Brewer	Charles	Schoolmaster	Georges St. Camberwell	12		A Bs	
4251	Booth	John	Clerk	Paradise St. Battle Bridge 3	12		A BsC12Ds	A6B6C6D6
4263	Burn	Joseph	Upholsterer	Hemming St. Kingsland Rd 13	12		A Bs	
4269	Broadwater	Burgess	Clerk	Chancery Lane 25	12		A Bs	
4280	Boyle	James	Paper-hanger	Newgate St.	8.6		B C6	
4282	Boyle	Cornelius	Millwright	Old St.	8.6		B C6	
4295	Bonner	Thomas E.	Brass-finisher	Tabernacle Row City Rd	8.6		B	
4299	Bluett	Thomas	Licensed victualler	Red Lion Red Lion Court Fleet St.	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4300	Bartlett	John	Seale-maker	Long Lane Smithfield 6	8.6		B	
4325	Bosworth	George	Hosier	Milk St. 13	8.6		B	
4327	Bowley	Thomas		Coppice Row 46	8.6		B	
4329	Browne	Henry	Upholsterer	Marshall St. 31	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6
4330	Browne	Francis	Carver	Marshall St. 31	8.6		B C6	
4334	Backhouse	John	Copper-plate printer	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 2	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4341	Blundell	Henry	Clock-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6
4351	Browne	John D.	Cabinet-maker	Oxford St. 208	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6
4362	Badcock	Richard	Carver and gilder	St. Martins St. Leicester Sq. 5	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4365	Beckham	John R.	Fancy paste board manufacturer	Brills Row Somers Town 65	8.6		B D11.6	AsB6
4370	Bickley	Samuel		Red Lion Sq. 36	8.6		B	
4376	Barrett	George	Iron-monger	Mabledon Place Burton Crescent 5	8.6		B	
4379	Bowley	Samuel	Licensed victualler	Coppice Row Clerkenwell 46	8.6		B	
4380	Butcher	Benjamin H.	Fish factor	Mount Row New Kent Rd 9	8.6		B	
4384	Bourne	John C.	Hatter	Hatton Garden 64	12		B Cs	
4386	Barran	John	Tailor	Bleinham St. Oxford St. 12	12		B CsD6	
4408	Burbridge	Jonas		Tysoe St. Spa fields 8	12		B Cs	
4411	Brady	Thomas F.	Gentleman	Mansell St. City 41	12		B Cs	
4431	Bowyer	Thomas	Accountant	Paternoster Row 20	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6
4434	Biggs	George		Pullens Row Islington	8.6		C	
4435	Bell	Archibald	Printer	Fleet St. 46	8.6		C	
4439	Bodman	George	Clerk	Kent Rd	8.6		C	
4440	Brewin	Charles	Clerk	Merlins Place Spa fields 14	8.6		C	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826 1827	1828	1829
4443	Brown	James	Saddler	Heddon Court Regents St. ? 1	8.6	C	
4445	Button	Charles	Druggist	Holborn Bars 146	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6
4451	Bousted	William	Carpenter	Devonshire St. Lisson Grove 47	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6
4454	Braidley	Joseph	Gentleman	Grand Junction Terrace Edgware Rd	8.6	C	
4454	Bennett	William	Watch-maker	Devonshire St. Queen Sq. 23	8.6	C	
4457	Burton	Joseph	Plasterer	Kensington	8.6	C	
4458	Beecham	Thomas	Herald-painter	Adam St. Manchester Sq. 14	8.6	C D6	
4459	Belletti	Anthony	Cabinet-maker	Skinner St. Bishopsgate 28	8.6	C D6	B8.6C6D6
4465	Biggs	Samuel	Tin-plate-worker and mould-maker	Green Walk Blackfriars Rd 31	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6
4480	Begree	Alexander	Cabinet-maker	Carburton St. Fitzroy Sq. 21	8.6	C	
4486	Beale	Joshua	Engineer	Church Lane Whitechapel	27	C Ds	AsBs
4489	Braid	William	Gilder	Edmund Place Aldersgate St. 6	8.6	C	
4492	Byham	W. R.	Gentleman	Sydney Terrace Chelsea	8.6	C D6	C8.6
4501	Bright	William			8.6	C	
4514	Baxter	Theodore	Clerk	Mount Place Whitechapel Rd 7	8.6	C	
4518	Beecham	John	Artist	Adam St. Manchester Sq. 14	8.6	C D6	
4527	Burrow	Charles	Plumber	High Holborn 37	8.6	C D6	A6
4530	Bagg	George	Carpenter	Drummond St. Euston Sq. 54	8.6	C D6	
4548	Burke	Luke		Cumberland St. Portman Sq. 25	8.6	C	
4550	Burnett	Edwin	Engraver	London Wall 24	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6
4559	Baker	Henry	Tailor	Mulberry Court Bell Alley Coleman St. 2	8.6	C D6	
4566	Bardons	Philip	Builder	Bedford St.	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6
4568	Bennett	Thomas	Smith	Grays Inn Lane	8.6	C	
4600	Browne	James Edward		James St. Camden Town	8.6	C	
4605	Buckle	Daniel	Historical engraver	Vine St. Hatton Garden 10	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6
4615	Brasher	William J.	Broker	Broad St. Golden Sq. 29	12	C Ds	A6
4630	Bacon	William	Engineer	Brook St. Lambeth 34	12	C Ds	A6B6C6
4636	Buckley	G.	Copper-smith	Cleveland St. Fitzroy Sq. 14	11.6	C	
4659	Butler	Thomas	Gentleman	Seething Lane 34	12	C Ds	
4660	Bennett	Henry	Spirit-dealer	Coppice Row Clerkenwell	12	C Ds	
4665	Beuler	Jacob	Engraver	Bury Place Bloomsbury 4	12	C Ds	A6
4670	Bettridge	Joseph	Silversmith	Castle St. Holborn 42	12	C Ds	
4674	Brooks	William	Iron-monger	Charles St. Grosvenor Sq. 18	8.6	D	
4680	Bishop	D.	Builder	Lepards Court 3	8.6	D	
4681	Bernard	Augustus	Professor of Languages	St. Martins Court Cannon St. 28	8.6	D	
4682	Birch	Baynes	Carriage-lamp-maker	Wych St. Strand 34	15	D	AsB6C6D24
4683	Begg	John	Printer	Frith St. Soho 10	8.6	D	A6
4703	Blake	Captain		Tenterden St. Hanover Sq. 5	8.6	D	
4704	Buchanan	William	Printer	Infant School Vincent Sq. Westminster	8.6	D	A6B6
4723	Butter	Henry	Schoolmaster	Rawstorn St. Goswell Rd	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4729	Ball	Richard	Watch-maker	Middleton St. Clerkenwell 25	8.6	D	A6
4753	Barnard	T. H.	Carpenter etc	Kings Rd Pimlico 2	8.6	D	
4757	Blundell	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Coleman St. Bunhill Rd 4	8.6	D	
4762	Bevan	John	Iron-monger	Temple Chambers Fleet St.	8.6	D	
4764	Brown	John	Printer	Staple Inn Buildings 9	8.6	D	
4784	Bach	James		Devonshire Sq. 2	8.6	D	
4791	Backley	Michael	Writing Engraver	Phoenix Court Long Acre 13	8.6	D	
4793	Butcher	Henry	Clerk	Grays Inn Sq. 3	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4795	Betts	James		Smithfields Bars 7	8.6	D	A6
4800	Beckley	John	Solicitor	Lower Edmund St. Battle Bridge 35	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4803	Burrowes	James		Poland St. Oxford St. 7	8.6	D	A6
4809	Boulton	James	Cabinet-maker	Duke St. Aldgate 18	8.6	D	A6
4829	Burn	Thomas	Tailor	Cirencester Place 18	8.6	D	A6B6C6
4836	Barwick	H. D.	Painter	Shoreditch 209	8.6	D	
4838	Bennie	Mark	Pianoforte-maker	Warwick St. Regent St. 41	8.6	D	A6
4860	Birt	William		George St. Hope Town 31	8.6	D	
4865	Barry	Henry	Carpenter	Henrietta St. Covent Garden 34	8.6	D	A6
4879	Beveridge	Peter	Carpenter	Grafton Court Paraden St. Marylebone 2	12	D	AsB6
4884	Barracluff	Thomas	Carpenter	Newington Butts 3	12	D	AsB6C6D6
4909	Bond	James	Draper	Lambs Conduit St. 25	12	D	AsB6
4922	Boag	N.	Music-seller	Great Turnstile Holborn 11	12	D	AsB6
4927	Barvarend	James		Great Portland St. 106	8.6	A	
4937	Barett	W. H.	Carpenter	Eagle St. Red Lion Sq. 9	8.6	A	
4944	Beaver	George	Surveyor	Cold Bath Sq. 20	8.6	A	B6C6D6
4947	Butcher	Samuel	Artist	Long Lane Smithfield 81	8.6	A	B6C6D6
4966	Burton	James	Optician	Weston St. Pentonville 10	8.6	A	B6C6D6
4967	Banks	Thomas	Carpenter	Charles Court Strand 7	8.6	A	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826 1827	1828	1829
4973	Byfield	George	Tailor	Old St. St Lukes 11	8.6		A
4987	Bett	Benjamin	Coach-maker	Russell Mews Russell Sq.	8.6		A
4988	Baume	Mons <sup>r</sup>	Gentleman	Fleet St 62; 19 Aldersgate St.	8.6		A
4998	Boston	Charles	Silversmith	Dean St. Holborn 17	8.6		A
5008	Butler	Thomas		Beaufort Buildings	8.6		A
5012	Buchanan	James	Schoolmaster	Carey St. Westminster 11	8.6		A
5049	Banister	Samuel		Robert St. Bedford Row 16	8.6		B
5062	Bostell	Daniel	Carpenter	Nicholl Sq.	12		A BsC6D6
5073	Blake	Barrett	Clerk	Kennington	12		A BsC6
5075	Burgess	William	Engineer	Harmood St. Hampstead Rd	8.6		B C6
5076	Bennett	Richard	Merchant	Lower Thames St. 105	15		B Cs
5097	Bishop	Henry	Cabinet-carver	Berkeley Court Berkeley Sq. 2	8.6		B C6
5103	Bryant	John	Clerk	Princes St. Bedford Sq.; 7 ? Grays Inn Lane	8.6		B C6D6
5106	Bowden	S.	Carpenter	Cumberland Market Regents Park 10	8.6		B C6D6
5143	Burnell	George		Park Sq. Regents Park 14	12		B Cs
5157	Bishop	Thomas	Clerk	Cheapside 127	8.6		B
5161	Barber	William	Upholder etc	Leonard Sq. Finsbury 2	8.6		B
5162	Bennett	Major		London Wall 101	8.6		B
5179	Brennan	D.	Gardener	Hammersmith	8.6		B C6D6
5191	Belletti	Augustus	Timber merchant	Skinner St. Bishopsgate 40	8.6		B C6D6
5192	Bainbridge	Miahael	Boot-maker	Southampton Place Bloomsbury 4	8.6		B
5202	Bonson	Thomas		Bond Court Walbrook 4	12		B CsD6
5203	Burn	Stephen	Pianoforte-maker	Ernest St. Regents Park 31	12		B Cs
5215	Blake	Captain		Oriental Club	12		B CsD6
5217	Brydon	William	Student	Camberwell	12		B CsD6
5214	Bowles	William		Cannon St. 84	12		B Cs
5233	Bryant	William	Carpenter	Bowling Green Walk Pitfield St. Hoxton 4	8.6		C
5243	Bury	Frederick	Cabinet-maker	Southampton Row 45	8.6		C D6
5244	Batley	John	Cabinet-maker	Portland St. Soho 6	8.6		C D6
5248	Bradforth	James	Upholsterer	Manchester St. Grays Inn Rd 68	8.6		C
5252	Blackwell	Edmund	Stonemason	Field Terrace Battle Bridge 10	8.6		C D6
5253	Barrie	Robert	Carpenter	Upper Tottenham Place Tottenham Court 1	8.6		C D6
5259	Batchelor	Peter	Printer	Warwick Sq. 2	8.6		C D6
5260	Barlow	Joseph	Stonemason	Vauxhall Rd 8	8.6		C D6
5266	Bennet		Watch-maker etc	Red Lion St. Holborn 60	8.6		C D6
5282	Bronthead	William	Painter	Houndsditch 56	8.6		C D6
5288	Burrey	Samuel	Draper	Ludgate St. 1	8.6		C
5294	Brownlee	Robert	Stonemason	Buckingham St. Pimlico 10	8.6		C D6
5309	Bayne	Richard	Carpenter	Seymour Place Bryanstone Sq. 15	8.6		C D6
5327	Bull	James		George St. London Fields Hackney 14	8.6		C
5329	Blackwell	Jonathan	Comb-maker	Field Terrace Battle Bridge 10	8.6		C
5360	Brucker	John	Joiner	East St. Manchester Sq. 62	8.6		C D6
5361	Butcher	David	Joiner	Lower Berkley St. Manchester ? 12	8.6		C D6
5372	Burt	Henry		at Mr Thompson's Builder, New Rd	12		C Ds
5383	Browne	John		Augusta St. Regents Park 7	8.6		D
5384	Bennett	John	Cabinet-maker	Noel St. Soho 7	8.6		D
5388	Burt	Albin	Painter	at Mr Thompson's New Rd	8.6		D
5396	Burnett	Edmund	Printer	Wellesley St. Euston Sq. 29	8.6		D
5399	Blakesby	T.	Chaser	Wynyatt St. 69	8.6		D
5411	Bowerman	Henry	Linen-draper	Fulham	8.6		C
5417	Bowles	John	Teacher	New Castle St. Fleet Market 10	8.6		C
5425	Balls	Edward	Joiner	Oxford St. 170	8.6		C D6
5430	Brown	Isaac	Watch-maker	Gloucester St. Clerkenwell	8.6		C
5448	Betts	James		Smithfield Bars 7	12		C Ds
5467	Bragg	Thomas		Bath Terrace Fitzroy Sq.	8.6		D
5471	Butler	Richard	Builder	Portland Place Northampton Sq. 8	8.6		D
5477	Bolton	Robert	Upholsterer	Piccadilly 177	8.6		D
5483	Baddeley	William	Stationer	George Yard Lombard St. 10	8.6		D
5493	Ball	Robert	Tea-broker	New Street Sq. City 3	8.6		D
5508	Bishop	John	Goldsmith	Lepards Court Baldwins Yard 3	8.6		D
5510	Bethel	Mr.		Southampton Buildings 28	27		D
5512	Battersby	John	Second Battalion	Guards New Barracks C X	8.6		D
5323	Barlow	Frederick	Surveyor	Thornhill St. Pentonville 4	8.6		D

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5544	Brugess	James	Carpenter	Little Christie St. Grosvenor Place 5	8.6				D
5540	Butler	Thomas	Carpenter	Little Grays Inn Lane 23	8.6				D
5578	Braithwaite	Sep <sup>r</sup>		Bath Place Fitzroy Sq. 1	8.6				D
5588	Berkley	Michael	writer	Phoenix Court Long Acre	8.6				D
5590	Baynes	James V.	Dyer	Brook St. Holborn 33	8.6				D
5610	Black	George	Print-colourer	June Court St. Westminster 3?	8.6				D
5653	Batterham	John	Carpenter etc	William St. New River H..?	8.6				D
5684	Barton	Arthur	Engraver	Wilson St. Grays Inn Lane 12	12				D
5687	Bardons	Charles		Bedford St. Bedford Row	12				D
5694	Biggs	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Rathbone Place 57	12				D
5695	Badger	Dennis		Kirby St. Hatton Garden 45	12				D
		William							
5708	Botling	William	Carpenter	Northumberland St New Rd 20	12				D
5710	Boyd	Mark		Life? Union Club and Clapham	12				D
16	Collar	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Brook St. Grosvenor Sq. 20; 25 Great Pulteney St.	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD6
17	Clarke	John	Clerk	Fenchurch St. 7	20	D	AsBsCsD6	A24BsCsDs	A24BsCsDs
22	Cope	John James	Surveyor	Great Smith St. Westminster 11	20	D	AsB sCs		
28	Coles	William	Truss-maker	London Bridge Upper Thames St. 1?	24	Ds	AsB24CsDs		
49	Cowie	George	Printer and Bookseller	Fetter Lane 24	24	Ds	A24BsCsDs	AsBsC24Ds	
71	Cook	Joseph	Coach-maker	Goswell St. 8	5	D			
93	Clarke	Robert	Thermometer-maker	Fox Court Grays Inn Lane 14	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D12	AsB6C6D6
96	Christie	Peter	Carver	Sprint St. Portman Sq. 22	20	D	AsBsC3D24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs
132	Christie	Robert	Secretary	London Mechanics Institute	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs
225	Carswell	William	Glass cutter	Monkwell St. 8c; 2 Hart St. Cripplegate	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
226	Collett	Thomas	Metal-sash-maker	Greystoke Place 4	5	D			
243	Clarke	Robert	Clerk	Southampton Buildings 32	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
258	Collingridge	Edward	Gilder	Wilderness Row 27	5	D			
277	Chant	John	Optician	Britannia St. City Rd	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
278	Cummings	Robert	Boot-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 43	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
285	Cherie	Dennis	Jeweller	Rawstorn St. Clerkenwell 15	5	D			
309	Crammond	D. W.	Clerk	Brunswick St. Hackney Rd 21	5	D	A6		
332	Cain	John	Furniture-carver	Pool Terrace City Rd 27	5	D	A6		
358	Cotchett	Thomas	Clerk	Watlin St. 91	5	D	A6		
360	Clifton	Francis	Clerk	Lincolns Inn 16	5	D			
365	Cummming	George	Boot-maker	Red Lion St. Spitalfields 46	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
366	Collier	Thomas	Iron-monger	Union St. Borough 109	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
367	Cockerill	James	Gentleman	Old Sq. Lincolns Inn 6	6		ABD6	A6BsC12D6	
372	Childe	Lawrence	Gold-refiner	Barbican 54	5	D	A6		
373	Cull	Richard	Plumber	Rosomans St. Clerkenwell	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6^	A6B6C6D6
402	Capern	William	Carpenter	Devereux Court Strand 1	5	D	A6		
421	Chambers	R.	Carpenter	Cross St. Hatton Garden 15	5	D	A6B6C6		
425	Chappell	George	Cooper	Ray St. Clerkenwell	5	D	A6		
456	Clutterbuck	Henry	M. D.	Bridge St. Blackfriers	20	Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsCsD24	AsB24CsDs
465	Corcoran	Bryan	Millwright	Mark Lane 36	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
467	Conacher	David	Carpenter	Baldwins Gardens 34	5	D	A5B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
472	Challen	James	Tailor	High Holborn 24	6		A		
505	Coulson	Robert	Engraver	St James's Walk Clerkenwell 20	20	D	AsBsCs		
532	Carey	Henry	Musical-instrument-maker	Stangate St. 28	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
		John							
562	Carter	Benjamin	Clerk of Works to Com of Sewers	Castle St. East 67	5	D	A6B6C6		
564	Collins	John	Schoolmaster	Hatton Garden 43	20	D	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
554	Crespel	Sebastian	Silversmith	James St. Haymarket 11	5	D	A6		
610	Clarke	Thomas	Hairdresser	Wilmot St. Brunswick Sq.	20	D	As		
627	Cartledge	William	Machinist	Union Place Bagnigge Wells 1	5	D			
630	Carter	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Northampton St. St Pancrass 14	5	D	A6B6C6D5	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
651	Chrichton	John	Clerk	Holborn Hill 11; 10 Pancrass Lane Cheapside	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
671	Cartwright	John	Enameller	Gunpowder Allen Fleet St. 4	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
702	Cobhash	Samuel	Coffee house keeper	Fenchurch St. 95	20	D	AsBsCs		
709	Cope	John	Engineer	North St. 4	5	D			
712	Churcher	Andrew	Hair manufacturer	King St. Golden Sq. 22	5	D	A6		
727	Corven	John	Painter etc	Northampton St. Clerkenwell 57	5	D	A6B6		
746	Christie	William	Joiner	Sprint St. Portman Sq. 22	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
787	Constable	John	Printer	Red Lion Court Clerkenwell 9	5	D			
791	Curtis	James	Pianoforte-maker	Henry St. Hampstead Rd 33	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D24	1830AsBsCs
									s
796	Cammack	John	Currier	Kingsgate St. 10	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
826	Chubb	James	Cabinet-maker	London St. Fitzroy Sq. 29	10	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
911	Cartledge	Henry	Book-binder	Kerby St. Hatton Garden	5	D	A6B6		
947	Cattermole	Charles	Carpenter	Wilsted St. Somers Town	10	D	As		
995	Cartwright	William	Cabinet-maker	James St. Somers Town 1	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
1004	Cannon	William	Cabinet-maker	Little Titchfield St. 4	10	D	A6		
1090	Coe	John	Printer	High Holborn 225	5	D			
1131	Colesby	James	Plumber	Bridgwater Gardens 30	5	D			
1132	Coates	Thomas	Gentleman	Furnivals Inn	24	Ds	AsB24Cs	Ds	As
1135	Chapel	John	Trunk-maker	Piccadilly 49	5	D			
1179	Charnley	Henry	Gentleman	Crossley St. Walworth	5	D			
1187	Christie	William	Baker	Bouverie St. Fleet St. 31	414	Ds	A6B24CsDs	AsB24CsDs	AsB12CsDs
					48				
1206	Cramphorn	James	Chaser	Long Acre 136	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1207	Cuthbert	William	Goldsmith	Dean St. Fetter Lane 16	5	D			
1209	Cooke	William	Cabinet-maker	Duke St. Lisson Grove 9	5	D			
1222	Chapman	Frederick	Gentleman	Stamford Hill	5	D			
1292	Crawford	William	Brass-finisher	Great Warner St. 6	5	D			
1293	Collier	Noah	Tallow-chandler	Sloan St. Knightsbridge	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
1294	Cooke	Joseph	Book-binder	Wells St. Cripplegate 8	5	D	A6		
1313	Check	John	Carpenter	Salisbury Sq. 139	5	D	A6B6		
1326	Cuthbert	Charles	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Garnault Place Spa fields 8 ½	5	D			
1386	Crossby	William	Paper-hanger	Snows Fields 1 ;34 Kings St. Borough	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1406	Collier	Caleb	Jeweller	Sloane St. 209	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
1410	Cochin	Richard	Schoolmaster	Park St. Camden Town	5	D	A6		
1411	Coombs	John	Gentleman	Scotland yard	5	D			
1412	Crosser	Henry	Joiner	Laybridge Rd Hackney 10	5	D	A6		
1413	Cooke	Henry	Book-binder	Will St. Cripplegate 8	5	D	A6		
		William							
1519	Campbell	John	Mason	New Union St. 21	5	D	A6		
1594	Coupland	Newton	Cutler	Lambeth St. Goodmans Fields 5	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
1610	Curry	John R.	Glove manufacturer	Aldersgate St. 21	5	D	A6		
1615	Cormack	James	Boot-maker	North St. Marylebone 15	5	D			
1624	Cox	George	Optician	Banner St. St Lukes 51	5	D			
1625	Clarke	John	Printer	Tabernacle Walk Moorfields 32	5	D	A6		
		Edward							
1628	Crossley	John	Schoolmaster	Southwark British and Foreign Society	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
		Thomas							
1639	Coventon	W. G.	Clerk	Robert St. Bedford Row 19	5	D			
1648	Clarke	George	Carpenter	Adam St. West 42	5	D	A6B6		
1664	Carey	George G.	Teacher	York St. Covent Garden 2	10	D	AsB6		
1677	Curtis	Josiah	Pianoforte-maker	Henry St. Hampstead Rd 33	5	D			
1703	Curtis	John W. F.	Clerk	Thavies Inn 9	20	D	AsBsCs		
1710	Chadwick	W. Arthur		Bermondsey St. Blackfriars Rd 10	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
1711	Chadwick	J. R.		Bermondsey St. Blackfriars Rd 10	5	D			
1724	Coulthurst	Richard	Carpenter	William St. Regents Park 37	5	D	A6B6		
1729	Clint	Sapio	Die-sinker	Rolls Buildings 5	5	D			
1749	Chapman	John	Shoe-maker	Mount St. Lambeth 1	5	D	A6		
1751	Cobb	Samuel	Joiner	John St. Fitzroy Sq. 32	5	D	A6B6		
1780	Chapman	George	Cheese-monger	Grays Inn Lane 16	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1814	Cook	William	Coach-maker	Liquorpond St.	5	D			
1815	Cook	William	Coach-maker	Liquorpond St.	5	D			
		jun.							
1821	Comrie	Alexander	Surveyor	Strand 268	5	D			
1829	Crook	William	Plumber	Little Coram St. 12	5	D	A6B6		
1830	Clark	William		Goswell St. 129	5	D			
		Jun.							
1838	Clark	William	Gentleman	White Lion Sq. Pentonville 60	5	D	A6		
1846	Cox	Edward	Architect	King St. Long Acre 7	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1865	Cooper	William	Printer	Golden Lane 19	5	D			
1880	Cooper	Thomas	Herald-painter	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 1	5	D			
		William							
1884	Chapman	Benjamin	Shop-man	Castle St. Bloomsbury	5	D	A6		
1933	Cummins	Joseph	Iron-monger	Snow Hill 69	5	D	A6		
1957	Colliver	Jonathan	Smith	Banner St. St Lukes	5	D	A6B6		
1959	Cuffley	Alexander		Devonshire St. Queen Sq. 13	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
1997	Conder	Joseph	Carpenter	Beer Lane Tower St. 3	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
2028	Culverhouse	Daniel		Chiswell St. 57	15		A BsC6		
2031	Churchward	James	Cabinet-maker	Nottingham St. 8	8.6		A		
2049	Clarke	W. Henry			8.6		A		
2069	Coton	J. W.	Gentleman	Dorchester St. Hoxton	6		A		
2081	Crouch	Henry	Plasterer	George St. Protman Sq. 7	6		A B6C6D6		
2123	Cockton	W. H.	Stationer	Newgate St. 60	8.6		A B6C6		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2127	Cooke	William	Clerk	Old St.	8.6	A B6		
2133	Cole	Charles N.	Clerk	Furnivals Inn 15	8.6	A B6		
2134	Cole	William	Clerk	Sergeants Inn	8.6	A B6		
		Robert						
2142	Chapman	James		High St. Islington	8.6	A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
2173	Coredon	Richard	Cutler	Aldersgate St. 51	8.6	A		
2177	Cave	John C.	Draftsman	Silver St. Golden Sq.	8.6	A B6		
2187	Carty	Thomas	Back-maker	Percival St. Goswell St.	8.6	A B6C6		
2219	Crisfield	John	Veterinary surgeon	Theobalds Rd 8	8.6	A		
2225	Cummings	William	Silversmith	Charlotte St. Blackfriars Rd 57	8.6	A B6		
2244	Cicolini	Filippo	Gentleman	Piccadilly 17	8.6	B		
2290	Cowan	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Gresse St. Rathbone Place 32	8.6	B		
2332	Crawford	James	Book-binder	Peerless Row City Rd	6	B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
blot	Coulson	William	Surgeon	Aldersgate St. 58	27	B CsDs	As	
		Esq.						
2352	Cuff	Joseph	Gentleman	Ebenezer Terrace London Hospital	8.6	B		
2355	Cooke	I. H.	Short-hand-writer	Casks Court Lincolns Inn 3	8.6	B C6		
2362	Coulson	Edmund	Cordwainer	Gloucester Court St James's 6	8.6	B C6		
2365	Cooke	Frederick	Tailor	Robert St. Bedford Row	8.6	B C6		
2366	Chapman	James		Turnagain Lane Fleet Market 3	8.6	B C6		
2387	Cormack	James			8.6	C D6	A6B6	
2421	Chapman	William	Carpenter	John St. Blackfriars Rd 6	8.6	C		
2428	Charie	Dennis	Jeweller	Rawstorn St. Clerkenwell 15	8.6	C		
2431	Cumpstone	Charles	Clerk	Seymour St. Euston Sq. 5	8.6	C D6		
2445	Charles	William	Goldsmith	Seymour Row Seymour St. 7	8.6	C		
2455	Cooper	Thomas	Tailor	Hertford St. Fitzroy Sq. 9	8.6	C D6		
2463	Cox	James	Packer	Bell Inn Warwick Lane	8.6	C D6		
2474	Cope	John	Gentleman	Islington Terrace	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D65	A6B6
2498	Collings	W.	Gentleman	Theobalds Rd 2	8.6	C D6	A6	
2502	Capper	Richard	Joiner	Upper North Place Grays Inn Rd 14	8.6	C		
2507	Calvert	Nathaniel	Artist	Wilmot St. Brunswick Sq. 15	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6 D6
2521	Coventon	William G.	Clerk	Robert St. Bedford Row 19	8.6	C		
2525	Cross	Henry	Clerk	Castle St. Falcon Sq.	8.6	C		
2542	Curtis	William		Clarendon Place Camberwell 3	8.6	C D6		
2567	Congreve	William	Printer	Brook St. Holborn 10	8.6	C D6		
2577	Clarke	John	Glover	Skinner St. 18	8.6	C		
2578	Campart	John		Burlington Arcade 16 and 17	27	C Ds	AsBs	
		Thomas						
2609	Cummings	Jos...h	Iron-monger	Dyers Buildings Holborn 6	8.6	C		
2620	Clark	John	Gentleman	Stafford St. New Rd 8	8.6	C		
2621	Clack	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Edgware Rd 93	8.6	C D6	A6	
2636	Calderara	Seraphim	Optician	Leather Lane 92	8.6	C D6	A6	
2656	Cooper	Isaac	Confectioner	St Martins Court	8.6	C D6	A6	
2660	Champion			Ludgate Hill 16	8.6	C		
2680	Conen	George	Pocket-book manufacturer	Little Queen St. Holborn 25	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6	
2685	Cox	John	Painter	Burial Ground Passage Ma...12	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6	
2707	Calvert	William	Carpenter	Bunhill Row 42	8.6	C D6	A6B6	
2714	Cranwell	Robert		Edward St. Portman Sq.	8.6	C		
2729	Cherry	James	Gilder	Pitfield St. Hoxton 26	8.6	C		
2733	Cook	Luban	Rule-maker	Crown Court Soho	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
2759	Curd	Richard	Gentleman	Cromer St. 35	8.6	C		
2760	Curd	Richard	Gentleman	Cromer St. 35	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
		Jun.						
2782	Coney	James	Gentleman	Hammersmith	8.6	C		
2793	Cardano	Leandro	Gentleman	Leigh St. Burton Crescent 2	8.6	D	A6	
2811	Carswell	Walter	Warehouseman	Gutter Lane Cheapside 21	8.6	D		
2830	Cooper	William	Surgeon	Judd St. 54	8.6	D		
2861	Chandler	William	Gentleman	William St. Wilmington Sq. 2	8.6	D		
2867	Clay	George	Woollen-draper	Holborn 92	8.6	D	A6	
2869	Cattle	Enoch	Cabinet-maker	Upper Rosomans St. 10	8.6	D		
2884	Crook	Samuel	Chaser	Peter St. Westminster 72	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6
2886	Creer	Thomas	Clerk	Catherine St. Pimlico 13	8.6	D		
2889	Comrie	Alexander		Strand 269	8.6	D	A6B12CsD1	As
							2	
2903	Canham	James		late 1134	8.6	D	A6B6C6	
2904	Cleghorn	John	Engraver	Brooksby St. Islington 20	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2939	Carter	John		Lombard St. 67	8.6	D	A6	
2943	Crockford	Joshua	Clerk	Castle St. Long Acre	8.6	D	A6	
2987	Carpmael	William	Carpmael patents	Patent Office	27	D	AsBsCs	
2993	Cox	William		late 1543	8.6	D	A6B6C6	
3008	Cash	Thomas		New Rd	8.6	D		
3023	Craymer	William	Carver	Wardour St. 15	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
3045	Cheney	Thomas		Brownlow St. Drury Lane	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	
3078	Croswell	Henry		Monkwell St. 31	8.6	D	A6	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826 1827	1828	1829
4022	Charles	William	Farrier	Clarges St. Piccadilly 26	8.6	A B6C6	
4025	Callaway	Thomas E.	Carver	Fieldgate St. Whitechapel 19	8.6	A	
4045	Collins	Robert	Cabinet-maker	Great Brook St. New Rd 1	8.6	A	
4064	Charles	Edmund	Farrier	Clarges St. Piccadilly 26	8.6	A B6C6	
4119	Cullen	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Fore St. Cripplegate 86	8.6	A	
4133	Churchman	John	Gold and silver drawer	Charles St. Goswell St. 56	8.6	A	
4147	Cullern	G.	Gentleman	Pentonville	8.6	A	
4161	Caton	Francis	Jeweller	Upper Thames St. 187	8.6	A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4163	Coode	George		Upper Stamford St. 12	8.6	A	
4173	Coulson	William	Warehouseman	Friday St. 54	8.6	A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4175	Carver	David		Hunter St. Brunswick Sq. 36	8.6	A B6	
4180	Cradock	C.T.	Silversmith	Carey St. Chancery Lane	8.6	A B6C6D6	
4219	Cross	George	Printer	Poppins Court Fleet St. 11	8.6	A	
4248	Crank	Frederick	Gentleman	Park Terrace Islington 11	12	A Bs	
4260	Chappell	George	Cooper	Ray St. Clerkenwell	12	A BsC12Ds	
4265	Casey	Edward	Engineer	Brook St. Lambeth 22	12	A BsD6D6	A6B6
4272	Caruthers	John		Oxford Court Cannon St.	12	A BsC6D6	
4277	Calderclough	Francis	Architect	Little Marylebone St. 29	27	B CsDs	As
4284	Cockran	James	Tailor	Buckingham St. Pimlico	8.6	B	
4289	Coney	Daniel S.	Architect	Great Pulteney St. Golden Sq. 10	8.6	B	
4292	Collinson	W. F.	Brass-founder	Chenies St. Bedford Sq.	8.6	B C6D6	
4298	Clarke	William		Clarendon St. Somers Town 72	8.6	B C6D6	A6B6C6
4301	Creasy	John	Joiner	Aldersgate St. 21	8.6	B	
4319	Child	Joseph	Weaver	James St. Pollards Row Bethlam Green 5	8.6	B	
4349	Cawley	Thomas	Leather-cutter	Willmotts Buildings White St. Bo..	8.6	B C6	
4359	Cox	William	Carpenter	George St. Portland Close?;33 Upper Eaton St. Pimlico	8.6	B C6D6	A6B6C6
4369	Couzens	William	Architectural draftsman	Museum St. Bloomsbury 7	8.6	B	
4385	Cole	Thomas	Joiner	Wilson St. Grays Inn Rd 21	12	B CsD6	
4392	Cammeron	John	Engineer	Thomas St. Lambeth 24	12	B Cs ?	
4393	Clapham	Robert	Printer	Hatfield St. Blackfriars 67	12	B CsD6	A6
4400	Conroy	Francis		Dublin	12	B Cs	
4430	Crumpler	Robert	Clerk	Charing Cross 16	8.6	C D6	
4468	Carrington	George	Surveyor	Great Ormond St. 5	8.6	C	
4469	Clarke	Charles M.	Gentleman	East St. Red Lion Sq. 30	27	C Ds	AsBs
4474	Cromwell	Joseph			8.6	C	
4487	Coglan	James		Tooley St. 5	8.6	C	
4502	Coleman	William			8.6	C	
4505	Colmere	George	Printer	Crown St. Finsbury	8.6	C	
4511	Cormack	Thomas	Gentleman	Tunbridge St. New Rd	8.6	C	
4512	Chalklew	Thomas	Master of Infant School	Hurt St. Covent Garden	8.6	C	
4515	Crisfield	James	Farrier	Tavistock Mews Tavistock Sq. 6	8.6	C D6	A6
4533	Collinson	Edwin A.	Clerk	Chenies St.	8.6	C	
4546	Collins	D.	Law-stationer	Cursitor St. 28	8.6	C D6	A6B6
4567	Collings	William		Theobalds Rd	8.6	C D6	
4579	Cawley	William	Leather-cuter	Chalcroft Terrace Lambeth 26	8.6	C	
4592	Conen	James	Watch-case-maker	Hull St. St Lukes 6	8.6	C D6	A6B6
4601	Cole	Robert	Painter and Glazier	Dove Court St Martins Le Grand 7	8.6	C	
4602	Copper	George J.	Plasterer	Union Court Holborn 17	8.6	C	
4610	Chapman	George		Grays Inn Lane 6	8.6	C	
4649	Cayley	Alexander	Ornamental paper manufacturer	Hemlock Court Carey St. 3	12	C Ds	A6B6C6
4658	Cooke	John R.	Gentleman	High St. Marylebone 104	12	C Ds	A6B6C6D6
4716	Curtis	John	Coffee-dealer	Jury St. Aldgate 9	27	D	AsBsCs
4760	Clunas	James	Clerk	Freemans Court Cornhill 3	8.6	D	
4774	Conacher	John	Shoe-maker	York St. St James's 2	8.6	D	
4801	Calloway	Thomas	Carver	Faldgate St. Whitechapel 19	8.6	D	A6B6C6
4810	Cope	John	Carpenter	Panton Sq. 7	8.6	D	A6
4844	Coulton	David	Printer	Elizabeth Place Kennington 21	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4845	Collis	Thomas	Printer	Packhouse Court Coleman 2	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4878	Chisholm	John	Painter	High St. Marylebone 29	12	D	AsB6C6
4893	Crook	William	Plumber	Speldhurst St. Burton Crescent 36	12	D	As
4921	Calyton	James Henry	Law-clerk	Carey St. Lincolns Inn 35	12	D	As
4929	Cross	James	Gentleman	Staple Inn	27	A BsCsDs	
4943	Coles	James	Dyer	Jewin St. 12	8.6	A	
4954	Collins	Robert	Druggist	Walbrook Mansion House 26	8.6	A D6	
4956	Cheshire	John	Artist	Upper St. Martins Lane 6	8.6	A	



No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
4957	Const	John H.	Ivory-turner	Albermarle St. Clerkenwell	8.6			A
4962	Colliver	Jonathan	Smith	Bouverie St. St Lukes 30	8.6			A
4971	Carter	John	Artist	Brown St. Edgware Rd 26	8.6			A
4982	Carter	Thomas	Carter	Gate St. Lincolns Inn Fields 7	8.6			A
4984	Cheesman	Edward	Printer	Warwick Sq. 2	8.6			A B6C6D6
4986	Challen	James	Tailor	High Holborn 240	8.6			A
5010	Campbell	James		Berners St. Commercial Rd	8.6			A
5021	Croft	Richard	Iron-monger	Edmond Place Aldersgate St. 37	8.6			A
5025	Cole	James	Gilder	Cromer St. 9	8.6			A
5030	Cook	Edward Jun.	Gentleman	Bankside 73	12			A BsC12Ds
5030	Cole	Thomas	Carpenter	Turnmill St. Clerkenwell 62	8.6			A
5047	Cotchett	Thomas	Clerk	Watling St. 91	8.6			B
5055	Collings	William	Die-sinker	Cold Bath Sq. 28	8.6			A B6C6D6
5099	Cooke	Joseph	late 71		8.6			B D6
5109	Carter	Robert	Builder	Drury Lane 91	8.6			B
5110	Carter	Robert Jun.	Builder	Drury Lane 91	8.6			B
5111	Carter	William	Builder	Drury Lane 91	8.6			B
5115	Carter	Robert	Carpenter	Fullwoods Rents Holborn 13	8.6			B C6D6
5117	Codner	Thomas	Gentleman	Horsleydown	8.6			B C6
5128	Cockerill	W. James		Poultry	8.6			B D6
5144	Carter	John		Lombard St. 66	12			B Cs
5156	Clements	George	Clerk	Old Sq. Lincolns Inn 3	8.6			B
5186	Ceely	Robert B.		Crown Court Fleet St. 1	8.6			B C6D6
5194	Chappell	George			8.6			B D6
5198	Cheeswright	Henry		Stamford St. Blackfriars 7	27			B CsDs
5239	Crowhurst	Thomas	Joiner	Wyndham St. Bryanstone Sq. 22	8.6			C D6
5240	Cleave	Henry	Builder	South Moulton St.	8.6			C
5245	Curtis	Benjamin	Brush-maker	Great Dover St. Boro 3	8.6			C D6
5255	Coxworthy	Franklin	Gentleman	Bennett St. Blackfriars Rd 26	8.6			C D6
5278	Curtain	Henry	Engineer	Smiths Buildings City Rd 11	8.6			C D6
5286	Cousen	George	Carpenter	Tonbridge St. Brunswick Sq. 9	8.6			C D6
5347	Curtis	William		Bank Chambers City	8.6			C
5351	Cooke	Henry		Christopher St. Hatton Garden	27			C Ds
5381	Collins	John	Warehouseman	Upper King St. Bloomsbury 33	8.6			D
5391	Chitty	John	Clerk	Mitre Court Hatton Garden 1	8.6			D
5394	Carney	Richard	Packer	Severn St. Black Church Lane ? St Georges East 5	8.6			D
5419	Cookes	William	Gentleman		15			C Ds
5434	Carstairs	Joseph	Teacher of Writing	Lombard St. 84	12			C Ds
5464	Cooper	Joseph		London	15			D
5485	Coe	Miles	Lace-man	Cheapside 122	8.6			D
5486	Clothier	John	Rule-maker	Crown Court Pulteney St. 21	8.6			D
5490	Colley	John	Carver and gilder	King St. Camden Town 6	8.6			D
5502	Clack	Ninian	Perfumer	Great Titchfield St. 17	8.6			D
5522	Cheer	John	Clerk	Great Warner St. 9	8.6			D
5541	Collins	James	Tobacconist	St Johns St. 48	8.6			D
5569	Cragdallie	J.	Upholder	Norfolk St. Middlesex Hospital 30	8.6			D
5576	Clayton	J. H.		re-entered	15			D
5579	Couch	John	Carpenter	Brighton St. Grays Inn Rd 5	8.6			D
5586	Cox	John	Bookseller	Red Lion St. Holborn 1	8.6			D
5611	Cripps	Thomas	Pianoforte-maker	Union St. Hoxton 42	8.6			D
5622	Croft	Captain Thomas		Dempsey St. Commercial Rd 13	8.6			D
5631	Cooke	Thomas	Plumber	Fenchurch St. 65	12			D
5636	Caron	Henry	Compositor	Brick Lane Fleet St.	12			D
5644	Carter	Robert	Surveyor	Russell Court Drury Lane 29	12			D
5648	Clement	James Palmer		Strand 269	12			D
5655	Coleman	William		Hart St. Bloomsbury 31	8.6			D
5665	Champion	Daniel	Tortoiseshell-worker	Bloomfield St. Wal... 3 ?	8.6			D
5676	Clarke	Alexander	Engineer	Chadwell St. Sadlers Wells 18	12			D
5677	Child	C. W. J..	Coal-merchant	Streatham Paragon Brixton	12			D
5709	Clement	C.		Strand	12			D
19	Dixon	James	Tin-plate-worker	Wych St. Strand 34	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs
29	Dempsey	John	Tailor	Bouverie St. Fleet St. 10	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24 AsBsCsD24
72	Duthie	Thomas	Book-binder	Bartletts Place 2	16	Ds? A		
94	Dawson	William	Gentleman	Upper Charles St. Northampton Sq. 11	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6 A6B6
97	Dennant	James Jonathan	Carpenter	Haydon Sq.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6 A6B6C6D6

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
102	Dotchen	John A.	Surveyor	Frederick Place Hampstead Rd 37	20	D	AsBsCsD28	AsBsCs	
103	Deville	Elijah	Brass-founder	Mercer St. Long Acre 6	20	Ds	AsB20CsD24	AsBsCs	
125	Douglass	William	Coach-smith	North Row Oxford St.	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
129	Davidson	William	Smith	Little Grays Inn Lane 24	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
134	Daniel	Francis	Printer	Brooks Gardens Bagnigge Wells 2	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
157	Dixon	George	Carver & Gilder	Great Portland St. 12	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
169	Dixson	Halford	Chaser	Great Newport St. 2	5	D	A6B6		
193	Derry	Charles	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Little Coram St. Brunswick Sq. 10	5	D	A6		
235	Dodd	James	Violin-bow-maker	Granby Buildings Vauxhall 9	5	D	A6B6C6D24	AsBSCsD24	AsBsCs
266	Desbois	Daniel	Watch-maker	Grays Inn Passage 9	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
382	Davy	Christophe r	Draftsman	Furnivals Inn 11	24	Ds	AsB24CsDs	As	
399	Davies	David	Printer	Bartholomew Close 42	5	D			
400	Dolittle	John	Ornamental painter	Radnor Court St. Lukes 49	5	D			
457	Davis	David	Carpenter & Joiner	Castle Court Borough 4	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
469	Dawker	Edward	Chemist	Seward St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
470	Dawes	Samuel	Pattern-maker	Cromer St. 13	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
481	Dismore	George	Jeweller	Clerkenwell Green 11	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
500	Day	William	Chaser	Calthorpe Place 12	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
511	Dismore	Thomas	Jeweller	Clerkenwell Green 11	5	D	A6B6C6		
538	Davies	William	Clerk	Theobalds Rd 53	6	Ds	A6B12CsD6		
588	Dawson	Thomas	Musical-instrument-maker	Little Chapel St. Soho 4	5	D	A6B6		
657	Davies	William	Printer	Millman St. 16	5	D	A6B6		
725	Darkin	William	Compositor	Chapel St. Islington	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
9747	Dunt	Thomas	Boot-maker	Charing Cross 26	6	D	A6		
788	Dowling	William	Carpenter	Chapel St. Somers Town 1	5	D			
825	Downie	David W.	Cabinet-maker	London St. Fitzroy Sq. 29	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
1010	Dawker	Thomas	Chemist	Upper Thames St. 63	5	D	A6		
1331	Dover	P. E.	Upholsterer	Museum St. 33	5	D	A6		
1315	Davis	Charles		King St. Soho	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1136	Davies	William		Lower Phillimore Place Kensington 3	5	D	A6		
1166	Duff	Peter	Linen-draper	Brewer St. Golden Sq. 8	5	D			
1218	Donnison	Frederick	Cabinet-maker	Platt Terrace Somers Town 14	5	D			
1395	Davis	John	Engraver	Lower St. Islington 3	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1402	Daniels	Simeon	Merchant	Bury St. St Mary Axe 13	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1482	Dart	Henry	Lace-man	Long Acre 141	5	D	A6 C8.6		
1513	Delahay	John	Plasterer	Duke St. Lisson Grove 14	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1514	Davies	Edward	Joiner	Northampton Court St Johns St. 4	5	D			
1523	David	Evan	Printer	Bartholomew Close 42	5	D			
1594	Dawson	Robert	Perfumer	Holborn	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
1636	Dyer	Charles	Surveyor	Coleman St.	5	D			
1499	Douglass	Walter	Stonemason	Fitzroy Place Fitzroy Sq. 4	5	D			
1661	Davis	John		Shafts Court Leadenhall St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1667	Dobbs	Edgar	Gentleman	Great Charlotte St. Blackfriars 5	5	D	A6		
1671	Daly	Charles	Clerk	Athenaeum Club Waterloo Place	5	D			
1672	Daly	James	Hosier	Fleet St. 122	5	D	A6		
1693	Davis	Evan	Paper-stainer	High Holborn 202	5	D	A6B6		
1719	DeBerenger	Lt Col Bawn		Target Cottage Camden Town	20	D	AsBsCs		
1775	Dumming	Henry	Carpenter	Marcham St. Westminster 11	5	D			
1788	Dolling	John	Engineer	Lloyds Row Spa fields 12	5	D			
1792	Duncan	Edward	Engraver	Euston St. New Rd 32	5	D	A6B6C6		
1845	Duff	William	Hat-maker	Ball Court Giltspur St. 3	5	D			
1859	Dent	Edward John	Watch-maker	King St. Long Acre 43	20	D	AsBsCs		
1894	Duff	Thomas	Bank of England	Grays Inn Lane	5	D	A6 C8.6D6		
1937	Dimes	William	Silversmith	Carey Lane 8	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
1946	Davis	John	Whitesmith	Museum St. 40	5	D	A6		
1948	Deeble	Edward B.	Artist	Marshall St. Golden Sq. 47	10	D	As		
1952	Dernocour	John James	Sign-writer	Goswell St. 126; 19 Great Lynard St. Finsbury	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
1953	Davies	William	Gentleman	Chiswell St. 77	5	D			
1962	Dale	Edward	Surgeon	Holborn 23	20	D	AsBsCs		
1978	Dawson	Robert	Furrier	Chiswell St.	5	D			
1986	Dore	George	Book-binder	Shaftsbury Place 7	5	D	A6		
2014	Dibb	William		Hill St. Blackfriars 3	8.6		A B6C6		
2019	Dangle	Edward	Druggist	Gracechurch St. 46	8.6		A C8.6		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2047	Dodsworth	William			8.6	A		
2050	Downes	J.	Goldsmith	High St. Islington 8	8.6	A B6		
2073	Deane	George	House agent	Redcross St.	5	A		
2078	Duff	George	Bank of England	Mecklenburgh Terrace Grays Inn Rd 4	6	A		
2079	Duff	William		Penton Place Pentonville 35	6	A		
2083	Dodd	George	Carver and gilder	Marchmont St. 56	6	A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2087	Denby	Edward	Cabinet-maker	Wells St. Oxford St. 62	6	A B6		
2108	Dixon	John	Baker	Bishopsgate St.	8.6	A B6 D8.6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2165	Denny	William	Chemist	Southampton Row 19	8.6	A B6C6D6	A6B6	
2191	Dickenson	George	Clerk	Carmarthen St.	8.6	B		
2194	Davey	James	Carpenter	High Holborn 251	8.6	B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
2201	Dixon	Frederick Henry	Carver and gilder	Lisson Grove North 12	8.6	A B6C6D6	A6	
2202	Dowling	Alfred	Barrister	Chancery Lane 89	27	A BsCsDs		
2205	Don	Thomas	Millwright	White Lion St. Pentonville 65	8.6	A B6CsDs	AsB24Cs	
2229	Davis	John	Cabinet-maker	Great Pulteney St. Golden Sq. 13	8.6	A B6		
2240	Draper	Thomas	Leather-dresser	High Holborn 107	8.6	B C6D6	A6B6C6	C8.6D6
2241	Douglass	Archibald	Silversmith	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 52	8.6	B		
2271	Davies	David	Tailor	Clarges St. Piccadilly 28	8.6	B		
2280	Davidson	William Jun.	Whitesmith	Little Grays Inn Lane 24	8.6	B C6D6	A6	
2295	DuBochet	George	Gentleman	St Johns St. Rd 28	8.6	B		
2334	Day	Francis	Optician	Poultry 37	8.6	B C6D6		
2353	Davis	George		King St. Soho 41	8.6	B		
2357	Dudington	John	Wine merchant	Red Lion Sq. 5	8.6	B C6		
2359	Davy	Robert	Hairdresser	Strand 222	8.6	B		
2373	Downing	Samuel	Cabinet-maker	James St. Lambeth Marsh 18	8.6	B C6		
2401	Dimes	James		Wood St. Cheapside 3	8.6	B		
2405	Dean	Joseph	Coach-maker	Windsor Terrace City Rd 6	8.6	B		
2417	Danbeny	Henry Charles	Gentleman	Leigh St. Brunswick Sq.	27	B CsDs	As	
2429	Davies	Edward	Wool-broker	Canterbury Place Walworth 3	8.6	C		
2457	Daughty	John	Gentleman	Bartletts Buildings 5	8.6	C		
2458	Dothridge	John	Silversmith	Gee St. Goswell St. 9	8.6	C D6		
2462	Dyer	George	Gentleman	Cliffords Inn 14	27	C Ds	AsBsCsD24	AsBsC24Ds
2468	Druckenmuller	P.	Pump-maker	Hatton Wall 22	8.6	C		
2475	Dougal	Samuel		Milman Place Bedford Rd 3	8.6	C		
2494	Dale	Elijah	Cook and confectioner	High St. Islington 28	8.6	C		
2505	Dimond	George	Carpenter	New Ormond St. 6	8.6	C		
2515	Duckham	William	Hosier	Russia Court Milk St.	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2548	Dennis	Edward	Clerk	King St. Holborn	8.6	C D6		
2556	Dixon	Edward Jun.		Wynyard St. Clerkenwell 14	8.6	C		
2583	De la Gasco	Marian	Botanist	Camden Place Camden Town 28	8.6	C		
2584	De la Gasco	M. Jun.	Botanist	Camden Place Camden Town 28	8.6	C		
2607	Denis	William	Grocer	Upper Thames St. 6	8.6	C		
2646	Delafons	Joseph	Jeweller	Sackville St. Piccadilly; 40 Rupert St.	8.6	C D6	A6B12CsD1 2	AsB12CsD 12
2651	Dowling	Charles	Carpenter	John St. Back Rd Islington 11	8.6	C		
2669	Davey	John	Tailor	Mary St. Oxford St. 20	8.6	C		
2700	Dover	P. E.			8.6	C		
2701	Dover	Charles	Carver	Duke St. Bloomsbury 7	8.6	C D6		
2703	Day	Charles			8.6	C D6	A6B6C6	
2720	Dodd	Robert	Plumber	Tottenham Court Rd 32	8.6	C D6	A6	
2756	Drew	Herbert		Gower St. Bedford Sq. 79	8.6	C D6		
2765	Davis	William Thomas		Old Quebec St. 5	8.6	C		
2779	Debenham	George	Carpenter	London St. Fitzroy Sq. 53	8.6	C		
2791	Dowton	Henry	Bank of England	Bank of England	15	C Ds		
2807	Davies	David	Gentleman	Golden Sq.	8.6	D	A6	
2816	Davies	Robert	Stationer	Little St Thomas Apostle 5	8.6	D	A6B6C6	
2837	Dakin	Thomas	Chemist	Abchurch Lane 29	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2885	Day	John	Surveyor	Neesham St. 90	8.6	D		
2890	Duer	Samuel		New Bond St. 146	8.6	D		
2902	Davey	G.	Accoucheur	Jewin St.	8.6	D		
2946	Davis	Valentine	Surveyor	Fludyer St. Westminster 13	27	D	AsBsCs	
2955	Dewis	Francis	Accountant	Goswell St. 139	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B56CsD 24
2963	Dean	James Thomas	Carver	Shaftsbury Place Aldersgate St. 28	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2999	Dunt	Thomas		Charing Cross 26	8.6	D		
3006	Dockree	John	Plasterer	Galway St. St Lukes 16	8.6	D		
3007	Dockree	William George	Plasterer	Weston St. Somers Town 11	8.6	D		

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3032	Donnison	John		Commercial Rd	27	D	AsBsCs	
3063	Dixon	Richard	Surveyor	Pentonville	8.6	D		
3082	Drake	James	Feather-dealer	Baldwins Gardens 39	8.6	D	A6	
4013	Daniels	William	Carpenter	St Martins Le Grand 9	8.6		A	
4014	Dandridge	Thomas	Land surveyor	Northampton St. St Pancras 26	8.6		A	
4041	Donne	William	Engraver	Warwick Sq. Newgate St. 11	27		A BsCsDs	
4049	Dunnage	William	Clerk	Pearl Crescent Bagnigge Wells 4	8.6		A B6C6D6	
4050	Dunnage	George	Carpenter	Pearl Crescent Bagnigge Wells 4	8.6		A B6C6D6	
4083	Day	James	Philosophical instrument maker	Banner St. St Lukes 31	8.6		A	
4094	Davies	David	Printer	St Dunstons Court 8	8.6		A	
4104	Davis	John	Architect and draftsman	Timber Yard Somerset House	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4114	Delor	S.	Joiner	Frederick St. New Rd 14	8.6		A	
4131	Dee	John	Gentleman	Charlton St. Islington 1	8.6		A	
		Samuel						
4145	Dever	George	Jeweller	Little St Martins Lane	8.6		A B6C6	
4146	Downes	Joseph	Jeweller	High St. Islington	8.6		A	
4167	Debney	Thomas	Bricklayer	Prospect Terrace Grays Inn Rd	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6
4271	Dickson	Thomas	Carpenter	Buckingham St. Fitzroy Sq. 9	12		A Bs	
4274	Durham	William	Upholsterer	Portland St. 104	12		A BsC12Ds	A12BsC12Ds
4278	Darker	W. H. Jun.		Paradise St. Lambeth	8.6		B	
4302	Dupree	Noah		Church St. Clapham Rd	8.6		B C6D6	
4320	Dakin	John	Clerk	Nicholas Lane	8.6		B C6	
4356	Darbyshire	John	Chair, etc manufacturer	Whitecross St. St Lukes 145	8.6		B	
4444	Daniel	Richard	Clerk	Caple Row Stoke Newington 6	8.6		C	A6B6C6D6
4488	Daniel	William	Hatter	Broad Wall Blackfriars 89	8.6		C	
4509	Davis	James	Carpenter	Kings Row Pimlico 5	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6
4522	Dear	William	Cabinet-maker	Bow St. Covent Garden 23	8.6		C	
4552	Dowling	Alfred	Barrister	Chancery Lane 89	27		C Ds	AsBs
4554	Dixon	H. J.	re-entered		8.6		C D6	A6
4557	Dowling	J. A.		Chancery Lane 89	8.6		C	
4572	Dent	George		Rawstorn St. 2	6		C	
4573	Dent	Thomas		Rawstorn St. 2	8.6		C D6	
4581	Dowling	William	Carpenter	Brill Terrace Somers Town 5	8.6		C	
4599	Dodnam	John	Iron-monger	Oxford St. 346	15		C Ds	
4633	Douglass	Thomas	Stationer	Distaff Lane St Pauls	12		C Ds	A6B6C6D6
4644	Dougall	William		Millman Place Bedford Row 3	12		C Ds	
		Henry						
4645	Dougall	Samuel		Millman Place Bedford Row 3	12		C Ds	
4648	Dufief	N. G.			27		D	AsBsCs
4656	Davies	Henry		Broad St. Golden Sq. 10	12		C Ds	
4661	Dolan	Philip	Plasterer	King St. Drury Lane 4	12		C Ds	
4690	Davidson	John	Carpenter	John St. Cornwall Rd 28	8.6		D	A6B6C6
4692	Dods	Thomas		Swansea	27		D	AsBsCs
		Esq						
4708	Denney	William	Chemist	Southampton Row 19	8.6		D	A6
4740	Dibon	James	Gentleman	George St. Portland Chapel 16?	8.6		D	A6B6C6D6
4744	Dovaston	Alfred J.	Mason	Holiday Yard Ludgate Hill 28	8.6		D	A6B6
		Dempsey			6		D	A6B6C6D6
4745	Davies	William	Carpenter	Theobalds Rd	8.6		D	
		Dempsey			6		D	A6B6C6D6
4781	Dennis	James	Bookseller	Surry St. Strand 37	8.6		D	
4804	Dawes	John		Guilford Place Spa fields 21	8.6		D	
4831	Dutton	W. C.	Gentleman	Duncan Terrace Islington	27		D	AsBsCs
4833	Day	Charles P.	Architect	Edmund Place Aldersgate St. 10	8.6		D	
4889	Donnison	William R.	Compositor	Somers Town	12		D	As
4911	Dingley	Edward	Draper	Sherborne	8.6		D	A3
4928	Dyer	John	Clerk	Mitre Court Buildings Temple 17	8.6		A B6C6	
4997	Davy	William	printer	Green St. Seven Dials	8.6		A B6C6D6	
5019	Douglass	Samuel	Machine-ruler	Great Knighttrider St. 6	8.6		A B6C6D6	
5025	Dodd	James		Caroline St. Bedford Sq.	8.6		A	
5081	Davies	David	Engineer	Collingwood St. Blackfriars Rd 42	8.6		B C6	
5084	Desprat	Stephen	Gentleman	Islington	8.6			B
5088	Douglass	Benjamin	Machine-ruler	Little Knighttrider St. 6	8.6		B C6	
5100	Dalling	William	Letter-founder	Clarendon Grove Somers Town	8.6		B	
5132	Dolby	William	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Strand 340	8.6		B C6	
5137	De Conte	R. C.	Gentleman	Goswell Rd 17	12			B CsD6
5138	Debdin	T. C.	Clerk	Redcross St.	12			B CsD6
5142	Drury	James F.	Founder	Lower Islington Terrace 15	12			B Cs
5145	Donlan	W. J.	Army contractor	Duke St. St James's 32	8.6			C
5178	Dupice	N.		Portland Place North Clapham Rd	8.6			B

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
5208	Dunphy	Lawrence	Compositor	Little Pulteney St. Golden Sq. 35?	12			B Cs
5216	Don	Thomas			12			B CsD6
5298	Dixon	James	Printer	Huis Court Blackfriars 2	8.6			C D6
5300	Dunn	Joseph	Carpenter	Cirencester Place 15	8.6			C
5315	Dakers	R.		Great Wild St. 55	8.6			C D6
5356	Dawes	Samuel	Pattern-maker	Guilford Place Spa fields 21	8.6			C D6
5374	Da Costa	Benjamin	Indigo broker	Tower St.	12			C Ds
5380	Derry	Charles	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Warren St. Fitzroy Sq. 67	8.6?			D
5405	Drimminge	Alexander	re-entered		8.6			C D6
5410	Dubourge	George	Carver and gilder	Little Chapel St. Soho 5	8.6			C D6
5421	Darke	Thomas	Tailor	Judd St. Brunswick Sq. 76	8.6			C D6
5423	Dobson	John	Cutler	Strand 162	8.6			C D6
5437	Davis	Henry	Engine-turner	Bayne Row Clerkenwell 4	12			C Ds
5460	Donovan	James		Austin Friars 14	8.6			D
5475	Duckham	Henry	Clerk	Piccadilly 177	8.6			D
5518	Davidson	William	Tailor	Bullin Court Strand 8 ?	8.6			D
5519	Darbyshire	John	Youth	Whitecross St. 145	8.6			D
5547	Day	John	Clerk	Luke St. Finsbury 4	8.6			D
5581	Doosworth	George	Cabinet-maker	Sprint St. Portman Sq. 29	8.6			D
5582	Downie	D. W.	Cabinet-maker	London St. Fitzroy Sq. 29	8.6			D
5602	Dray	Jesse	Watch-maker	Primrose St. Bishopsgate 13	8.6			D
5615	Deville	Elijah	Brass-worker	Mays Buildings St Martins Lane 22	8.6			D
5617	Dean	John	Carver	Shaftsbury Place Aldersgate St. 28	8.6			D
5657	Downes	Joseph	Goldsmith	High St. Islington 8	8.6			D
5660	Dewey	James	Carpenter	King St. Long Acre	8.6			D
5696	Davidson	William	Whitesmith	Little Grays Inn Lane 24	8.6			D
5704	Davis	John	Smith	Museum St. 40	8.6			D
21	Emmett	William	Cabinet-maker	Litchfield St. Soho 3	20	D	A3BsCsD24	AsBsCsD24 AsBsCsD24
127	Elley	Dan	Smith	Hatton Garden 1	20	D	A4BsCsD24	AsBsCsD24 AsBsCsD24 '1
200	Ethell	John	Paper-hanger	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 12	5	D	A6B6C6D6	
231	Ellis	William	Gentleman	Weymouth St. Portland Place 56	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24 AsBsCs
250	Eckstein	George F.	Stove-grate-maker	High Holborn 13	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24 AsBsCsD24
280	Eckstein	George P.	Stove-grate-maker	High Holborn 13	24	Ds	A24BsCsDs	A24BsCsDs A24BsCsDs
471	Ethell	John Jun.	Paper-hanger	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 12	5	D	A6B6C6D6	C8.6D6
474	Edgar	William	Boot-closer	Chapel St. Grub St. City 3	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
510	Ethell	William	Painter and Glazier	Upper Marylebone St. 52	5	D	A6B6C12Ds	A6B6
586	Ewings	George	Carpenter	Granby Place Lambeth Marsh	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6 A6B6C6D6
628	Edwards	Samuel	Druggist	Haymarket 27	5	D		C8.6D6
633	Evans	John	Surgeon	Tavistock Sq. 17				
672	Eccles	William	Surgeon	Chancery Lane 13				
793	Elliott	Charles	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Regent St. St James's 122				
1343	Edwards	Edward	Coach-builder	Windsor Terrace, City Rd 11	5	D	A6B6	
1111	Egan	Thomas	Printer	Charing Cross	5	D	A6B6C6D6	
1409	Essex	Alfred	Enameller	Northampton St. Clerkenwell 35	5	D	A6C6D6	
1500	Eardley	George W.	Jeweller	High Holborn 46	5	D	A5B6C6D6	A6
1516	Eldridge	Thomas	Carpenter	Cromer St. Brunswick Sq. 3	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6 A6B6C6D6
1635	Eykelbosch	Thomas	Boot-closer	Fleur de lis Court St John St. 1	5	D	A6B6	
1644	Edwards	William	Carpenter	Crown St. Soho 15	5	D		
1650	Evans	Charles	Stationer	Walbrook 17	5	D	A6	
1743	Evans	Joshua	Stationer	Walbrook 17	5	D	A6	
1745	Essese	Charles	Pen manufacturer	Gloucester St. Clerkenwell	5	D	A6B6	
1822	Edwards	John	Egg merchant	Great Saffron Hill 101	5	D	A6	
1823	Elliott	Walter	Architect	Weston Place St. Pancrass 14	20	D	AsBsCs	
1828	Edes	James	Cabinet-maker	Margaret St. Cavendish Sq. 83	5	D	A6B6	
1851	Evans	John	Jeweller	Princes St. Leicester Sq. 1	5	D		
1893	Ellis	George	Bank of England	Bunhill Row	5	D	A6B6C6D6	
1900	Evans	Thomas	Merchant	Watling St.	5	D		
1918	Eden	William	Optician	Lower Holborn 30	5	D	A6B6	
1972	Edwards	William	Watch-spring-maker	Aldersgate St. 90	5	D		
1973	Edwards	James	Clock and watch-maker	Wood St. Cheapside 93	20	D	AsBsCs	
1983	Elley	Josiah B.	Tin-man	Hatton Garden	5	D	A6	
2001	Edwards	Joel	Tailor	Greville St. Hatton Garden 9	24		A BsCsDs	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2033	Edwards	James	Shoe-maker	Fleet St. 45	8.6	A		
2044	Emery	John	Miller	Dukes Row New Rd 6	8.6	A B6		
2095	Erat	William	Musician	Berner St. 23	8.6	A		
2103	Ethell	Joseph	Printer	Grays Inn Lane 52	8.6	A		
2208	Evans	John	Gentleman	Tookes Court Chancery Lane	27	A BsCsDs		
2255	Edes	Robert	Bookseller	Bennett St. Blackfriars	8.6	B		
2292	Eustace	William	Baker	St John St. Rd 155	8.6	B C6D6	A6	
2310	Evans	Joseph P.	Surveyor	Mecklenburgh Sq. 4	8.6	B		
2317	Elmslie	James		Charlotte St. Bedford Sq. 15	8.6	B		
		August						
2361	Edwards	William		Aldersgate St. 9	8.6	B C5D6	A6	
2364	Elkington	James	Carpenter	Tabernacle Walk Finsbury 61	8.6	B C6D6		
2370	Evans	W. H.	Gentleman	Church Row St. Johns	8.6	B		
2391	Erlan	John	Optician	Park St. Grosvenor Sq.	8.6	C		
2398	Earp	James	Tailor	Middleton St. St Johns St. Rd	8.6	C D6	A6B6	
2444	Edwards	Robert	Engraver	Long Acre 56	8.6	C D6	A6B6	
2527	East	James	Bookseller	Brydges St. Drury Lane	8.6	C		
2551	Ethello	Joseph			8.6	C D6		
2571	Erat	Jacob	Harp manufacturer	Berner St. 23	8.6	C Ds	A12	
2599	Eastham	George	Carpenter	Staple Inn Buildings 5	8.6	C D6		
		Robert						
2696	Erat	William	Professor of music	Berners St. Oxford St. 23	8.6	C		
2727	Eales	Walter	Painter	Temple Lane Whitefriars 8	15	C Ds		
2749	Evezaguirre	J. de	Gentleman	Johnson St. Somers Town 38	8.6	D	A6	
2899	Elmore	William	Leather-seller	St Martins Lane 109	8.6	D	A6	
2929	Elliott	W. P.		Marchmont St. 27	8.6	D	A6B6	
2964	Eve	James	Printer	Ludgate Hill 47	8.6	D	A6B6C6	
2979	Eleum	Hugh	Clerk	Milman St. Bedford Row 1	8.6	D		
		William						
2981	Evans	David	Carpenter	Penton St. Walworth 10	8.6	D	A6	
2992	Elliott	John	Clerk	Great Knight rider St. 13	8.6	D	A6 D11.6	As
3048	Earnshaw	Thomas			8.6	D	A6	
3053	Egleton	Charles	Book-binder	New St. Sq. 38	8.6	D	A6B6C6	
3067	Edwards	Samuel	Druggist	Haymarket 27	8.6	D	A6B6	
4016	Engall	Thomas	Chair-maker	Jones's Yard Little Guildford St. 5	8.6	A B6C6D6	A6	
4130	Edmonds	Charles	Silversmith	Warsick Sq. 15	8.6		A	
4144	Edwards	William	Upholsterer	Welbeck St. Cavendish Sq. 1	8.6	A B6C6D6	A6B6	
4208	Errington	Robert	Painter	Queens Court Great Queen St. 2	8.6	A		
4318	Earle	George	Carpenter	St Dunstons 2	8.6	B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
4436	Elliott	George	Carpenter	North St. City Rd 4	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	
4463	Edwards	William G.		Pearl Crescent Bagnigge Wells 4	8.6	C		
4479	Ellis	William	Carpenter	Dean St. Holborn 9	8.6	C		
4532	Edy	John	Carver and gilder	Dean St. Fetter Lane 2	27	C Ds	AsBsC6D6	
4711	Evernden	William	Patent axle-tree- maker	Broadway Westminster 5	8.6		D	
4727	Elliott	Charles	Printer	Portsmouth St. 15	8.6		D	
4728	Edgar	William	Shoe-maker	Chapel St. Grub St. 3	8.6		D	A6
4789	Evans	John	Carpenter	Harrison St. Grays Inn Lane 21	8.6		D	A6
4907	Edy	Herbert	Solicitor	New North St. Red Lion Sq. 2	12		D	As
5009	Earle	Frederick P.	Engraver in wood	Rosomans Buildings 1	8.6			A
5013	Edgecomb	George	Tailor	Duke St. Adelphi 16	8.6			A B6
5046	Evans	Evan	Chaser	Dean St. Fetter Lane 15	8.6			B C6D6
5080	Ethell	Joseph	Printer	Grays Inn Lane 52	8.6			B
5082	Elliott	Richard	Silversmith	Compton St. Clerkenwell 25	8.6			B C6D6
5121	Elmes	James	Book-binder	Clements Inn New Chambers	27			B CsDs
5209	Edwards	William	Compositor	Upper Southampton St. Pentonville 5	12			B CsD6
5262	Ethell	Thomas	Paper-hanger etc	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 45	8.6			C D6
5291	Evans	James	French-polisher	Amelia St. Walworth 41	8.6			C D6
5320	Edwards	T.		Grays Inn Lane 11	8.6			C D6
5333	Ehinger	L. J.	Engineer	Featherstone Buildings Holborn	8.6			C
5359	East	John	Clerk	Provost St. Hoxton 4	8.6			C D6
5402	Earle	Joseph Jun.		Custom House Quay	8.6			C D6
5454	Eldridge	John	Plasterer	Cromer St. 3	12			C Ds
5473	Engall	Thomas		Green St. Kentish Town 4	8.6			D
5527	England	William	Carpenter	Mercer St. Long Acre 16	8.6			D
5542	Elliott	Charles	Printer	Millman Place Bedford Row 5	8.6			D
5543	Elliott	James	Printer	Millman Place Bedford Row 5	8.6			D
5629	Ediss	Thomas	Carpenter	Frederick St. Grays Inn Rd 36	8.6			D
5658	Ethell	William	Grainer	Tottenham Street 2	8.6			D
5659	Edezmanege R.			Harp alley Fleet Market 6	8.6			D

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No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
5672	Earle	Richard John Charles		Great St Thomas Apostle 3	8.6				D
5703	Edgcombe	George	Tailor	Duke St. Adelphi 16	12				D
18	Fayerman	Edward R.	Clerk	Upper St. Islington	6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2526	Field	Henry	Merchant	Newgate St. 3	8.6		C		
24	Ferguson	Daniel	Mathematical- instrument- maker	West Smithfield 44	10	D	AsB12CsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
103	Fortune	John	Clerk of Works	New Post Office	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
139	Fairley	David	Baker	John St. Blackfriars Rd 57	5	D	A6B6		
194	Fertel	John	Cabinet-maker	Poland St. Oxford St. 4	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
297	Francis	George	Optician	Quadrant Regent St. 101; 93 Berwick St. Soho	12	Ds	AsB12CsD6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
370	Fayrer	John Edward	Mathematical- instrument- maker	White Lion St. Clerkenwell	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
397	Foster	Charles	Builder	Cowcross St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D30	AsBsCsDs
444	Freeman	Charles	Law-stationer	Serles Place 4	5	D			
473	Floris	R.	Dressing-case- maker	Jermyn St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
515	Ford	William	Warehouseman	Holiday Yard Ludgate Hill	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
570	Fitzpatrick	Daniel	Clerk	Borough Market	5	D	A6B6C6		
605	Fidler	William	Warehouseman	Aldermanbury 69	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
613	Floris	J	Comb-maker	Jermyn St. 88	5	D	A6B6C6D6	AB6C6D6	A6B12CsD 12
782	Fullalove	Martin	Musical- instrument- maker	Church Row St Pancrass 3	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	6
784	Flint	John	Printer	Hungerford St. Strand 8	5	D			
789	Fullalove	Richard	Pianoforte- maker	Church Row St. Pancrass	5	D			
872	Firth	Joseph	Wine merchant	Middle Row Holborn	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
881	Forster	Nicholas	Druggist	Aldersgate St. 40	5	D	A6		
906	Fisher	George	Brass-founder	Tottenham Court Rd 62	5	D	A6		
954	Fuller	Francis	Carpenter	Leigh St. 12	5	D	A6		
958	Ford	William	Warehouseman	Skinner St. 44	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
1026	Fenton	James	Architect	Bedford St. 9	5	D			
1425	Field	William	Silk-weaver	Curtain Rd	5	D	D8.6		
1441	Finlay	Washington	Clerk	Compton St. East Brunswick Sq.	5	D		C8.6	
1442	Ferguson	Joseph	Jeweller	Dean St. New North Rd Hoxton 4	5	D	A6B6C6		
1517	Fowler	Robert	Wheel-wright	Addle Hill Upper Thames St. 12	5	D	A6		
1550	Fielder	Thomas	Baker	Brewer St. St Pancrass 8	5	D			
1551	Forsyth	Charles	Clerk	Holliwell St. Westminster 3	5	D	A6		
1613	Frost	Samuel	Engineer	Berkeley St. Lambeth 30	5	D			
1619	Forsyth	James	Baker	Great Wild St.	5	D			
1645	Freeth	Joseph	Shop-keeper	St Johns St. 18	5	D			
1669	Fowler	George	Tin-plate- worker	James St. Kensington	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
1690	Farmer	William	Engineer	Great Sutton St. 32	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C65D6	A6B6C6D6
1714	Fox	William	Upholsterer	Newgate St. 46	5	D	A6N6		
1735	Feaver	William	Clerk	Wynyard St. Clerkenwell 51	5	D			
1759	Feather	Henry	Tailor	Bunhill Row	5	D			
1825	Foxwell	Henry	Plumber	Bermondsey	5	D			
1872	Forsyth	John	Gentleman	Park St. Grosvenor Sq.	20	D	AsBsCs		
1890	Ford	John	Clerk	Bridge St. Vauxhall 4	20	D	AsBsCs		
1921	Forster	Thomas	Iron-monger	Dicke St. Lincolns Inn Fields 46	5	D	A6		
1967	Ferguson	George	Tailor	Poland St. 25	5	D	A6		
1982	Fenner	Thomas		Canterbury Place Lambeth 30	5	D			
1998	Farrar	Frederick		Middle Temple	20	D	AsBsCs		
2015	Fox	Henry	Upholsterer	New St. Sq. 14	8.6		A B6		
2094	Francis	Lawrence	Mathematical- instrument- maker	Penton St. Walworth	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2064	Farr	George	Varnisher	Leg Alley Long Acre 1	6		A		
2106	Ferard	Daniel	Gentleman	Powis Place Great Ormond St.	27		A BsCsDs		
2112	Farrow	Benjamin	Iron-monger	Great Tower St. 18	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
2140	Frinneby	Frederick		Coppice Row	8.6		A B6C6		
2160	Fleetwood	James	Appraiser	St Johns St. 72	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6	
2207	Fosket	T. M.	Gentleman	Grays Inn Coffee House	8.6		A		
2248	Fitch	Robert	Druggist	Ratcliffe Terrace Goswell St. 21	8.6		B C6		
2257	Flashman	William	Cabinet-maker	Glass House Yard 15	8.6		B		
2283	Friez	J. L. P.	Machinist	Clarendon Sq. 51	8.6		B		
2287	Fife	James	Upholsterer	Tottenham Court Rd 28	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
2311	Finlay	W.			8.6		B C6		
2312	Forbes	Francis		Northampton Sq. 19	8.6		B		
2379	Forbes	peter	Sadler	Brewer St. Golden Sq. 31	8.6		B C6		
2409	Fraser	John	Gentleman	Budge Row Cannon St. 18	8.6		B C6		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2443	Fenner	Thomas		Canterbury Place Walworth	8.6	C D6	A6B6	
2499	Flynn	John	Gentleman	Hyde St. Bloomsbury 30	8.6	C		
2523	Fenner	Thomas	Attorney	Canterbury Place Walworth	8.6	C D6	A6	
2556	Fallowdown	Charles	Clerk	St Johns St. Rd 128	8.6	C D6	A6	B8.6C6D6
2576	Farr	Richard	Ivory-turner	Tower St. Westminster Rd 10	8.6	C		
2579	Fayrer	William	Cabinet-maker	Gray St. Manchester Sq. 6	8.6	C D6	A6B6	
2622	Farley	Charles	Carpenter	Carrington St. 9	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
2627	Frost	Samuel	Gentleman	Hatton Garden	8.6	C D6	A6	
2640	French	T. O.	Gentleman	Cross St. Hatton Garden 15	8.6	C D6		
2699	Faulkner	Peter	Painter	Down St. Piccadilly 9	8.6	C		
2772	Foskett	George	Clerk	Duke St. Stamford St. 10	8.6	C		
2810	Feldwick	T. J.	Vellum-binder	Devonshire St. 17	8.6	D	A6B6	
2813	Fruin	Edward	Printer	Kings Arms Yard Bishopsgate St.	8.6	D	A6	
2829	Farr	George	Varnisher	Wells St. Oxford St. 25	8.6	D	A6	
2870	Flather	Thomas	Merchant	Grove Mile End 9	8.6	D	A6	
2892	Fowler	Alfred	Architect	St Johns St. Clerkenwell 73	8.6	D		
2932	Field	George	Engineers clerk and draftsman	Upper Gower St. Bedford Sq. 30	27	D	AsBsCsD6	A6
2952	Field	Isaac		Princes St. Cavendish Sq.	8.6	D		
3051	Fry	Frederick	Dr of Chemistry	Southampton St. Covent Garden 18	8.6	D		
3073	Frost	James Jun.	Engineer	Bankside Southward 6	8.6	D		
4024	Foster	Benjamin	Confectioner	Chiswell St. 69	8.6		A B6C6D6	
4057	Farmer	James O.	Printer	Great St. Andrews St. 11	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4233	Fairservice	William	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Prospect Place Cambridge Heath	8.6		A	
4234	Fairservice	William Jun.	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Prospect Place Cambridge Heath	8.6		A B6	
4258	Franklin	William	Carpenter	New Rd Sloan St. 6	12		A BsC6D6	A6B6C6D6
4297	Ford	Thomas	Attorneys clerk	Northampton St. Lower Rd Islington 14	8.6		B	
4323	Franklin	Thomas	Trunk-maker	Long Acre 116	8.6		B	
4371	Fisher	Frederick	Cork-cutter	Little East cheap 49	8.6		B	B8.6C6D56
4409	Fulmer	Chris	Painter etc	East St Red Lion Sq. 1	12		B CsD6	A6B6C6D6
4417	Farrar	George R.	Pianoforte-maker	High Holborn 165	12		B Cs	
4477	Ferguson	John	Joiner	Devonshire St. Lisson Grove 82	8.6		C D6	
4595	Fitzgibbon	Gibbon	Clerk	Staple Inn Buildings 4	8.6		C	
4607	Finch	John	Carpenter	West Smithfield 67	8.6		C D6	A6
4609	Firth	William		Middle Row Holborn	8.6		C	
4612	Fussell	Alexander		Golden Terrace White Conduit Fields 22	12		C Ds	
4628	Fidler	William	Gentleman	Upper Kennington Green 17	12		C Ds	A6B6C6D6
4629	Fayrer	Thomas	Mathematical-instrument-maker	White Lion St. Pentonville 40	12		C Ds	A6
4651	Fletcher	Ephraim	Professor of Languages	Whitehead's Grove Chelsea 8	12		C Ds	A6B6
4666	Fletcher	G.		New St. Square 14	12		C Ds	A6B6C6D6
4701	Fleming	James	Carpenter	Meard St. Soho 6	8.6		D	A6
4763	Furness	Francis	At Mr Holmes's	Norfolk St. Tottenham Court Rd	8.6		D	
4772	Francis	William		Printing House Lane 4 ?	8.6		D	A6
4796	Fox	William		Regent St. Westminster 17	8.6		D	A6B6
4835	Foote	Alfred	Surgeon	Tavistock St. Covent Garden 36	8.6		D	
4857	Felkin	William	Schoolmaster	Joyce's School Blackfriars	8.6		D	A6B6C6
4858	Featherstone	Henry		Old St. St Lukes 64	8.6		D	
4859	Fisher	George	Herald-chaser	Romney Terrace Westminster 11	8.6		D	A6B6C6
4961	Francis	David	Printer	Kenton St. 30	8.6			A B6C6D6
4879	Feldwick	George	Iron-monger	Seymour St. Somers town 44	8.6			A
5011	Finlay	Morton	Engraver	Strand Surry Wharf	8.6			A B6C6
5016	Forster	Francis	Surveyor	Aldersgate St. 113	8.6			A B6
5033	Few	James	Carpenter	Charlotte St. Portman Rd 4	27			A BsCsDs
5059	Finlay	W.			8.6			A
5066	Findlay	Alexander		Penton Place Pentonville 39	12			A Bs
5140	Faulkner	T.	Architect	Stanhope St. Clare Market 32	12			B CsD6
5144	Feltham	Joseph		Lombard St. 66	12			B CsD6
5159	Fleet	John	Clerk	Wingrove Place Clerkenwell 10	27			B CsDs
5166	Faulkner	Thomas	Clerk	Bridport Place Hoxton 66	8.6			B D8.6
5176	Fleetwood	William	Clerk	Cook's Court Carey St. 8	8.6			B
5236	Forrester	James	Philosophical-instrument-maker	London St. Fitzroy Sq. 29	8.6			C D6
5276	Freemantle	Thomas	Green grocer	West Row Carnaby Market 23	8.6			C
5408	Freeman	Joseph	Carver and gilder	Carmathan St. Tottenham Court Rd 9	8.6			C



No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
5317	Folkard	G.	Clerk	William St. St Marylebone	8.6			C D6
5385	Franklin	Alexander	Coach-maker	Little St Andrews St. Seven Dials 11	8.6			D
5393	Fall	George	Stationer	Upper Thames St. 63	8.6			D
5401	Faria	Francisco		Surry St. Strand 28	8.6			C
5445	Flintoft	John		Wardour St. 185	12			C Ds
5458	Francis	William	Brass-tool- cutter	Dean St. High Holborn 5	12			C Ds
5479	Fidler	Robert		Great George St. Euston Sq. 20	8.6			D
5484	Farrow	George	Carpenter	Great Tower St. 18	8.6			D
5485	Farrow	Charles	Carpenter	Great Tower St. 18	8.6			D
5495	France	Charles	Plumber	West St. Golden Sq. 27	8.6			D
5509	Fetherston	Philip	Clerk	Clarendon Sq. Somers Town 35	27			D
5583	Franklin	Benjamin	Baker	High St. Kensington 51	8.6			D
5598	Fletcher	John	Haberdasher	St Pauls Church Yard	8.6			D
5619	Fletcher	G. H.		New St. Sq. 14	8.6			D
5620	Fitzpatrick	Daniel		North St. Lambeth 60	8.6			D
5663	Francis	William		Cromwell Place Clerkenwell Green 2	8.6			D
5666	Featherstone	Philip Jun.		Clarendon Sq. 35	8.6			D
5674	Forward	Isaac	Clerk	Green Gate Gardens Hackney 6	8.6			D
5682	Foster	Nicholas	Chemist	Holborn Hill 105	12			D
5692	Farley	Charles		Carpenter St. Mount St. 3	12			D
6	Gilchrist	G. B.	L.L.D	Clarges St. Piccadilly 11	24	D	AsBsCs	
25	Gowland	Thomas	Watch-maker	Goswell St. Rd	20	D	AsBsCs	
26	Gowland	James	Watch-maker	Rahere St. Rd 69	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
48	Gloyn	John	Clerk	Union Row Clapham Rise	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
190	Gale	Samuel			6		ABsC18Ds	A24BsCsDs
218	Glassap	Thomas	Printer	Baldwin St. city Rd 54	5	D	A6B6C6	
232	Grote	George Jun.	Banker	Threadneedle St.	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
254	Goldsworthy	William	Plumber	Cow Cross St. Smithfield 10	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
286	Greenfield	Frederick	Surgeon	Whitecross St. 55	20	Ds	AsB20Cs	
404	Gravell	William	Watch-maker	St Johns St. Rd 49	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
479	Goodwin	Robert	Printer	Elvin Place Fetter Lane 1	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
629	Gapp	Charles		High St. Pentonville 10	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
660	Griffin	Charles	Printer	Lion St. New Kent Rd 31	5	D		
673	Galloway	John	Gentleman	Picket St. Strand 3	5	D		
675	Giles	Samuel	Paper-hanger	Little Pulteney St. 20	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
753	Gilbreath	James	Carpenter	Brecknock Terrace Camden Town 6	5	D	A6	A6
754	Gaisford	Richard	Cooper	Botolf Lane 2	5	D	A6B6	
755	Gould	John	Clerk	Chandos St. Covent Gdn	20	D	AsBsCs	
760	Glennie	George	Smith	Bagnigge Wells Rd 3	5	D	A6B6C6	C8.6
840	Galen	Jacob		Haggin Lane Thames St. 6	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
907	Gladstone	John	Engineer	Welclose Sq. 22	5	D	A6B6C6D6	
912	Griffiths	William	Printer	Hatfield St. 24	5	D	A5B6	
917	Grinton	David	Chair-maker	Charlton St.	5	D		
918	Graham	John	Turner	Green St. Theobalds Rd	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6 C8.6
1028	Green	Charles	Engineer	Cow Cross 79	5	D		A8.6 B6C6D6
1126	Glover	Thomas	Tailor	Berner St. Oxford St. 40	5	D	A6	
1180	Grover	John	Clerk	Staples Inn Buildings; 48 Cumming St. Pentonville	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1167	Garvey	Maurice	Modeller	Ogle St. Portland Place 32	5	D	A6B6C12D6	A6B6
1151	Gibbs	John	Chemist	Boddy's Bridge Stamford St. 2	5	D		
1322	Godwin	Thomas	Plumber and Glazier	Broad St. Golden Sq. 51	5	D	A6	
1426	Gurdon	Charles	Gentleman	Church Terrace St Pancrass 4	24	Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsC24Ds
1443	Goodge	James	Warehouseman	Newgate St. 36	5	D	A6B6C6D6	
1444	Golding	Richard	Silk manufacturer	Lambs Passage Bunhill Row 14	5	D	A6B6C6D6	
1488	Grant	James		St Swithins Lane	5	D		
1504	Gibbon	William	Clerk	Mornington Place 5	5	D	A6B6C6D6	
1525	Gemmell	John	Carpenter	Ernest St. Regents Park 18	5	D		
1545	Griffiths	George	Clerk	Leonard St. Shoreditch 54	5	D	6B6C6	
1555	Gould	Henry	Optician	Strand 182	5	D	A6	
1556	Gale	John		Judd St. West	5	D		
1559	Green	Richard	Gentleman	New St. Brompton 27	24	Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBs
1560	Green	Charles	Gentleman	Old Sq. Lincolns Inn	5	D		
1603	Guthrie	George	Printer	Fountain Court Strand 14	5	D	A6	
1637	Granger	William	Schoolmaster	Charles St. Westminster Rd	5	D		
1649	Garratt	John	Lapidary	Elm Court Grays Inn Lane 5	5	D	A6	
1688	Gregory	John	Artist	James St. Clerkenwell	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1691	Goodman	Thomas	Dealer in building materials	Cable St. St Georges East 36	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
1755	Gray	William	Millwright	Battis St. Old St. 11	5	D			
1757	Gretton	Thomas	Chaser	St James's Walk Clerkenwell 1	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1767	Golding	John	Silk manufacturer	George St. Bethnal Green	5	D			
1793	Godby	Henry	Chair-maker	Broad St. Bloomsbury 50	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1824	Gent	William	Artist	William St. Regents Park 37	5	D			
1911	Gee	C. L.		High St. Kensington 7	5	D			
1923	Gee	Thomas		High St. Kensington 7	5	D			
1939	Green	George		Goswell St. 49	5	D	A6	D8.6	
1944	Grissell	Thomas	Builder	Little Britain 31	20	D	AsBsCs		
1968	George	James	Tailor	Well St. Grays Inn Rd	5	D			
1969	Griffiths	John	Jeweller	James St. Clerkenwell 15	5	D			
1974	Griffin	Joseph	Lace-dealer	Leicester Sq. 11	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
1976	Girtin	Thomas C	Surgeon	Park Terrace Islington	5	D	A6		
2003	Griffin	William	Ribbon manufacturer	Skinner St. 17	5		A		
2004	Groom	Alfred	Architect	Aldersgate St. 35	5		A		
2081	Glover	Joseph		Drury Lane 168	6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2129	Grieve	Robert	Baker	High Holborn 58	8.6		A B6C6		
2155	Gaspey	William		Walnut Tree Walk Lambeth 21	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
2169	Gunton	William	Teacher of Languages	London Wall 16 and Clare Suffolk	8.6		A		
2176	Goodman	George R.	Clerk crossed out then Solicitor	Austin Friars 9	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
2200	Garwood	M. R.	Printer	Canonbury St. Islington 7	8.6		A B6		
2220	Galot	H. J.	Gentleman	Somers Place East New Row 18	8.6		A B6		
2235	Goudge	Josiah Charles	Brazier	Robert St. Hoxton 4; 17 Tabernacle Row City Rd	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
2266	Gobelles	Harle	Pianoforte-maker	Carburton St. Marylebone 30	8.6		B		
2279	Gruby	John	Sadler	King St. Holborn 14	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2286	Gerrard	J. W.	Gentleman	Weston Place St Pancras 6	8.6		B C6D6		
2291	Grierson	Robert	Jeweller	Theobalds Rd 15	8.6		B		
2298	Gulliam	Abraham	Cabinet-maker	Rosomans St. Clerkenwell 43	8.6		B		
2318	Geeser	James	Cabinet-maker	William St. Regents Park 16	8.6		B		
2344	Gadsden	M. D.		Oxford St.	8.6		B		
2392	Godwin	James	Cabinet-maker	York Buildings New Rd 7	8.6		C D6	A6	
2394	Gibbons	John	Tailor	Great Pulteney St. 16	8.6		C D6	A6 C11.6Ds	
2418	Gammage	Thomas	Musical-clock-maker	Woods St. Kings Sq. Goswell	8.6		C D6	A6	
2419	Glide	William		Carey St. Lincolns Inn Fields 61	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	6B6C6D6
2430	George	William	Warehouseman	Gutter Lane Cheapside 4	8.6		C D6	A6	
2434	Glenton	Thomas	Gentleman	Mary St. Hampstead Rd	8.6		C		
2447	Green	William	Watch-maker	Bartholomew Sq.	8.6		C D6	A6	
2508	Gatty	James	Gentleman	Stoke Newington	8.6		C D6	A6	
2522	Gentery	Joseph Robert	Builder	Grafton St. Fitzroy Sq. 36	8.6		C		
2529	Green	George		Penton Place Pentonville 46	8.6		C		
2535	Goddard	Charles	Clerk	Goswell Rd 19	8.6		C D6		
2536	Goddard	A. F.	Clerk	Goswell Rd 19	8.6		C		
2550	Green	Thomas	Shoe-maker	Holiday Yard Ludgate Hill 18	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6	
2581	Gilchrist	William	Stonemason	Little College St. Westminster 3	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	
2589	Gould	Henry	Optician	Strand 182	8.6		C D6	A6	
2593	Green	H. C.		Hatton Garden 94	8.6		C D6		
2596	Gloster	William	Clerk	Golden Lane 111	8.6		C D6	A6	
2613	Green	E. K.		Hatton Garden	8.6		C D6	A6	
2628	Gray	William	Engineer	Spring Gardens 6	8.6		C D6	A6 D8,6	A6
2679	Glover	William	Ornamental Painter	Parliament St. Westminster 15	8.6		C D6		
2697	Giles	George	Upholsterer	Welbeck St. 1	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
2715	Goodhugh	Thomas		Oxford St.	27		C Ds	AsBs	
2746	Godby	Thomas	Hair-cutter	Brook St. Holborn 36	8.6		D		
2762	Girling	J. A.	Merchants' Clerk	West Smithfield 45	8.6		C		
2783	Gane	William	Fancy-carver	Great Titchfield St. Marylebone 40	8.6		C D6	A6B6	
2808	Ganbest	Edward	jeweller	Serles Place Lincolns Inn Fields	8.6		D	A6B6C6D6	
2877	Galbraith	Joseph	Printer	Leigh St. Red Lion Sq. 9	8.6		D	A6B6	
2912	Gumersall	Thomas B.	Clerk	Myddleton St. St Johns St. Rd 75	8.6		D		
2913	Glover	William Henry	Clerk	Norfolk St. Middlesex Hospital 25	8.6		D		
2937	Goodall	Robert	Plasterer	Cirencester Place 26	8.6		D		
3022	Green	Charles			8.6		D	A6B6C6	
3031	Grimshaw	George	Engraver	Goswell St. 130	8.6		D	A6	
3035	Geach	William	Watch-maker	Sydney St. Goswell Rd 26	8.6		D		
3057	Green	George		Goswell St. 49	8.6		D	A6	
3077	Grace	George	Engineer	Cowcross St.	8.6		D		
3079	Goodworth	William		Charles Court Strand 7	8.6		D	A6B6C6D6	A6

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
3091	Grant	James		St Swithins Lane City 14	8.6	D		
3097	Grant	William	Upholder	Cross St. Golden Sq. 8	8.6	D		
4023	Grardeun	Alexander		White Lion St. Pentonville 57	8.6		A	
4063	Gosling	Guy	Clerk	Bennett St. Blackfriars Rd 26	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4113	Gill	William	Pianoforte-maker	Carmarthen St. Tottenham Court Rd 7	8.6		A B6	
4182	Green	Charles	Clerk	Crown Row Walworth 4	8.6		A B6	
4192	Glashan	George	Watch-maker	Skinner St. Clerkenwell 3	12		A BsC6	
4194	Green	Thomas	Watch-maker	King St. Clerkenwell 9	12		A BsC6D6	A6
4205	Grafton	Edward S.	Watch-maker	Great Alie St. Goodmans Fields 8	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6
4212	Goll	Richard	Carpenter	Cromer St. 16	8.6		A	
4213	Gough	Ernest	Carpet manufacturer	Charles St. Hatton Garden 16	8.6		A	
4221	Gale	James	Tailor	Wapping 109	8.6		A	
4246	Goodworth	Robert	Bricklayer	Charles Court Strand 7	12		A BsC6D6	A6
4256	Gritten	William	Architect	Doris St. Lambeth	12		A BsC6D6	
4267	Gage	Samuel	Watch and clock-maker	Princes St. Spitalfields 26	12		A Bs	
4287	Godwin	Richard	Clerk	Fenwick Court Holborn 5	8.6		B	
4308	Greaves	William		Berwick St. Soho	8.6		B C6	
4405	Goodyear	Joseph	Engraver	Golden Terrace White Conduit Fields 22?	12		B CsD6	A6B6
4427	Glover	Henry	Watch-maker	Mayfield St. Dalston 41	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6
4428	Gubbins	James E.	Clerk	Mr Cochran's Strand	8.6		C D6	A6B6
4455	Grice	Joseph	Cabinet-maker	Holborn Bridge	8.6		C D6	A6B6
4531	Griffith	Hugh	Printer	Greystoke Place Fetter Lane 3	8.6		C	
4542	Godfrey	William	Cabinet-maker	Windmill St. 15	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6
4543	Giles	Samuel	Gentleman	Compton St. St Johns Sq. 28	8.6		C D6	A6
4544	Gead	E.	Draper	Holborn Hill 55	8.6		C	
4583	Gloag	John	Veterinary surgeon	Holborn Bars	8.6		C	
4622	Green	John H.	Clerk	Robert St. Bedford Row 18	8.6		C	
4637	Galloway	William	Writing master	New Rd Fitzroy Sq. 15	12		C Ds	
			crossed out then Clerk					
4675	Gray	George	Clerk	Upper Ground St. Blackfriars 2	8.6		D	A6
4713	Gallier	James	Architectural Clerk of Works	Chelsea	8.6		D	
4724	Grayson	John	Tailor	Featherstone Buildings Holborn 9	8.6		D	A6
4751	Geniste	William	Clerk	St Johns St. Clerkenwell 56	8.6		D	A6
4776	Girerd	Jean B.	Jeweller	Berwick St. Soho 71	8.6		D	A6B6C6D6
4797	Guthrin	George		Mary St. Hampstead Rd	8.6		D	A6B6
4799	Gray	Samuel	Cutler	Giltspur St. 21	8.6		D	A6B6C6D6
4818	Garrad	James	Gentleman	Chancery Lane 77	8.6		D	
4840	Goss	William	Painter	Albermarle St. Clerkenwell 19	8.6		D	A6B6C6
4851	Gloster	William	Clerk	Golden Lane 111	8.6		D	
4874	Glover	William		Drury Lane 168	8.6		D	A6B6C6D6
4919	Gray	J.	Surveyor	Caroline St. Camden Town 11	8.6		A	
4939	Green	William	Chair-maker	Castle St. East Oxford Marsh Rd 5	8.6		A	
4991	Gaze	S. B.	Watch-maker etc	Princes St. Spitalfields 26	8.6			A B6
5107	Gravell	David	Engineer	Ann St. Waterloo Rd	8.6			B
5114	Greening	J.	Printer	William St. Wilmington Sq.	8.6			B C6D6
5197	Golding	George	Upholsterer	Paul St. Finsbury 39	8.6			B C6
5290	Grosjean	Frederick	Saddler	Brewer St. Golden Sq. 31	8.6			C D6
5296	Gold	George		Grays Inn	8.6			C D6
5296	Greenfield	Frederick	Wire-weaver	Ray St. Clerkenwell 49	8.6			C
5310	Gartland	Christopher	Upholsterer	Oxford St. 294	8.6			C D6
5313	Goodhall	R.	Plasterer	Cirencester Place 31	8.6			C
5321	Gordon	R.	Clerk	Stracy St. Commercial	8.6			C D6
5331	Girle	Henry	Carpenter	Portland St. Wardour St. 5	8.6			C D6
5332	Grosjean	Frederick	Harp-maker	Soho Sq. 11	8.6			C
5335	Green	John	Clerk	Broad St. Bloomsbury 39	8.6			C
5348	Gamber	George	Clock-maker	Queen St. Northampton Sq. 9	8.6			C
5403	Greenfield	Edward	Compositor	Ray St. Clerkenwell 49	8.6			C D6
5413	Gray	Joseph		Camden Town	8.6			C D6
5420	Gardner	Andrew	Gentleman	Bowling Green St. Kennington 35	8.6			C D6
5432	Gilbert	Henry	Joiner	Park Lane Regents Park 1	8.6			C D6
5444	Grimshaw	Job?	Book-binder	Staple Inn Buildings 6	12			C Ds
5494	Green	Thomas	Shoe-maker	Shoemaker Row Blackfriars 5	8.6			D
5532	Grady	Richard	Clerk	Commercial Place City Rd	8.6			D
5550	Gardiner	Thomas	Woollen-draper	Mayfield Place Kingsland Rd 8	8.6			D
5551	Graeff	Edward J.		Southampton Place Euston Sq. 24	8.6			D

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5557	Gardner	William	Tin-plate-worker	Ironmongers Row	8.6				D
5577	Grimshaw	Thomas	Machinist	Aylesbury St.	8.6				D
5595	Girdwood	G. F.		Edgware Rd 148	27				D
5614	Gubbins	James		Wellington St. Strand 1	8.6				D
5642	Gray	Thomas	Druggist	Philpot St. Commercial Rd 8	12				D
5647	Goodworth	William	Bricklayer	Charles Court Strand 7	12				D
5567	Green	William		Bank	8.6				D
2	Hodgskin	Thomas	Gentleman	Brunswick Terrace Pentonville 5	20	Ds	AsBsC20Ds	AsBsCs	
37	Holmes	Thomas	shoe-maker	Cross St. Carnaby St. 1	5	D	A24BsCsDs	A6B6C6D6	A12BsC6D6
38	Howell	George	Gilder	London Rd 113	5	D	A6		
39	Hemming	John	Gentleman	Penton St. Somers Town 51	5	D	A6B24CsDs	AsB24CsDs	AsB24CsDs
40	Hanley	James	Smith	Cleveland St. Fitzroy Sq. 8	5	D	A6B6		
41	Hume	Eliezer	Engineer	Lloyds Row Spafields 12	24	D	AsBsCs		
42	Hall	Thomas	Engineer	Cottage Place Westminster Bridge Rd 3	5	D	A6B6		
77	Hume	James	Baker	Shadwell Market	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	B8.6C6
79	Holtzapffel	Charles	Machinist	Cockspur St.	24	Ds	AsB24CsDs	AsBsC24Ds	AsB24CsDs
88	Hammond	William	Turner	Great Saffron Hill 103	5	D	A6		
91	Harwar	Joseph	Pianoforte-maker	Serles Place 4	6	Ds	AsB6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
92	Hill	James	Carpenter	Pittfield St. 27	5	D			
98	Hooper	William	Carpenter	Upper Charlton St. Marylebone 13	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24 1830AsBsCs
106	Holdup	John	Silver-spoon-finisher	Kerby St. Hatton Garden	18		CsDs	A18B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
135	Henfrey	John	Engineer	Bowling Green Place Kennington 17	10	Ds	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
138	Harper	Samuel	Law-stationer	Bell Yard Carey St. 24	24	Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBs
140	Hartland	Jasper	Clerk	Lombard St. 68	5	D	A6B6		
198	Hackett	John James	Carpenter	Gower Place Euston Sq.	5	D	A6BsC12Ds	A12	
199	Harrison	Thomas	Enameller	Wynyatt St. Clerkenwell 5	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
215	Holdup	Henry	Silver-spoon-finisher	Kerby St. Hatton Garden 2	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
238	Huskißon	William	Chemist	Swinton St. City Rd	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
263	Harris	T. P.	Optician	Great Russell St. Bloomsbury 52	5	D	A6B6		
298	Hooker	Thomas A.	Gun-maker	Charles St. Portman Sq. 19	5	D	AsBsCs		
299	Huctson	William J.	Gentleman	Kingsland Rd	24		A BsCsDs		
328	Hill	George N.	Tooth-brush-maker	Onslow St. Hatton Garden	5	D	A6B6		
229	Hetherington	Henry	Printer etc	Kingsgate St. Bloomsbury	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
331	Hill	William	Clerk	High St. Borough 70	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
361	Heale	John	Carpenter	Vine St. Westminster 6	6	Ds	A6		
362	Hiscocks	A. J.	Carpenter	Suffolk St. 6; Trinity St. Borough	6	Ds	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C12Ds	A6B12C6D6
363	Hardwidge	George	Brass-founder	Northampton St. Clerkenwell 47	5	D	A6		
368	Husband	R. C.	Clerk		5	D	A6B6C6		
442	Hatchard	Samuel	Plasterer	Holliwel St. Westminster 49	5	D	A6B6C6		
443	Harwar	Thomas	Law-stationer	Serles Place 4	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
455	Holmes	John	Trunk-maker	Holliwel St. Strand 10	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
484	Hodgins	John	Carpenter	Barrons Buildings Blackfriars Rd 5	5	D	A6		
488	Howe	John	Bricklayer	Bridge Row Southwark	10	D	As		
490	Hammond	William	Builder	Cornwall Rd Lambeth	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
523	Hollinshed	William	Mechanist	King St. Long Acre	24	Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsC24Ds
533	Hawkins	Henry	Plasterer	New Rochester Row Westminster 39	5	D			
541	Hawkins	Frederick	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Parry St. Somers Town 16	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
638	Hazard	Charles	Painter and Glazier	Stoney Lane Tooley St. 4	5	D	A6B6C6	C8.6D6	A6B6C6D6
661	Heath	J. M.	Gentleman	Grove End Rd St Johns Wood 12	20	D	sBsCs		
591	Hailstone	John	Shoe-maker	Old Cavendish Sq. 16	5	D	A6B6C6		
615	Habell	Augustus	Tailor	Great Pulteney St. 18	5	D	A6		
665	Harris	Thomas	Carpenter	Green St. Goswell St. 31	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
677	Hayzen	Anthony	Clerk	Ash St. Hoxton	5	D	A6		
678	Hammer	Thomas	Leather-seller	St Johns St. Smithfields 147	24	C Ds		AsBs	
696	Hamman	August			5	D	A6		
698	Haddon	William Charles	Clerk	Redcross Sq. 30	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
714	Humphries	Samuel	Chaser	Green St. Leicester Sq.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
726	Hatfield	J. M.	Plumber	Maddox St. Regent St. 8	5	D	A6		
732	Hawkins	John		Wellington Place Newington 13; 18 Brunswick Row Hackney Rd	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
762	Henricksen	Henry	Sugar refiner	Hooper Sq. Lemon St.	5	D	A6B6C6		
763	Heptinstall	W.	Gun-maker	Swan St. Minories 18	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
785	Hulbert	Henry	Teacher	Christ's Hospital	5	D	A6		
808	Hebert	Luke	Draftsman	Pulteney Terrace Pentonville 22	5	D	A6		
835	Humphreys	Esq.	Gentleman	Lincolns Inn	6	Ds	A6		
842	Harris	Philip Jun.	Brass-founder	Little Wild St. 20	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
870	Holder	John	Picture-dealer	Grays Inn Lane	5	D			
886	Hazell	William	Broker	Bennett St. Blackfriars 7	5	D			
960	Hill	John	Mason	Monkwell St. 44	5	D	A6		
1032	Hall	George	Engineer	Mint St. Southwark	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
1036	Hawkins	Thomas	Pen-cutter	Albion Place Walworth	5	D			
1142	Hentsch	George		Blewitts Buildings Fetter Lane 1	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
1173	Halsey	Daniel	Narrow-weaver	St Andrews Hill 36	5	D			
1201	Hadgkiss	William	Jeweller	Northampton St. Clerkenwell	5	D			
1204	Hodges	James	Glass-man	Leadenhall St. 126	5	D			
1214	Hardcastle	Robert	Engine-pump-maker	Smithfield	5	D			
1217	Hough	Samuel	Smith	Kerby St. Hatton Garden 9	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1220	Haybittle	Daniel	Coal merchant	Little New St. 2	5	D			
1227	Hall	John	Narrow-weaver	St Andrews Hill 36	5	D			
1228	Harris	Charles	Piano-forte-maker	Union St. Somers Town 32	5	D			
1285	Harwar	Henry	Law-stationer	Serles Place 4	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1299	Hatfield	Richard	Engraver	Maddox St. Regent St. 8	5	D	A6		
1320	Hudson	Henry W.	Clerk	Ernest St. Regents St. 18	5	D	A6B6		
1330	Horne	Linford	Tailor	Manchester Buildings 4	12	Ds	A12BsC12Ds	A12BsC12Ds	A6B6C6
1445	Henderson	T.	Clerk	Speldhurst St. Burton Crescent 14	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
1449	Harrison	George	Confectioner	Grays Inn Lane	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
1450	Hurmon	Charles	Accountant	Oldham Place Spafields 2	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
1465	Hepple	Joseph	Artist	Henrietta St. Manchester Sq. 12	5	D			
1557	Hart	Moses	Iron-monger	Anchor Wharf Upper Thames St.	5	D			
1532	Hunt	William	Carver and gilder	Berwick St. 61	5	D	A6		
1534	Hunt	Robert	Printer	Grocers Hall Court 3	5	D			
1558	Hunt	James	Clerk	Horseferry Rd Westminster 1	5	D			
1561	Hunt	Henry A.	Surveyor	Horseferry Rd 71	5	D	A6		
1562	Harris	John	Schoolmaster	Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell 51	5	D			
1602	Havell	Seth John	Whitesmith	Poppins Court Fleet St. 26	5	D	A6B6		
1607	Houghton	Warran	Merchant	Ely Place 33	5	D	A6 C8.6D6	A6	
1612	Hughes	William	Clerk	Upper Marylebone St. 15	5	D			
1627	Humphries	Francis	Clerk	Upper Rosomans St. Clerkenwell 4	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1629	Hardwicke	Henry R.	Tailor	Savoy St. Strand 1	5	D			
1633	Hawkes	Samuel	Brass-founder	Drury Lane 132	5	D	A6		
1647	Hunt	James	Cabinet-maker	Baker St. Portman Sq. 79	5	D	A6B6C6		
1657	Hunt	Anthony	Engraver and chaser	Great Queen St. 34	5	D	A6		
1658	Hodgson	Richard	Builder	Basinghall St. 82	5	D	A20BsCsDs		
1678	Hudson	John	Gentleman	Symonds Inn	5	D	A5		
1705	Harvey	James	Carpenter	Catherine St. Pimlico 14	5	D	A6B6C6		
1734	Hinton	John	Oilman	Wheeler St. Spitalfields 22	5	D	A6B6		
1740	Hux	William	Pewterer	Wilderness Row Goswell St. 7	5	D	A6	A8.6	
1741	Higgs	Joseph	Machinist	Hill St. Southwark 11	5	D	A5		
1761	Harris	Joseph	Ornamental of Japan work	Clerkenwell Green 9	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
1784	Humphrey	William	Clerk	East St. Finsbury 28	5	D	A6B6C6		
1810	Hicks	Thomas	Carpenter	Mason St. 16	5	D	A6B6		
1834	Humphreys	J. B.	Cabinet-maker	Coppice Row Clerkenwell 30	5	D	A6		
1848	Hume	Robert M.	Solicitor	Great Surry St. Blackfriars 110	5	D			
1857	Harris	Edward	Furrier	Ludgate Hill 44	5	D			
1869	Hume	Henry	Draper	Great Ormond St. Queen Sq. 26	5	D			
1877	Hare	John	Clerk	Fludyer St. Westminster 11	5	D			
1879	Handley	Edward J.	Carpenter	Broadway Westminster 5	5	D			
1885	Hewett		Chronometer-maker	East St. Lambs Conduit St.	10	D	As		
1891	Howroyd	Robert	Coffee house keeper	Warwick Lane 9	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
1913	Horn	Robert	Surveyor	Dean St. Westminster 2	5	D			
1930	Hetherington	Henry Jun.		Kingsgate St.	10	D	As		
1947	Harris	John	Carpenter	George St. Portman Sq. 73	10	D	AsB6C6D6	A6B6C6	
1950	Harris	Richard	Smith	Mincing Lane Fenchurch St.	5	D	A24BsCsDs		
1979	Hurman	Augustus	Printer	Oldham Place 2	5	D	A6B6C6		
1985	Hilman	B.	Cabinet-maker	Chapel St. Bedford Row 6	5	D			
1990	Harris	David Thomas	Clerk	George St. Portman Sq. 73	10	D	AsC6		
2000	Holcomb	John	Tailor	Diana Place City Rd 6	5	D			
2007	Hogg	Peter	Carpenter	Buckingham St. Fitzroy Sq. 9	6		A B6C6D6	A6B6CsD12	
2010	Hibbert	George	Warehouseman	Strand 187	8.6		A		
2012	Hall	James	Stationer	Northampton St. St Pancrass 15	8.6		A B6C6D6		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2015	Higham	Thomas	Engraver	Brunswick Terrace Islington 9	24	A BsCsDs	A24BsCsDs	A24BsCsDs
2032	Hale	Frederick	Carpenter	Upper York St. Bryanstone Sq. 28	8.6	A B6		
2042	Hobbs	William	Druggist	Water St. Blackfriars 4	8.6	A B6		
2043	Harley	James			8.6	A		
2055	Hammersley	Joseph	Brass-founder	Clerkenwell Close 24	8.6	A B6C6D6	A6B6	
2076	Hebden	William Jun.	Jeweller	Percival St. 42	6	A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	B8.6
2131	Howe	Thomas		Little Tower St.	8.6	A		
2139	Harle	Ebenezer	Chemist and druggist	Hoxton Old Town 88	8.6	A B6C6		
2148	Heath	James	Organ-builder	Wild St. 2	8.6	A B6		
2195	Harris	William	Errand boy	Hosier Lane West Smithfield 24	8.6	B		
2199	Hakewell	Thomas	Gentleman	Regent St.	8.6	B		
2217	Huntley	Robert	Optician	High Holborn	27	A BsCsDs		
2221	Hayes	Richard	Gentleman	Mornington Place Hampstead 31	8.6	A		
2241	Houldon	Thomas	Vellum-binder	Cobourg St. Somers Town 7	8.6	B C6D6	A6B6C6	
2259	Harris	Jabeus	Warehouseman	Weymouth Terrace Hackney Rd 15	8.6	B		
2264	Hack	George	Coal-meter	Phelpot St. Commercial Rd 6	8.6	B		
2285	Higgins	William	Watch-maker	Beak St. Regent St. 9; 26 Guilford Place Spafields	8.6	B C6D6	A6B6C6	
2287	Holland	Henry	Draftsman	John St. Pentonville 12	8.6	B		
2305	Handasyde	Henry	Upholsterer	Lambs Conduit St.	8.6	B		
2308	Hooker	James	Attorney	Bartletts Buildings 11	8.6	B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
2313	Horne	John	Bricklayer	Great East Cheap City 9	8.6	B C6D6	A6B6	
2321	Houlden	William	Cork-cutter	Old Compton St. Soho	8.6	B		
2325	Harvey	Robert	Clerk	Boswell Court Strand 22	8.6	B C6		
2338	Henry	James		Battle Bridge	8.6	B		
2339	Holcombe	John	Tailor	Quadrant Regents St. 67	8.6	B		
2354	Hickson	William	Carpenter	York St. Battersea Fields 23	8.6	B C6D6		
2356	Hobrow	William	Type-founder	Vernon Place St. Pancras 2	8.6	B		
2383	Hooper	Frederick	Teacher	Doby Court Monkwell St. 5	8.6	B C6		
2390	Harries	Alfred	Optician	Green St. Portman Sq.	8.6	C		
2416	Hawksey	William	Accountant	Idol Lane Tower St. 9	27	B CsDs	As	
2427	Hunter	James	Clerk	Furnivals Inn 13	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2435	Hubert	S. M. Jun.		Mount Gardens Lambeth	8.6	C D6		
2436	Hudson	F. F.	Optician	Fetter Lane 4	8.6	C D6	A6	
2437	Harrison	John	Gentleman	King St. Commercial Rd 3	8.6	C D6		
2449	Hewett	William	Chair-maker	Fuller St. Bethnal Green Rd 29	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
2451	Hawkins	Henry	Modeller	Rochester Row Westminster	8.6	C		
2471	Hunt	Anthony	Engraver and chaser	Great Queen St. 34	8.6	C		
2477	Hoppen	Samuel	Carpenter	Great Leonard St. Shoreditch 21	8.6	C D6	A6	
2490	Hill	Henry		College Hill 20	8.6	C D6		
2510	Harvey	William	Carpenter	Catherine St. Pimlico 14	8.6	C D6		
2512	Hill	Henry	Clerk	Cold Bath Sq. 14	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2514	Hazle	Samuel	Hatter	Rassin Court Milk St.; 15 Wells St. Jewin St.	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2516	Horton	Henry	Lace-man	Wood St. Cheapside	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6	
2517	Holmyard	John S.	Gentleman	Tavistock Place Tavistock Sq. 10	8.6	C D6	A6	
2519	Horsfield	S. E.		Raymond Buildings Grays Inn? 2	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	
2540	Hand	Thomas	Clerk	Lombard St. 67	8.6	C D24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
2547	Hall	Peter	Shoe-maker	Titchfield St. 31	8.6	C D6	A6B6	
2592	Hall	Richard	Engraver	Upper Thornhaugh St. 28	8.6	C		
2600	Hall	John	Carpenter	Orange St. Leicester Sq. 7	8.6	C		
			crossed out then Optician					
2610	Hodgson	George	Gentleman	Oakley St. Lambeth	8.6	C D6		
2624	Hall	William	Waiter	Taylor's Row 12	8.6	C Ds	AsBs	B8.6C6
		Henry						
2632	Hasluck	Samuel		Kerby St. Hatton Garden	8.6	C		
2653	Hill	Henry	Gentleman	Searles Place Lincolns Inn 14	8.6	C		
2655	Horner	William	Brazier etc	Maiden Lane Covent Garden 40	8.6	C D6		
2658	Haile	John		King St. Seven Dials 44	8.6	C		
2654	Hennell	Frank	Silversmith	Snowhill 5	8.6	C		
2667	Head	John	Chemist	Camberwell Rd	8.6	C		
2670	Honeychurch	George	Carpenter	Leonard St. Shoreditch 24	8.6	C D6	C8.6	
2686	Halland	Philip			8.6	C		
2689	Harding	Charles		Princes Sq. Kensington 22	8.6	C		
2691	Hillier	John	Embossor	Monkwell St. 41	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
2693	Holden	Edward	Engraver	St Martins Lane 64	8.6	C D6	A6	
2694	Hartley	Henry R.	Statuary etc	Frederick Place Borough Rd	8.6	C D6		
2698	Harding	Thomas	Clerk	Mansion House St.	8.6	C		
2702	Handy	Benjamin	Chair-maker	Windmill St. Tottenham Court Rd 3	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6	
2718	Hall	William	Law-stationer	Carey St. Lincolns Inn	8.6	C D6		
2741	Harrison	William	Mason	Crescent St. Euston Sq. 7	8.6	C		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
2755	Homer	Thomas	Iron-founder	Dudley Worcestershire	8.6	C			
2758	Hamer	John		King St. Southwark	8.6	C			
2768	Hicks	J. D.	Artist	Red Lion Sq. Holborn	8.6	C D6		A6	
2785	Hope	Jabez	Plate-glass-worker	Compton St. Clerkenwell 36	8.6	C D6		A6B6	
2802	Heighway	John	Engineer	Grub St. Cripplegate 58	8.6	D		A6B6C6D6	A6
2817	Howard	T.	Dentist	Fleet St. 33	8.6	D		D8.6	
2846	Hunter	George		Nevilles Court Fetter Lane 3	8.6	D			
2863	Halbert	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Gee St. Goswell St. 56	8.6	D		A6B6C6	
2887	Harris	David			8.6	D		A6B6	
2893	Hand	Joseph Thomas			6	D			
2893	Heap	Thomas	Carpenter	Fore St. Siptal Sq. 20	8.6	D		A6B6C6D6	
2896	Henderson	John	Cabinet-maker	New St. Golden Sq. 3	8.6	D		A6B6C6D6	A6
2914	Hook	Charles	Tailor	Cock Court Phillip Lane Lon.2	8.6	D		A6B6D6	A6B6C6
2916	Harrigan	William	Cabinet-maker	Newmans Passage 3	8.6	D		A6B6C6D6	
2917	Hammond	James	Paper-hanger	Pearl Row Blackfriars Rd	8.6	D		A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2942	Hudson	John	Brewer	Mitchum	8.6	D		A6B6C6	
2956	Holmes	Henry	Carpenter	North St. Hackney	8.6	D		A6B6C6	
2980	Henley	John	Clerk Merchants Clerk	Mincing Lane 24	8.6	D		A6	
2982	Higgins	Alfred	Engraver	Southampton St. Bedford Row 58; 29 Robert St.	8.6	D		A6B6C6D6	
2984	Heath	Thomas	Silk-weaver	St Johns St. 36	8.6	D		A6	
2985	Heath	Richard	Silk-weaver	King St. Spitalfields 29	8.6	D			
3004	Hart	Henry A.	Linen-drapeer	High St. Bloomsbury 43	8.6	D		A6	
3017	Houghton	George	Carver	Leonard St. Shoreditch 41	8.6	D		A6	
3019	Hillmen	Benjamin	Cabinet-maker	Wingrove Place Clerkenwell	8.6	D		A6B6	
3028	Harrington	Luke	Clerk	Grange Court Carey St. 3	8.6	D		A6	
3059	Hovell	James	Attorney	Camden Town	8.6	D			
3074	Hodkinson	Henry	Clerk	Carey St. 23	8.6	D		A6B6	
3076	Hart	Moses	Iron-monger	Acton Wharf Upper Thames St.	8.6	D			
4010	Hart	John	Cabinet-maker	Judd Place St. Pancrass 31	8.6			A B6	
4015	Hollingsworth	Thomas h	Carver	Church St. Soho 24	8.6			A B6	
4018	Hutchinson	John	Clerk	New Sq. Lincolns Inn No.5	8.6			A	
4026	Harkness	William	Gentleman	Chapel Place Long Lane Bermondsey 9	8.6			A	
4032	Harvey	Jesse	Millwright	Kings Place Stones End Borough ? 1	8.6			A B6C6D6	A6B6C6
4033	Headford	Joseph	Chaser	Bagnigge Wells Rd 1	8.6			A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4052	Heap	George	Carpenter	Fort St. Spitalfields 20	8.6			A B6C12Ds	
4072	Houlston	Edward Jun.	Bookseller	Paternoster Row 65	8.6			A	
4073	Hunt	John	Clerk		8.6			A B6C6	
4093	Horton	William	Millwright	Coach and Horses York St. Westminster	8.6			A B6	
4096	Hayes	Benjamin James	Mason	St Anns St. Westminster 25	8.6			A B6C6D6	A6
4106	Haddon	H. J.	Dyer	Redcross St. 32	8.6			A	
4122	Hoar	William	Scrivener	St Johns Sq. 1	8.6			A B6	
4126	Harrabin	James Thomas	Compositor	Moneyer St. City Rd 57	8.6			A B6C6D6	A6B6C6
4136	Hughes	Hugh	Painter	Compton Sq. Soho	8.6			A B6	
4152	Holmes	John	Cabinet-maker	John St. Stepney 2	8.6			A	
4153	Hensman	Henry		Charles St. Covent Garden 8	8.6			A B6	
4154	Hubbard	William	Painter	Great Titchfield St. 35	8.6			A	
4159	Hudson	Henry	Brewer	New Park St. Southwark	8.6			A B6C6	A8.6B6
4165	Hiscock	Bedford	Chemist and druggist	Trinity St. Borough 6	8.6			A B6	
4173	Harris	Thomas	Carpenter	Chapel Place Spitalfields 4	8.6			A	
4177	Hay	John	Tailor	Great Pulteney St. Golden Sq. 16	8.6			A	
4200	Hilton	William F.		Doughty St.	8.6			A	
4231	Hadland	Henry	Cheese-monger	Holborn Hill 34	8.6			A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D2 4
4232	Hankins	Robert		Park Terrace Islington 8	8.6			A	
4296	Hall	Henry	Iron-monger	Red Lion St. Holborn	8.6			B	
4316	Harper	William	Carpenter	Johnson St. Westminster 2	8.6			B C6	
4321	Hughes	George	Cabinet-maker	Hermes St. Pentonville 29	8.6			B	
4324	Hill	Arthur	Coach-joiner	Long Acre 116	8.6			B	
4333	Hand	Charles John	Gentleman	Smith St. Pancras 4	8.6			B	
4338	Haycroft	Henry	Chemist	Bell Alley Coleman St. 6	8.6			B C6	
4358	Harris	William	Watch-case-maker	St James's St. 9	8.6			B C6D12	AsB6
4375	Hall	Robert	Musician	Upper Thornhaugh St. St Pancras	8.6			B	
4377	Hughes	John		Staple Inn 2	8.6			B	
4397	Hooper	John	Confectioner	High Holborn 27	12			B Cs	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826 1827	1828	1829
4399	Holmes	Edward	Coach-maker	Castle St. Long Acre	12	B CsD6	A6B6C6D6
4401	Hodgkin	Charles	Chemist	Old City Chambers Bishopsgate	12	B CsD6	A6
4407	Howell	George		Clements Lane 45	12	B CsD6	A6
4410	Holmes	William	Thames foundry	Norman St. St Lukes	12	B Cs	
4424	Harrison	Frederick	Clerk	Mr Wilkie's Lincoln's Inn	8.6	C	
4426	Hazle	James	Map-stainer	Cold Bath Sq.	8.6	C D6	
4447	Hurst	William	Tailor	Margaret St. Spafields 19	8.6	C D6	A6
4476	Hutton	John		Bell Yard Temple Bar 30	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6
4481	Hynard	Isaac	Engineer	Brook St. Lambeth 34	8.6	C D6	A6
4484	Hunton	William	Surgeon	Well St. Jewin St. 13	8.6	C	
4519	Heywald	Charles	Copper-smith	Drury Lane	8.6	C D6	
4540	Herbert	John		St Martins Lane 6	8.6	C D6	A6
4547	Hickment	John	Printer	Crown St. Little Russell St. 22	8.6	C	
4553	Hux	James		Clerkenwell	8.6	C D6	
4555	Hoppen	Samuel	Carpenter	Great Leonard St. Shoreditch 21	8.6	C D6	
4593	Hardwick	H. R.		Edward St. Regents Park 45	8.6	C	
4596	Headford	Frank	Tanner	Richardson St. Long Lane	8.6	C	
				Bermondsey			
4608	Hancock	Thomas	Architect and draftsman	Granby Place Vauxhall 1	8.6	C D6	
4643	Hattersby	William	Clerk		12	C Ds	A12BsC6D6
							6
4672	Haywood	Thomas	Upholsterer	Upper North St. Grays Inn Lane 63	8.6	D	
4685	Hopcraft	John		Upper Berkeley St. 63	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4688	Hay	James	Coach-maker	Grays Inn Lane	8.6	D	A6B6
4689	Horner	Leonard	Warden of the London University	London University	27	D	AsBsCs
4698	Hussey	Charles	Smith	High St. Borough	8.6	D	A6
4709	Hunt	William	Gentleman	St Johns Sq. 44	8.6	D	
4710	Hicks	Joseph	Bookseller	Bow St. Covent Garden 28	8.6	D	
4750	Hills	James	Carpenter	Henry St. Lambeth 35	8.6	D	A6B6
4766	Hammond	George	Gun-smith	Pearl Row Blackfriars Rd	8.6	D	A6
4777	Higgins	John	Jeweller	Compton St. Clerkenwell 20	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4779	Hollinshed	George	Composition maker	Tottenham Court Rd 246	8.6	D	A6
4790	Hand	C. J.		Smith St. Pancras 4	8.6	D	
4811	Haswell	Alexander	Watch-maker	Britannia St. City Rd 118	8.6	D	
4816	Huggins	George	Cabinet-maker	Richmond Buildings 7	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4825	Harrott	Charles	Merchant	London	8.6	D	
4839	Hampson	William	Press-maker	Long Lane City	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4843	Hennett	Robert	Cabinet-maker	Percival St. St Johns St. 13	8.6	D	
4846	Harris	William	Clerk	Gainsford St. Horsleydown 19	8.6	D	A6
		John					
4895	Hutton	William	Spirit-dealer	Lower Thames St. 61	12	D	As D8.6
4915	Howell	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Collyer St. Pentonville 59	12	D	As
4938	Husband	R. C.		Jewin St. 19	8.6		A B6C6D6
4945	Hart	M. M.	Engraver on wood	Gerrard St. Soho 31	8.6		A B6C6D6
4952	Hutchinson	John	Carpenter	Somerset House Yard	8.6		A
4968	Hood	Henry	Vellum-binder	Bartholomew Close 56	8.6		A B6C6D6
4978	Hayward	John	Clerk	Portugal St. Lincolns Inn Fields 20	8.6		A B6C6D6
4981	Hammond	William		Cornwall Rd Lambeth	8.6		A
4994	Herring	William	Printer	Angel St. St Martin Le Grand 10	8.6		A B6C6D6
5026	Hodges	F.	Gilder	Fleet St. 192	8.6		A
5028	Hedges	John B.	Cabinet-maker	Cromer St. 42	8.6		A
5039	Hill	Alfred	Gentleman	Hampstead Rd	15		A BsC6
5061	Hirst	Richard	File and saw-maker	Greenhills Rents Smith Sq. 8	12		A BsC6D6
5068	Holmes	Henry	Carpenter	North St. Hackney	12		A BsC5
5071	Humphreys	James	Coffee house keeper	High Holborn 41	12		A Bs
5087	Helling	John	Millwright	Parish St. Borough 36	8.6		B C6D6
5135	Handisyde	Francis	Upholsterer	Lambs Conduit St. 55	12		B CsD6
5155	Hurlstone	John	Clerk	Grays Inn Place 5	8.6		B
5163	Hayne	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Museum St. Holborn 54	8.6		B C6
5164	Harpham	John	Print-seller	Canterbury Sq. Borough 35	8.6		B
5182	Hall	Joseph	Shoe-maker	Strand 109	8.6		B C6D6
5185	Hannaford	Peter A.	Bookseller	Mr Harris's St Pauls Church Yard	8.6		B
5187	Huggins	James	Clerk	St Johns St. Smithfield 67; 5 Peter St. Sun St. Bishopsgate	8.6		B C6D6
4994	Horwood	Thomas J.	in the Law	Wrestlers Court Cannon St. City	15		A Bs
5188	Hyatt	Charles		Ely Place Holborn 42	8.6		B
5195	Hull	Anthony	Clerk	Blenheim St. Oxford St. 14 ?	8.6		B C6
5199	Hull	George	Upholsterer	Oxford St. 399	12		B Cs
5221	Hickman	George	Jeweller	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 35	8.6		C



No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
5223	Hicks	Joseph	Bookseller	Bow St. 28	8.6			C D6
5231	Holloway	Edmund	Engraver in wood	Duke St. Smithfield	8.6			C
5231	Hartwright	William	Silversmith	Goswell Mews Goswell St. Rd 4	8.6			C D6
5257	Hay	Alexander		Upper North Place Grays Inn Lane 27	8.6			C D6
5258	Higdon	Pantocnus	Printer	Warwick Sq. 2	8.6			C D6
5264	Hall	W.		Old Fish St. Hill	15			C Ds
5265	Hudson	William	Chaser	Bevenden St. Hoxton 6	8.6			C D6
5271	Hewson	John J.	Clerk	Willclose Sq.	8.6			C D12
5273	Hayward	Richard	Architect	Tookes court Chancery Lane 13	8.6			C
5289	Holmes	James	Law-stationer	Fetter Lane 123	8.6			C D6
		Edward						
5312	Humphris	Francis	Clerk	Upper Rosomans St. 4	8.6			C
5318	Hart	R.	Engraver	Claremont Row White Conduit Fields 12	8.6			C D6
5339	Herbert	John		Upper St Martins Lane 6	8.6			C D6
5355	Hill	John	Instructor	Trinity St. Trinity Place Southwark	8.6			C D6
5363	Hodgson	William		Lime St. 36	8.6			C D6
5379	Hannon	William		Upper Berkeley St. Portman Sq. 3	8.6			D
5400	Hadley	George	Smith	Skinner St.	8.6			D
5409	Hayson	Charles	Mason	Elm Place Fetter Lane 1	8.6			C D6
5414	Hill	David	Paper-hanger	Grafton Sq. Fitzroy Sq. 8	8.6			C D6
5424	Hunt	Joseph	Architect	Bridgewater St. Somers Town 32	8.6			C D6
5459	Hawken	Richard	Clerk of Works	New Gloucester Place Hoxton 12	12			C Ds
5461	Hawken	Henry	Mathematical-instrument-maker	New York	8.6			C
5469	Hodgskin	Charles	Clerk	Old City Chambers Bishopsgate	8.6			D
5476	Hancock	Henry	Iron-monger	Grays Inn Lane	8.6			D
5489	Hurlstone	G. W.	Youth	Salisbury St. Strand	8.6			D
5501	Horsbury	Benjamin	Perfumer	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 17	8.6			D
5505	Humphreys	Evan	Plumber	Wells St. Oxford St. 81	8.6			D
5525	Handisyde	Charles		Lambs Conduit St. 55	8.6			D
5533	Hopkinson	George	Currier	Star Corner Bermondsey 10	8.6			D
5575	Holmes	W. D.	Vulcan foundry	Borough Rd	8.6			D
5589	Hinton	Edward	Schoolmaster	Upper Seymour St. Easton Sq. 55	8.6			D
5601	Handisyde	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Lambs Conduit St. 55	8.6			D
5624	Hardy	William		Pauls Chain 2	8.6			D
5638	Horton	Henry	Lace manufacturer	Wood St. Cheapside	12			D
5639	Hewett	Edward	Confectioner	Regent St. 1888	12			D
5702	Howell	Henry	Tailor	Argyle St. 4	12			D
5706	Harris	Thomas Frederick	Clerk	Wick St. Hackney Terrace 1	12			D
5654	Hedley	John		Holmer St. Lambeth 3	8.6			D
5673	Holland	Thomas		King David Lane Shadwell	8.6			D
5678	Houghton	George	Printer	Greville St. Holborn	12			D
5679	Handley	John		Pultney Lane 27	12			D
5683	Heather	William	Carpet manufacturer	Middleton St. Spa fields 72	12			D
5621	Hall	G.	re-entered		8.6			D
111	Johnson	John	Smith	Hill St. Southwark 7	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBscsD6 A6B6C6D6
176	Jones	William	Plumber etc	Tysoe St. Spafields 8	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs
205	James	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 48	5	D	A6B6	
219	Jackson	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Francis St. Grays Inn Lane Rd 1; 11 Sidmouth St. Grays Inn Rd	6	D	A6B6C6D6	
244	Johnstone	James	Messenger to the Commercial Office of Bankrupts	Southampton Buildings 32	20	D	AsBsCs	
300	Jenkins	Richard	Messenger at	Sir Richard Carr Glynn's house	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6 A6B6C6D6
350	Jackson	Samuel	Carpenter	Jewin St. Cripplegate	6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
405	Ireland	John	Clerk	Robert St Bedford Row 25	16	D	As	
406	Jopling	Joseph	Carpenter	Acton St. Grays Inn Rd; 1 Eccleston St. North Pimlico?	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6
460	Jones	Benjamin	Pianoforte maker	Exmouth St. Hampstead Rd 20	5	D	A6B6C6D6	
543	Jerome	John	Turner	Royal Mint	5	D		
590	Jones	J. B.		Hertford St. 39	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
592	Jenn	Joseph	Tin-plate-worker	Little George St. Hampstead 24	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
637	Jury	Isaac	Builder	White Lion St.	5	D		
679	Jones	John	Engineer	Crescent Jewin St. 11	20	D	AsBsCs	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
731	Irons	D.	Tailor	Upper Charlton St. Fitzroy Sq. 21	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
800	Jameson	Richard	Printer	Suffolk Place Hackney Rd	5	D			
845	Jarrett	W. C. J.	Bookseller	Chancery Court 3	5	D	A6		
883	Juray	Samuel	Joiner	Cromer St. Grays Inn Lane 75	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
887	Jackson	William	Carpenter	Leonard St. Finsbury 61	5	D			
919	Innall	Theodore I.	Printer	Pancrass St. St Pancrass 29	5	D	B8.6C6		
1678	Jackson	James		At Mr Lyne's John St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
986	Jennings	Samuel	Carver	Berwick St. Soho 43; 11 Holland St. Wardour St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
1225	Jones	Charles Thomas	Clerk	East Red Lion Sq. 5	5	D			
1321	Jones	Peter	Printer [listed as painter later]	St Mary Axe 45	5	D	A6 C8.6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1432	Jackson	Matthew	Grocer	Duke St. Manchester 8	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1446	Jecker	Antoine	Mathematical instrument maker	Turners Court St. Martins Le Grand	5	D	A6		
1566	Jarvis	William	Tailor	South Audley St.	5	D			
1595	Jones	William Jun.		Tysoe St. Spafields 8	10	D	As		
1598	Jackson	James	Clerk at Mr McWilliam's	Furnivals Inn	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
1632	Jones	Thomas	Gentleman	Chancery Lane 109	5	D			
1659	Johnstone	James Jun.		Southampton Buildings 32	5	D	A6B6		
1663	Jenkins	James	Gentleman	Surrey St. Strand 23	20	D	AsBsCsD6	A6B6C6D6	A6
1694	Jenman	William	Carpenter and joiner	Regents St. Westminster 3	5	D	A6		
1716	Johnson	George	Assayer	Maiden Lane	5	D			
1720	Jackson	J.	Iron-monger	Oxford St. 179	5	D			
1737	Johnson	P. J.	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Arundel St. Strand 3	5	D			
1752	Jackson	Charles	Warehouseman	Old Compton St. 30	5	D			
1777	Jones	Charles Sen.	Brass-founder	Aldersgate St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
1778	Jones	Charles Jun.	Brass-founder	Aldersgate St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
1795	Isaac	William	Carpenter	Seymour Place Walworth 1	5	D			
1799	Irwin	C. F.	Gentleman	Lower Brook St. 59	5	D			
1817	Johnson	Henry	Gentleman	St Thomas Apostle	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1820	James	Charles	Pianoforte-maker	Regents Place Westminster 4	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1839	Jaquin	Cornelius A.	Warehouseman	Noble St. 32	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
1892	Jones	John	Clerk in Bank	Judd St. Brunswick Sq.	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1941	Johnson	John	Gentleman	St Thomas Apostle, City	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
1955	Johnston	James	Upholsterer	Warren St. 42	5	D			
1993	Jackson	Henry	Upholsterer	Rathbone Place 32	10	D	As		
2021	Jacks	John	Goldsmith	Upper Marylebone St. 24	8.6		A B6C6D6		
2035	Jones	John	Writing-master	Brook St. Holborn 35	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
2089	Jinks	William	Silversmith	Ludgate Hill 33	6		A		
2109	Jarvis	John	Cabinet-maker	Titchfield St. 87	8.6		A		
2121	Jones	Edward	Plumber and glazier		8.6		A B6C6		
2149	Jarrard	William	Carpenter	Green St. Newington 20	8.6		A B12CsD6		
2190	Inglis	James	Distiller	Mason St. Cornwall Rd	8.6		A B6C6D6		
2218	Juggins	William	Cheese-monger	James St. Long Acre 22	8.6		A		
2226	Joyce	William	Hot-presser	Little St. Thomas Apostle 5	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
2254	Johnson	George	Book-binder	Red Lion Yard Great Warner St.	27		B CsDs	As	
2278	Jagel	William	Apothecary	Old Gravel Lane	8.6		B		
2341	Jones	John	Hatter	Tottenham Court Rd 34	8.6		B C6		
2360	Jones	John	Gentleman	Breams Buildings Chancery Lane	8.6		B		
2376	Jones	Robert	Bookseller	Woburn Buildings Tavistock Sq. 1	8.6		B		
2400	Jeremy	John		Watling St. 87	8.6		B		
2423	Jinks	William	Jeweller	Dyers Buildings 6	8.6		C D6	A6	
2483	Jones	Peter	Painter	St Mary Axe 45	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2501	Jenkinson	John	Tailor	Rochester Row Vauxhall 37	8.6		C D6	A6	
2506	Jones	William	Joiner	Harrison St. Grays Inn Lane 10	8.6		C D6	A6B6	
2564	Jackson	William	Pianoforte-maker	Paddington St. 56	8.6		C		
2565	Jefferson	Thomas	Pianoforte-maker	Paddington St. 56	8.6		C D6		
2645	Jefferson	Francis	Clerk	George St. Pentonville	8.6		C D6		
2674	Iglesias	I	Clerk	North Buildings Moorfields 8	8.6		C		
2731	Jowett	John	Glover	King St. Golden Sq. 44	8.6		C D6	A6	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
2750	Jefferson	Edmund	Pianoforte-maker	George St. Pentonville	8.6	C	D6		
2767	Johns	James Charles	Publican	Princes St.	8.6	C			
2798	Jarman	Henry	Carpenter	St Martins Le Grand 9	8.6	D		A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2804	Jackson	William	Carpenter	Great Leonard St. Shoreditch 61	8.6	D		A6B6C6	
2851	James	William	Carpenter	Davis Place Somers Town 18	8.6	D		A6B6C6	
2925	Jones	Charles	Jeweller	Leather Lane 9	8.6	D		A6B6C6D6	A6
2934	Jones	Arthur		Southampton Buildings 24	8.6	D		A6B6	
2994	James	Joseph	Painter	Long Acre 65	8.6	D			
3009	Jeffery	Robert	Coach-maker	Upper North St. Grays Inn Rd 10	8.6	D			
3030	Irvin	James		Islington	8.6	D		A6B6C6	
3086	Jarvis	William	Painter	Carnaby St. 2	8.6	D		A6	
4004	Jackson	John	Clerk	Hoxton	8.6			A	
4058	Jeeves	Jeremiah	Gentleman	King St. Holborn 11	8.6			A B6	
4060	Johnson	William	Carpenter	Serven St. St Georges End 8	8.6			A	
4081	Johnson	George	Clerk	Newcastle St. Strand 26	8.6			A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4121	Joy	Benjamin	Painter	Gilberts Buildings Westminster	8.6			A	
4164	Jarvis	John	Cabinet-maker	Titchfield St. 87	8.6			A	
4169	Jarvis	Charles	Millwright	Borough	8.6			A	
4170	Isaacs	David	Hebrew teacher	Bell Lane Spitalfields 21	8.6			A	
4171	Jessurun	E.	Feather manufacturer	Falcon Sq.	8.6			A	
4195	Jurratt	John	Schoolmaster	Hoxton	12			A BsC6D6	A6
4209	Jenkin	David	Bookseller	Bell Yard Doctors Common 7	8.6			A	
4255	Jessurun	Solomon			8.6			A	
4344	Jardine	Andrew	Clerk	Beaufort Buildings	8.6			B C6	
4441	Ireland	James	Tailor	Fisher St. Red Lion Sq. 9	8.6			C	
4506	Jones	William	Carver	Bridge Row 16	8.6			C D6	
4561	Johnson	William	Plasterer etc	Hemlock Court Carey St. 15	8.6			C D6	A6B6C6D6
4565	Joscelyn	Lambert	Jeweller	Garden Place Lincolns Inn Fields 1	8.6			C	
4590	Johnson	Henry		Brick lane Spitalfields 59 and a half	8.6			C	
4613	Jenkins	W. P.	Joiner	New Inn Newcastle St. Strand? 5	12			C Ds	A6
4626	Joshua	H. W.		York St. Westminster 30	12			C Ds	
4733	Jacob	John F. E.	Cabinet-maker	Brownlow St. Holborn 3	8.6			D	A6B6C6D6
4783	Illman	William Jun.	Trunk-maker	Noble St. Cheapside 33	8.6			D	
4786	Jones	John G.	Accountant	Leigh St. Burton Crescent 9	8.6			D	A6B6C6
4832	Jackson	Francis H.	Surgeon	Brewer St. St Pancras	8.6			D	
4852	Jenneson	Charles	Leather-cutter	Old St. St Lukes 65	8.6			D	B8.6
4871	James	Edward		Ludgate Hill 30	15			D	As
4891	Jael	John	Carver	St Johns Sq. 30	12			D	As
4902	Johnson	F. F.		Moorfields 5	8.6			D	A6
4929	Johnstone	James			8.6				A B6C6D6
4924	Joy	Benjamin		Gilberts Buildings Westminster Rd	12			D	AsB6C6D6
5004	Jefferys	George	Shop-man	Charles St. Hatton Garden 12	8.6				A
5006	Ims	Charles	Wire-worker	Wardour St. Golden Sq. 31	8.6				A
5018	Jenson	John	Clerk	Clifton St. Finsbury 7	8.6				
5031	Johnstone	William	Surgical-instrument-maker	Giltspur St. 21	8.6				A B6C6
5078	Johnstone	Thomas	Clerk	Earl St. Blackfriars Rd 15	8.6				B C6D6
5160	Jackson	John	Clerk	Lincolns Inn Old Sq. 2	8.6				B
5168	Jameson	Alexander		Selby Place New Rd	8.6				B
5256	Jones	Charles Thomas		East St. Red Lion Sq. 5	15				C Ds
5274	Iunde	Mons B.	Harp-maker	Cheney St. You St. 14?	8.6				C
5314	Johnson		Gilder	Clarendon Sq. 42	8.6				C
5371	Jameson	Richard	Warehouseman	Northumberland St. Marylebone 1	12				C Ds
5374	Inman	Richard	Carpenter	Aldermanbury 46	12				C Ds
5422	Jones	Samuel	Stonemason	Blomberg St. Vauxhall Rd 8	8.6				C D6
5468	Jackson	Joseph	Butcher	Old St. 24	8.6				D
5478	Johnstone	Hendric	Carpenter	Princes St. Bedford Row 12	8.6				D
5256	Jackson	James	Clerk	Furnivals Inn	8.6				D
5580	Jackson		Surgeon	Brewer St. Somers Town	8.6				D
5608	Jacob	George	Printer	Angel Place Blackfriars Rd 19	8.6				D
5650	Jackson	Thomas	Upholsterer	Rathbone Place 33	12				D
5671	Jacobs	John	Engraver	Cowcross 84	8.6				D
76	Killar	John	Carpenter	Bentick St. Soho 5	5	D	A6B6		
90	Kilburn	Benjamin	Warehouseman	Stamford St. Blackfriars 35	5	D	A6B6CsD12	AsB12C6Das	AsB24CsDs6
99	Knight	Richard	Clerk	London Wall 9	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
101	Killar	James	Joiner	Greville St. Hatton Garden 24	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
173	King	Charles	Carpenter	London St. Fitzroy Sq. 57; 28 New North St. Red Lion Sq.	11	Ds	ABsC12D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
175	Kerr	Benjamin	Upholsterer	Fenchurch St. 36	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
214	Kingsnorth	Thomas	Engineer	Castle St. Clerkenwell 2; 31 Smith St. Northampton Sq.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6CsD1 2
281	King	John	Printer	College Hill	20	D	AsBsCs		
317	Knock	John	Book-binder	Well St. Cripplegate 8	5	D	A6B6C6		
342	Kilburn	William	Gentleman	Stamford St. 35	5	D	A6		
466	Kibble	John	Goldsmith etc	North Fitzroy Sq. 11	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
489	Kitcat	John	Book-binder	Bartletts Buildings 22	5	D	A24BsCsDs		
516	King	Charles	Engraver	Johns St. Blackfriars Rd 3	5	D	A6B6		
517	King	James	Engraver	Johns St. Blackfriars Rd 3	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
542	Kerby	James	Currier	St Johns St.	5	D			
544	Kelsey	William	Statuary	Neptune St. Rotherhithe	5	D	A6B6		
1466	Knight	Jasper	Gentleman	Broad St. Bloomsbury Sq. 57	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
		Kelly	Thomas	Paternoster Row	44	Ds	ABsCsDs		
765	Kidwell	John	Clerk		5	D			
843	Keays	W. G.	Jewel-case-maker	Charles St. Hatton Garden 26	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6C8.6D6
923	Kingsmill	James	Turner	High St. St Giles 63	5	D	A6B6c6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
959	King	Andrew	Silversmith	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 44	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1232	Knight	W. M.	Printer	Chancery Lane 67	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1281	Kirkwood	James	Jeweller	Fore St. 39	5	D			
1323	Knight	Anthony	Gentleman	Broad St. Bloomsbury 57	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1467	Kember	William	Brass-finisher	Vineyard Walk Spafields 3	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6c6D6	A6B6C6D6
1614	Kenyon	Miles	Carpenter	Drummond Crescent Somers Town 8	5	D	A6B6C6		
1618	Kelk	George	Iron-monger	Old Compton St. 36	5	D	A6		
1739	Kearney	George	Clerk	Bell Yard 5	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
1756	Key	James	Compositor	Sermon Lane 2	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1782	Kermode	Thomas	Painter	Cleveland St. 1	5	D			
1800	King	Francis	Dentist	Duncan Terrace Islington	5	D			
1860	King	William	Gentleman	Duncan Terrace Islington 2	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD6	A6C6
1864	Keyes	James	Gentleman	Clipstone St. Marylebone 4	20	D	AsBsCs		
1873	Killick	John	Joiner	Ridinghouse Lane 3	5	D			
1951	King	Henry	Watch-maker	Upper East Smithfields	20	D	AsBsCsD6		
1963	King	John	Architect	Upper Thornough St. 8	5	D			
1981	Kitcat	George	Book-binder	Bartletts Buildings 22	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C24Ds	AsBs
2005	King	Samuel	Woollen-draper	St Pauls Church Yard 25	6		A B6		
2017	Ker	William	Cabinet-maker	Brook St. New Rd 26	8.6		A		
2088	Kench	Thomas	Hatter	Threadneedle St. 54	6		A		
2093	King	Alfred	Clerk	Lyons Inn 4	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6	
2097	Kennedy	Gilbert	Cabinet-maker	Wells St. Oxford St. 19	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6	
2154	Keith	William	Clerk	Margaret St. Cavendish Sq. 9	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2186	Keam	John	Painter	Portland St. St James's Westminster 11	8.6		A		
2363	Kelly	Peter	Weaver	Denmark Court Strand 19	8.6		B		
2496	Kimpton	Robert		Javin Crescent 3	8.6		C D6		
2690	Kilpin	James		Waterloo Rd 15	8.6		C D6		
2812	Knight	James	Woollen-draper	Holborn Hill 92	8.6		D		
2839	Key	David	Baker	Cold Bath Sq. 6	8.6		D	A6	
2874	Kleneken-burgh	Henry	Gentleman	City Terrace City Rd 8	8.6		D	A6	
2965	Kirby	George G.		Church Yard Court Temple	8.6		D		
3002	Killip	William	Shoe-maker	Ogle St. 30	8.6		D		
3049	Kingsford	William		Windsor Terrace Dover Rd 11	8.6		D		
3075	Kent	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Charles St. Middlesex Hospital 23	8.6		D		
4039	Kedie	William	Tin-plate-worker	Bloomsbury court 5	8.6			A	
4108	King	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Thornhaugh St. Bedford Sq. 50	8.6			A	
4109	King	John	Carver	Thornhaugh St. Bedford Sq. 50	8.6			A	
4157	Kendall	John	Stationer	Myddleton Sq. Clerkenwell	8.6			A	
4188	Knock	John	Book-binder	Well St. Cripplegate 8	12			A BsC6	
4196	Kirkham	Benjamin	Clerk	Southampton Buildings 17	12			A BsC12Ds	
4228	Kennell	John P.		Percy St. Bedford sq. 29	27			A BsCsDs	
4275	King	John	Tin-man	Snow Hill	12			A Bs	
4283	King	Thomas	Watch-maker	Minories 130	8.6			B	
4332	King	James	Plumber etc	Rupert St. 50	15			B Cs	
4415	Knight	Charles	Gentleman	Holborn Hill 92	12			B CsD6	
4472	Knight	John	Carpenter	New Bridge St. Vauxhall	8.6			C D6	A6
4473	Knight	James	Carpenter	New Bridge St. Vauxhall	8.6			C D6	
4493	King	William	Gentleman	Edwards St. Hampstead Rd 6	8.6			C	
4588	Kennedy	Robert	Millwright	Brick Lane Spitalfields 59 ½	8.6			C	
4616	Knight	William		Charlton Place Islington 1	12			C Ds	
4640	Knight	James		Strand 346	12			C Ds	
4676	Keefe	James		Essex Court Temple 4	8.6			D	
4730	Kemp	Henry C.	Trunk-maker	Queens Row Pentonville 3	8.6			D	A6B6
4752	Kewley	James	Surveyor of W. L. Water Works	Norfolk St. Commercial Rd 12	8.6			D	
4759	Kingsnorth	George	Brass-finisher	Smith St. Northampton Sq. 31	8.6			D	
4808	Keymer	Edward	Clerk	Strand 108	8.6			D	A6

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
4809	Kent	Benjamin		Mason St. Kent St. 20	8.6			D	
4817	Kent	H. B.	Engineer	Ranelagh St. Pimlico 18	8.6			D	A6
4827	Knight	Robert	Frame-maker	Orange St. Red Lion Sq. 12	8.6			D	A6
4903	Kentish	F. A.	Clerk	Ludgate Hill 4	8.6			D	
4948	Kaye	Joseph	Clerk	Cursitor St. 29	8.6				A
5044	Kenzie	Robert Moseley		Union Court Holborn Hill 14	12				A Bs
5058	Kerby	James F.		St Johns St. 147	8.6				A B6C6D6
5102	Kinsman	Richard			8.6				B
5166	Kirkman	William	Gentleman	Mile-end Rd	8.6				B C6D6
5368	King	Arthur		Exmouth St. Clerkenwell 2	8.6				C
5474	King	George	Clerk	Chancery Lane 25	8.6				D
5539	King	Samuel		Chancery Lane 25	8.6				D
5545	Knight	William		Wigmore St. Cavendish Sq. 67	8.6				D
5553	Keen	James C.	Boot-maker	Lisle St. Leicester Sq. 26	8.6				D
5609	King	Thomas	Draftsman	Gate St. Lincolns Inn Fields 17	8.6				D
5618	Kollie	M.		Smiths Row New Rd 11	8.6				D
5634	Knight	William	Plasterer	Plumber St. Bloomsbury 20	12				D 1830As
5690	Knight	William	Builder	Great Suffolk St. Borough	12				D
36	Lewis	William	Carpenter	Daggetts Court 4	5	D			
75	Law	William	Ribbon-dresser	Monkwell St. 10	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
80	Luckin	George	Boot-maker	Queens Sq. Bartholomew Close 5	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
81	Lyne	George Henry	Engineer	John St. Blackfriars 42	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
142	Lane	Charles	Clerk	Leonard St. Shoreditch 54	24	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
145	Loop	Thomas	Lapidary	Exmouth St. Spafields 24	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
146	Lee	James	Cabinet-maker	Red Lion Court Charter House Lane 6; 9 Cold Bath Sq.	5	D	A6		
171	Latimer	Thomas	Printer		10	D	As		
427	Lucas	Samuel	Clerk	Ossulton St. Somers Town 66	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
429	Lance	Frederick William	Carpenter	Cumberland St. Middlesex Hospital 20; 250 Tottenham Court Rd	5	D	A6B6C6		
441	Lorimier	Anthony	Book-binder	Charles St. Hatton Garden 22	5	D	A6B6		
463	List	William Walpole	Clerk	Friday St. 38	5	D	A6B6c6		
485	Little	Walter	Sugar-broker	Old Broad St. 77	6	Ds	AsBsC6		
521	Langston	John	Printer	Gloucester St. St Johns St. Rd 3	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6c6D6	A6B6C6D6
928	Ledger	Henry	Silversmith	Banner Sq.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
595	Lewis	James	Cabinet-maker	Coppice Row Clerkenwell 21	6		A		
1031	Lane	William	Iron-monger	Batemans Buildings	5	D	A6		
639	Lee	Jesse	Clerk	Fleet Market 19	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
666	Llewellin	Morgan	Carpenter	Beak St. St James's 3	5	D	C8.6	A8.6B6C6	
699	Law	John	Gold-beater	Fashion St. Spitalfields	5	D			
701	Linsell	John	Plumber	Princes Place Bedford Row 10	5	D	A6B6C6d6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
736	Lepard	J.	Statuary	Princes St. Rotherhithe 25	5	D	A6		
1118	Lehair	Abraham		Richard St. Islington 20	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1231	Liddle	Alexander	Musical-instrument-maker	New Compton St. Soho 50	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6c6D6	A6B6c6d6
1288	Lowther	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 58	6	Ds	AsBsCsD6		
1298	Lowndes	D. T.	Brush-maker	Knightsbridge	5	D	A6B6		
1318	Love	George	Bookseller	Bunhill Row	5	D	A6		
1324	Lake	J. B.	Clerk	Newgate St.	24	Ds	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
1325	Lethbridge	W. S.	Portrait-painter	Strand 391	5	D	A6		
1433	Laing	Henry	Engraver	Greek St. Soho	5	D			
1434	Leake	George	Seal-maker	Great Pulteney St. Golden Sq. 15	5	D			
1468	Long	Matthew	Cabinet-maker	King St. Soho 3	6		A		
1476	Leddra	Thomas	Clerk	Marchmont Place 15	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6c6D6	A6B6C6D6
1506	Lawson	George	Brass-founder	Charles St. 14	5	D	A6		
1528	Leak	William	Carpenter	Ogle St. 32	5	D	A6B6C6		
1732	Lenz	Godfrey F.	Gentleman	Hatton Garden 5	5	D	A6B6		
1805	Little	James	Gentleman	New St. Brompton 27	5	D			
1837	Lankester	Robert R.	Law-stationer	Quality Court Chancery Lane	5	D			
1842	Lymington	Thomas	Sales-man	Myddleton St. Sadlers Wells 7	5	D	A6		
1843	Lymington	William		Myddleton St. Sadlers Wells 7	5	D	A6		
1856	Lewis	William	Carpenter	New Milman St. Guildford St. 28; 21 Gough St. Grays Inn Lane	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1921	Leahy	David	Law student	Grays Inn	5	D			
1938	Longsdon	Mathew	Hatter	Castle St. Borough 48	5	D	A6		
1989	Lupton		Warehouseman	Hatton Garden	5	D			
1990	Lee	J. H.			5	D			
2002	Low	G. W.	Gentleman	Northampton Terrace City Rd 4	6		A		
2051	Lines	William		Pinners Hall Court Old B <sup>d</sup> Court	5		A		
2065	Logan	William	Printer	Gunnels Printing Offices Crown Court Fleet St.	6		A		
2080	Littlehohns	William	Coach-maker	Molineux St. 19	6		A B6		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2096	Lingham	Stephen	Lithographic printer	James St. Camden town 2	8.6	A		
2107	Locke	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Chancery Lane 37; 46 Greek St. Soho	8.6	A B6C6D6	A6B6	
2111	Leroux	William	Surveyor	Hackney	8.6	A		
2119	Long	George	Oilman	North St. Red Lion Sq. 11	8.6	A B6		
2159	Lake	Samuel		Alfred Place	8.6	A B6		
2174	Lucas	Richard	Sculptor	Wardour St. 41	8.6	A		
2237	Lisney	John	Clerk	Hemlock Court Carey St. 1	8.6	B C6D6		
2267	Lemon	Lionel	Gentleman	White Lion St. Spitalfields	27	B CsDs	As	
2268	Lemon	Alfred	Gentleman, son	White Lion St. Spitalfields	266	B CsDs	As	
2299	Lindus	James	Stationer	Bury St. St James's	8.6	B C6D6	A6B6C6	
2301	Lack	William	Road-surveyor	Earl St. Blackfriars Rd 1	8.6	B		
2307	Lickorish	Joseph	Carpenter	Tabernacle Walk Finsbury 61	8.6	B C6		
2319	Lewis	Michael		Fenchurch St. 103	8.6	B		
2336	Laslett	Thomas	Tailor	Riding House Lane 28	8.6	B CsDs	As	
2377	Lindsay	thomas	Professor of Music	High Holborn	8.6	B		
2414	Leitch	William		Noble St. Forster Lane 3	8.6	B		
2489	Lissant	Benjamin	Lock-smith	Pump Court Long Lane Borough 3	8.6	C		
2528	Leslie	John	Cabinet-maker	Berwick St. Oxford St. 58	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6	
2549	Linton	John	Tailor	Macclesfield St. Soho 10	8.6	C		
2629	Lawrence	Eli	Woollen-draper	Aldgate 15	8.6	C		
2643	Lacy	Charles	Coal merchant	Great Scotland Yard	8.6	C D6		
2650	Langley	Thomas	Gentleman	Frederick Place Old Jury	8.6	C		
2668	Lloyd	Richard	Tailor	Winsley St. Oxford St. 3	8.6	C		
2672	Lett	Stephen	Warehouseman	Regent St. 143	8.6	C		
2692	Lyon	John	Pianoforte-maker	Nassau St. Fitzroy Sq. 22	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	
2712	Lardner	Dr.			27	C Ds	AsBs	
2753	Lander	John	Upholsterer	Fleet St. 9	8.6	C D6		
2763	Layton	Charles	Bookseller	Fleet St. 21	8.6	C D6	A6	
2788	Long	George	Gentleman	Pentonville	8.6	C		
2832	Leith	James	Carver and gilder	Upper Thornhaugh St. 37	8.6	D		
2840	Lazenby	William	Tailor	Bunhill Row 42	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	
2849	Latimer	William	Carpenter	Wych St. Strand	8.6	D	A6	
2862	Lindrum	John	Smith	Castle St. Oxford St. 58	8.6	D		
2869	Lloyd	Richard	Stationer	Charles St. Hatton Garden 16	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6
2875	Lacey	G.	Turner	Harrison st. Grays Inn Lane 1	8.6	D		
2898	Lowndes	D.T.	Brush manufacturer	High Row Knightsbridge	8.6	D		
2920	Lloyd	William	Hairdresser	Finch Lane 20	8.6	D		
2927	Law	Edward	Carpenter	Monkwell St. 10	8.6	D		
3005	Lingard	John	Gentleman	Penton Place Pentonville 31	27	D	AsBsCs	
3015	Lucus	R. C.		Wardour St. 41	8.6	D	A6	
3044	Lambert	Samuel	Carver	Ernest St. Regents Park 38	8.6	D	A6B6C6	
3058	Ladson	William B.	Gilder	Trowbridge Place Westminster Bridge Rd 5?	8.6	D		
3080	Leftwich	William	Confectioner	Fleet St.	27	D	AsBsCs	
3085	Lambshead	Joseph	Carpenter	Henry St. Ernest St. Regents Park 1	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
3098	Lesturgeon	P. J.	Paper-hanger	Cross St. 8	8.6	D	A6	
4003	Lowson	David	Baker	Holborn Bars 144	8.6		A B6	
4038	Lyes	Thomas Jun.	Tailor	Brunswick Sq. 47	8.6		A B6	
4082	Larkin	Robert	Book-binder	Ireland Yard Blackfriars 10	8.6		A	
4101	Loyer	George	Goldsmith	Goswell St. 49	8.6		A B6	
4125	Lown	William	Stationer	Goswell St. 111	8.6		A B6	
4137	Le Keux	John		Penton Place Pentonville 31	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6
4138	Le Keux	Alfred		Penton Place Pentonville 31	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6
4156	Lewis	Edward	Carpenter	Gough St. Grays Inn Lane 21	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6
4186	Lewes	William	Engraver	Rose and Crown Court Foster Lane 2	8.6		A B6	
4201	Luckins	William	Clerk	Pitt St. Prospect Place 51	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6
4210	Lyddy	Thomas		Webber Row Blackfriars Rd 25	8.6		A	
4214	Lloyd	John	Millwright	Gravel Lane Southwark	8.6		A B6C12Ds	
4279	Lewis	Osmund	Clerk	Greville St. Hatton Garden 15	8.6		B C6	
4294	Leach	George	Cabinet-maker	Bow Lane Cheapside 10	8.6		B C6	
4309	Lovell	C.	Copper-plate printer	Skinner St. Spafields 13	8.6		B C6	
4334	Lane	George A.	Tailor	Edward St. Albany Rd 50	8.6		B	
4343	Llewellyn	John		Greenhills Rents Smithfield 13	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4345	Lewis	Thomas	Tin-plate-worker	City Rd 26	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6D6
4346	Luckine	John	Clerk	Pitt St. Prospect Place St Georges 51	8.6		B C6D6	A6
4352	Lovegrove	James	Cabinet-maker	John St. West 4	8.6		B C6D6	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
4357	Law	Edward	Builder	Monkwell St. 10	8.6		B C6D6	AsB12C6D6
4390	Layland	James	Clerk	Duke St. Grosvenor Sq. 22	12		B Cs	
4460	Leith	James	Carver and gilder	Upper Thornhaugh Sq. 37	8.6		C D6	A6
4471	Laxton	William	Surveyor	Holborn Bars 148	27		C Ds	AsBsC6
4534	Le Courteur	G. J.	Stationer	Lad Lane 17	8.6		C	
4545	Laker	William	re-entered		8.6		C	
4549	Lance	G.	Cabinet-maker	Castle St. Oxford St. 39	8.6		C D6	
4574	Lecand	John	Looking glass manufacturer	Great Prescott St. Goodmans Fields 38	8.6		C D6	
4578	Lashman	Francis	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Poultry 37	8.6		C	
4582	Laxton	Henry	Architect	Holborn Bars	8.6		C	
4621	Linstead	Matthew	Clerk	Aldersgate St. 19	8.6		C	
4646	Lynn	Frederick	Upholder	Fleet St. 71	12		C Ds	A6B6C6D6
4654	Lindsell	William	Solicitor	Verulam Buildings 2	12		C Ds	
4714	Lane	Edward	Schoolmaster	Church Terrace St. Pancras Rd 4	8.6		D	A6
4821	Lovejoy	Thomas	Goldsmith etc	Princes St. Commercial Rd 19	8.6		D	
4848	Ledger	Henry	Silversmith	Banner Sq. 24	8.6		D	A6B6C6d6
4868	Lavers	W. G.	Builder	Percival St. Clerkenwell 28	8.6		D	
4880	Lane	Thomas	Architect	Larkhall Clapham	12		D	AsB6C6D6
4881	Lane	James		Larkhall Clapham	12		D	As
4959	Lethbridge	Charles	Cabinet-maker	John St. Golden Sq. 2	8.6			A B6
4972	Lake	William	Poulterer	Leadenhall Market	8.6			A
4989	Lethbridge	W. S.	Gentleman	Strand 391	8.6			A B6C6D6
4992	Lyon	Isaac	Tailor	Charlotte St. Fitzroy Sq. 3	8.6			A B6
5015	Lithgow	Frederick	Plumber	Great Charles St. City Rd 58	8.6			A B6C6
5020	Llewellyn	Howell		Cow St. West Smithfield 29	8.6			A B6C6D6
5053	Louch	William	Gentleman	Clement Inn 18	27			A BsCsDs
5067	Lyon	Joseph		Penton Place Pentonville 39	12			A Bs
5123	Luck	William	Stationer	Cornhill 20	8.6			B C6
5210	Lambert	Samuel	Carver	Foley St. 39	12			B Cs
5228	Laing	Charles	Wood-engraver	Stamford St. 96	8.6			C D6
		David						
5237	Little	William	Carpenter	London St. Fitzroy Sq. 29	8.6			C D6
5307	Lodge	Robert		Keppell St. Russell Sq.	8.6			C
5336	Le Cappelain	John	Clerk	Ogle St. Portland Place 6	8.6			C D6
5350	Laing	G.		City Rd	8.6			C D6
5390	Latimer	Isaac	Compositor	Lees Buildings Chancery Lane 1	8.6?			D
5407	Lindley	Joseph	Gentleman	Walworth	8.6			C
5416	Lingham	William	Clerk	Pratt St. Camden Town 3	8.6			C D6
5419	Lawrence	Charles	Clerk	Provost St. Hoxton 77	8.6			C D6
5446	Livesay	Thomas	Clerk	Gas Works Brick Lane	12			C Ds
5452	Lash	James		Old Sq. Lincolns Inn 16	12			C Ds
5538	Lowe	John	Clicker	Sycamore St. Old St. 2	8.6			D
5544	Lewis	Henry	Jeweller	Kerby St. Hatton Garden 29	8.6			D
5556	Langham	Thomas	Butcher	Bentick St.	8.6			D
5562	Lowe	William	Tailor	White Lion St. Cornhill 2	8.6			D
5563	Longsdon	Alfred	Clerk	Castle St. Borough	8.6			D
5612	Liston	Henry	Solicitor's clerk	Grays Inn 5	8.6			D
5643	Ledger	William	Silversmith	Hosier Lane	12			D
5645	Landzelle	William C.		Grosvenor St. 22	12			D
5780	Livick	Henry	Tin-plate-worker	King St. Borough 48	12			D
5697	Lumley	Benjamin	Clerk	Bells Buildings Salisbury Sq.	12			D
3	Martineau	John	Engineer	City Rd	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24 AsBsCsD24
4	Millington	John	Professor of Natural Philosophy	Bloomsbury Sq. 36	68	Ds	AsBsCsDs	AsBs68Ds AsBsCs
5	McWilliam	Robert	Architect	Torrington Sq. 12	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24' AsBsCs
35	Maguire	James	Engineer	Wells St. Oxford St. 14	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
82	Mills	George	Stove-maker	High St. Marylebone 15; 3 Little Briton St. Bond St.	10	D	AsB12CsD12	AsBsCsD24 AsBsC12
83	Mason	James	Printer	Exmouth St. Spafields 3	5	D	A6B6C6	
84	Morland	W. K.	Surveyor	Dempsey St. Commercial Rd 43	5	D		
128	Matthews	Richard	Stationer	High Holborn 38	20	D	ASBsCs	
136	Mountain	John	Carpenter	Exmouth St. Spafields 44	5	D	A6	
147	Marshall	Thomas	Carver and guilder	Edgware Rd 63	5	D		
172	Markham	James	Printer	Clements Inn Passage 14	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6 B6
197	Marshall	J. H.	Land surveyor		20	D	B6	
213	Miller	James Jun.	Painter and Glazier	Sheppard St. Oxford St.	5	D	A24BsCsDs	
264	Mason	Matthew	Printer	Frances St. Golden Sq. 3	5	D		D8.6
273	Macduff	John	Turner	Bedford St. Bedford Row 6	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6 A6B6C6D6
282	McLean	Alexander	Cabinet-maker	Poland St. 45	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6 A6D8.6

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
302	Morley	George	Carpenter	Richmond St. Lambeth 35	5	D	A6B6		
310	McDonald	Andrew	Carpenter	Berwick St. Soho 54	5	D			
314	Manley	John	Carpenter	Tabernacle Walk 61	24		A BsCsDs	AsB24CsDs	A24BsCsDs
327	Meeson	Alfred	Carpenter	Church Court Clements Lane 2	5	D	A6		
335	Mundin	John	Brass-founder	Bowling Green Lane Clerkenwell 32	5	D	A6		
351	Morgan	Thomas	Dairy-man	Henry St. Doughty St. 14	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
348	Morton	William	Carpenter	illegible (written over)	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
375	Morison	Alexander	Gentleman	Dukes Row Tavistock Sq. 5	24		A BsCsDs	A24BsCsDs	A24BsCsDs
378	Miller	James	Carpenter	John St. Tottenham Court Rd 94	5	D			
379	Mannin	William	Clerk	Drury Lane 153	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
385	May	Harry	Musical- instrument- maker	Holborn Bars 11	10	Ds	A10B6C6D6	A6B6	
423	Mullett	John	Gentleman	Museum St.	5	D	A6		
448	Mills	Thomas	Plumber etc	Museum St. 40	5	D			
522	Myers	Richard	Gentleman	Wapping St. 32	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
545	Munro	George	Painter	Grosvenor Market 29: Duke St. Manchester Sq.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
563	Morris	John	Painter	Mount St. Grosvenor Sq. 99	12	Ds	A12BsC12Ds	A12BsC12D s	A12BsC12 Ds
571	Muddock	James	Gentleman	Craven St. Hoxton	10	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6C6	A6B6
593	Mitan	Samuel	Engraver	Polygon Somers Town 2	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
644	Merrick	Henry	Cabinet-maker	St Johns Sq.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
668	Mackenzie	John	Goldsmith	Marys Place Somers Town 14	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
669	Martin	Joseph	Carpenter	Drummond St. Somers Town 8	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
680	Mountain	James	Cabinet-maker	Douglass St. Westminster 33	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
682	Morrison	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Leigh St. Red Lion Sq. 9; 12 Seymour St. Easton Sq. ?	5	D	A6B6		
776	Murdock	James	Vinegar-maker	Barret Grove Stoke Newington 6; 4 Vittoria Place Mile End Rd	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
768	Muston	George	Watch-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 18	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
885	Morgan	Charles	Stationer	Bell Savage Yard 9	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
888	Moore	John	Private teacher	Dowgate Hill	5	D			
891	Magnus	James	Joiner	Harrison Sq. Grays Inn Lane 4	5	D	A6B6		
975	May	Thomas	Artist	Strand 161	5	D			
998	McFaden	William	Upholsterer	Carburton St. Fitzroy Sq. 21	5	D	A6B6		
1042	Mitchell	David	Mason	Creed Lane St. Pauls 2	5	D			
1101	Meck	George	Pianoforte- maker	Queen St. Soho 8	5	D			
1186	Mullins	John	Tin food manufacturer	Union Buildings Leather Lane 8	24	Ds	AsV24Cs	AsB6	
1190	Morris	Luke William	Clerk	Goswell St. Rd 3	5	D			
1236	Murgatroyd	Samuel	Bookseller	Cromer St. Brunswick Sq. 31	5	D			
1238	Meck	Charles	Coach-maker	Great New St. Fetter Lane 25	5	D			
1301	Murray	William	Pianoforte- maker	Howland St. 5	5	D	A6		
1332	Miller	William	Painter	Grosvenor Market 19	5	D			
1342	Martin	Thomas	Surgical- instrument- maker	Aldermanbury 55	5	D	A6		
1428	Murray	James	Builder	Castle St. Oxford St. 36	5	D			
1454	Mason	Richard	Whip-maker	Wild St. 12	5	D			
1455	Mathewman	Benjamin	Plumber	Jermyn St. 126	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B12Cs	
1469	Meller	William	Jeweller	Oxford St. 342	5	D			
1494	Morley	Edward		Charles St. Hampstead 8	5	D	A6B6		
1631	Mills	Robert	Gentleman	Chancery Lane 109	5	D			
1676	Meredith	Thomas	Grocer	Paul St. Finsbury	5	D			
1685	McPherson	Robert		Lombard St. 76	20	D	AsBsCs		
1692	Matthews	Charles	Plumber	new St. Clothfair 12	5	D			
1696	Mason	A. J.	Wood-engraver	Spencer St. 23	5	D	A5B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	AsB12C6
1713	Middleton	James	Clock-maker	Little Guilford St. 17	5	D	A6		
1753	McDougal	Thomas	Warehouseman	Old Change 39	5	D			
1758	Mackay	James	Watch-maker	White Rose Court Coleman St.	5	D			
1774	Mills	T.	Carpenter	Little Coram St. 9	5	D			
1783	Mason	William	Schoolmaster	Upper Lisson St. 14	5	D			
1789	Middleton	Robert	engineer	Stoney Lane Tooley St. 5	5	D			
1796	Mottram	George	Draper	Lambs Conduit St.	5	D			
1801	Mears	William	Brush-maker	Fetter Lane 76	5	D	A6		
1802	Mason	Charles	Accountant	Great Newport St. 3	5	D	A6		
1835	Muddock	George			10	D	A6B6C6		
1852	Maitland	Robert Jun.	Musical- instrument- maker	Cleveland St. Fitzroy Sq. 35	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1853	Mould	John A.	Surgeon	John St. Oxford St. 5	5	D			
1858	Miller	George M.	Painter	Gower Place Euston Sq. 47	20	D	AsBsCs		
1863	Martin	William	Plasterer	Drummond Crescent Somers Town 8	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1905	Morcom	Richard	Carpenter	New Turnstile 11	5	D	A6B6C6D6		



No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
1909	Muston	John H.	Warehouseman	Hatton Garden 81	5	D	A6		
1925	Mence	Haffez	Gentleman	Grove Place North Brixton	20	D	AsBsCsD6		
1931	Miles	George	Silversmith	Carey Lane 7	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
1940	Mills	Daniel	Brass-founder	Wells St. Oxford St.	5	D			
1943	Moore	Henry	Gentleman	Thames St. 100	5	D	C8.6D6		
1949	Martin	George	Agent	Bucklersbury 18	20	D	AsBsCs		
		Alexander							
1956	Millar	John	Book-binder	Angel Court Strand 14	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
1984	Middleton	William	Gentleman	Lambs Conduit St. 47	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1987	Marshall	Edward S.	Bold-beater	Somers Town	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2011	Mill	William	Cabinet-maker	Gerrard St. Soho 8	8.6	A	B6		
2027	Myers	David	Spirit merchant	Queen St. Cheapside 18	8.6	A			
2070	Murray	John	Compositor	Princes Court Piccadilly	6	A			
2082	Marshall	Charles	Woollen factor	Wood St. Cheapside 27	6	A			
2123	Melanotte	John	Printer	Ossulton St. Somers Town 13	8.6	A	B6C6		
2143	Morton	W. H.	of the Bank of England	Bank of England	8.6	A	B6C6		
2162	May	James	Gentleman	Church Yard Court Temple 1	8.6	A	B6		
2163	May	Thomas Baker	Gentleman	Church Yard Court Temple 1	8.6	A	B6		
2178	Maw	Solomon	Surgical-instrument-maker	Aldermanbury 55	8.6	A			
2184	Martin	William J.	Clerk	Inner Temple Lane 1	8.6	A	B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
2209	Montagu	William	Gentleman	Bedford Sq. 25	8.6	A	B6		
2210	Montagu	Charles	Gentleman	Bedford Sq. 25	8.6	A			
2216	Montagu	Algernon	Gentleman	Bedford Sq. 25	8.6	A	B6		
2228	Moore	William	Ivory-turner	Tysoe St. 8	8.6	A			
2239	Mitchell	George	Carpenter	Duke St. Lincolns Inn Field 43	8.6	B	C6	A6B6C6	
2245	Mossley	Richard	Tailor	Castle St. Holborn 39	8.6	B			
2247	Mordan	S.	Gentleman	Castle St. Finsbury Sq. 22	27	B	CsDs	As	
2282	Martyn	Philip H.	Goldsmith	Wilderness Row Clerkenwell 13	8.6	B			
2296	Melhuish	Samuel	Hatter	Water st. Bridge St. Blackfriars	8.6	B			
2303	Mountain	George	Cabinet-maker	Mount Gardens Lambeth 13	8.6	B	C6		
2309	Moody	Peter	Clerk	Union Stave Wharf Wapping	8.6	B	C6D6	A6B6	
2343	Martin	Henry	Plumber	Green St. Leicester Sq.	8.6	B	C6		
2371	Minto	Thomas	Tailor	Goodwins Court St Martins Lane	8.6	B	C6		
2375	Mitchell	George	Tailor	Charlotte St. Portland Place 70	8.6	B		A8.6B6C6	
2378	Mainwaring	Thomas	Draper	Charing Cross	8.6	B	C6		
2384	Morton	Edward	Plumber etc	Little New St. Shoe Lane 7	8.6	C			
2385	Maryman	Robert	Law-stationer	Lambeth	8.6	C			
2393	Merrall	Edwin	Leghorn-presser	Garden Row London Rd 32	8.6	C	D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2415	May	Thomas Henry	Baker	Little Britain 27	8.6	B	C6		
2420	Murgatroyd	Samuel	Stationer	Cromer St. Brunswick Sq. 31	8.6	C			
2432	Merritt	Henry S.	Surveyor	Cold Bath Sq. 20	8.6	C	D6	A6B12Ds	A6B6C6
2464	Martin	John	Clerk	Royal Exchange 91	8.6	C	D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2465	Mollett	Robert	Confectioner	Picket St. 16	8.6	C	D6	A6B6	
2466	Martin	Charles	Gold and silver caster	Spans Buildings Somers Town	8.6	C			
2467	Martin	Robert	Gold and silver caster	Prospect Place Hackney	8.6	C			
2470	McIntyre	James	Silversmith	Ryley St. Cromer St. 3	8.6	C	D6	A6	
2476	Marshall	W. P.	Book-binder	Seymour St. Euston Sq. 111	8.6	C	D6	A6	
2555	Mitchell	James	Cabinet-maker	Park St. Regents Park 22	8.6	C			
2559	Mares	Henry		Ranelagh St. Pimlico 12	8.6	C	D6		
2601	Mumford	Thomas	Carpenter	Earl St. Lisson Grove	8.6	C	D6		
2602	Miller	John	Plasterer	Duke St. Lincolns Inn Fields 8	8.6	C	D6	A6B6	
2605	Milne	John	Baker	Borough Market	27	C	Ds	AsBsC12Ds	A12Bs
2606	Mills	Thomas	Draper	St Thomas's St. Borough 15	8.6	C	D6	A6	
2612	Munro	Charles		Belgrave Place Pimlico 6	8.6	C	D6		
2614	Meves	George	Gentleman	Portugal St. 20; 128 Long Acre on being re-entered	8.6	C		A8.6B6C6D	A6B6C6D6
2631	Moncare	Francis	Clerk	Wormwood St. 17	8.6	C			
2634	Mallett	Robert J.	Shoe-maker	Pool St. New North Rd 20	8.6	C			
2641	Mulvey	F.	Gentleman	Tookes Court 17	8.6	C	D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2665	Maher	Thomas	Gentleman	New Sq. Lincolns Inn 1	8.6	C	D6	A6B6C6	
2678	Montagu	Frederick		Bedford Sq.	8.6	C			
2713	Medlicott	Edward	Tallow-chandler	Robert St. Grosvenor Sq.	27	C	Ds	AsBs	
2728	Milward	John	Clerk	Hatton Garden 15	8.6	C	D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2735	Moore	George W.	Engraver	Fountain Place City Rd	8.6	C			
2736	Mason	J. W. W.	Auctioneer	Castle St. Galcon Sq. 19	8.6	C			
2752	Macdonald	William	Ornamental Carver	Ray St. Clerkenwell	8.6	C	D6	A6	
2776	Mewes	Edward		Brewer St. Somers Town 40	8.6	C	D6		
2801	Muckle	Richard	Engineer	Monkwell St. Cripplegate 3	8.6	D		A6B6C6	
2814	Morton	Robert	Millwright	Nelson Place Gravel Lane 6	8.6	D		A6	
2855	Monro	Robert	Auctioneer	Rathbone Place	8.6	D			

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2882	Mander	George	Rule-maker	Crown Court Soho 21	8.6	D	A6B6C12Ds	A12BsC6
3014	Marsden	W. H.	Gentleman	Mark Lane 48	8.6	D		
3018	Melhuish	Samuel	Boot-maker	Lambs Conduit St. 53	8.6	D		
3041	Middleton	Joseph		Middleton St. Clerkenwell	8.6	D		
3043	Merrington	William	Carpenter	New St. Knightsbridge	8.6	D	A6	
3061	Martyr	Charles	Stationer	Bouverie St. Fleet St. 32	8.6	D		
3066	Mares	John	Upholsterer	Parliament St. 52	8.6	D		
3087	Mitchell	John	Jeweller	St Johns St. 15	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	
3095	Mills	Daniel	Brass-founder	Wells St. Oxford St.	8.6	D	A6B6C6	
3099	Muston	J. H.			15	D	As	
4008	Marshall	William	Writing engraver	Bartholomew Terrace St Lukes 28	8.6		A B6C6D6	
4012	Mundy	William P.		Little Ormond Yard 18	8.6		A	
4045	Matland	George		Bennett St. Blackfriars 29	8.6		A	
4048	Matland	Richard		Bennett St. Blackfriars 29	8.6		A	
4055	Moore	Thomas	Carpenter	Theobalds Rd 1	8.6		A	
4059	Moffat	James	Carpenter	Foley St. 49	8.6		A B6C6	
4066	McLeod	John R.	Optician	at Mr Cary's Strand	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6c6D6
4070	Mountain	William	Cabinet-maker	Clarence Market 54	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4071	Minton	William	Linen-draper	Fleet St. 104	8.6		A	
4084	Malpas	Samuel	Surgeon	Brills Row Somers Town 61	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6
4105	Mitchell	P. C.		St Johns Sq. 44	8.6		A	
4127	Murray	John Jun	Clerk	Noel St. Berwick St. 19	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4129	Murray	John	Cabinet-maker	Noel St. Berwick St. 19	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4135	Morrice	William	Saddler	Cannon St. City 16	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4143	Marshall	Edward	Carpenter	Great Windmill St. Hays Rd 32	8.6		A	
4191	Merryweather	Charles	Chemist	Holborn 300	12		A BsC6D6	D8.6
4192	Morice	John	Merchant	St Helens Place	12		A Bs	
4197	Macdonald	George	Machinist	William St. Spafields 10	12		A BsC6	
4199	Meyer	Hoffner		Red Lion Sq. 3	12		A Bs	
4202	Matthews	John	Engraver	Noel St. Soho 5	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6d6
4218	Mackenzie	Henry			15		AsB14.6C6	A6B6C6D6
4226	Mason	Bolton		Bartholomew Close 7	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4229	Middleton	Nicholas	Clerk	Red Lion Court Fleet St. 13	8.6		A	
4252	Mason	Charles	Bookseller	Picket St. Strand 10	8.6		A	
4264	Matthewman	Henry	Plumber etc	Swallow St. St James's 2	12		A BsC6D6	
4268	Melhuish	William	Plumber etc	Grays Inn Lane 113	12		A Bs	
4277	Muir	Malcolm		Pimlico	12		A Bs	
4286	Mason	William	Goldsmith	Middleton Place 6; 2 Whitefriars New Wharf	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6
4314	Mapleston	Charles C.	Joiner	Upper North Place Grays Inn Rd 54	8.6		B C6D6	
4356	McLeod	Colier	Surgical-instrument-maker	Giltspur St. 21	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4360	Matthews	Henry	Upholsterer	Watling St.	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4368	Millar	R. A.		Gower Place Euston Sq. 47	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4395	Murray	John	Gentleman	Church St. Minories 46	12		B Cs	
4402	Miller	Neil	Tin-plate-worker	Union Court Holborn	12		B CsD6	A6B6C6D6
4406	Muddock	George			12		B CsD6	
4433	Mackensie	John	Saddler	Little Bel Alley Cornhill 8	8.6		C	
4449	Mitchell	Alfred	Druggist	Burlington St. 5	8.6		C	
4464	Middleton	William		Lambs Conduit St. 47	8.6		C D6	
4466	Monson	Henry	Carpenter	Great George St. Hampstead Rd 61	15		C Ds	A6B6C6
4467	McDiarmid	William	Printer	New St. Sq. 17	8.6		C	
4475	Miles	Alfred	R.N.	Surry St. Strand 23	8.6		C	
4478	Manning	William	Carpenter	High Holborn 251	8.6		C D6	
4482	Martin	James	Teacher	Great Quebec St. Marylebone 3	8.6		C	
4490	McLelland	James	Carpenter	Carpenter St. Mount St. 3	8.6		C D6	A6
4496	Manning	Robert	Joiner	Orange St. Leicester Sq.	8.6		C	
4503	Mills	Joseph		Red Lion St. Holborn 41	8.6		C D6	
4508	Macardy	John	Smith	Union Row Bagnigge Wells	8.6		C	
4517	Murray	David	Pianoforte maker	Ernest St. Regents Park 45	8.6		C D6	
4523	McCombie	G. I.	Book-binder	Grafton St. Soho 2	8.6		C	
4526	Mills	James	Watch-maker	St Johns St. Rd	8.6		C D6	
4541	Miller	John	Carpenter	York Buildings Somers Town	8.6		C D6	
4617	Mitchell	E. R.	Carver	Tabernacle Row City Rd 11	12		C Ds	A6B6C6D6
4620	Marchant	Isaac	Carpenter	Middlesex St. Somers Twon 64	8.6		C D6	
4624	Melville	Alexander	Baker	Shoe Lane 112	12		C Ds	A6
4625	Minhull	G. R.	Accountant	York St. City Rd 58	12		C Ds	
4655	Morris	Richard		Clements Inn Passage	12		C Ds	
4662	Murphy	Bartholomew	Surgeon	Chelsea	27		C Ds	AsBsC6
4663	Marston	Francis	Druggist	Thornhaugh St. 8	12		C Ds	
4664	McNaghten	Peter	Carpenter	Bartholomew Place D' Close 4	12		C Ds	A6 C8.6

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826 1827	1828	1829
4731	Macaire	Gideon P.	Watch-maker	Middleton St. Clerkenwell 25	8.6	D	A6
4755	Murdoch	Michael		Great Surrey St. Blackfriars Rd 2	8.6	D	
4758	Martin	Robert	Carpenter	Upper South St. Sloane Sq. 7	8.6	D	
4773	Meakin	John F.	apprentice to Mr Richards upholsterer	Holborn	8.6	D	
4780	Marshall	George	Gun-lock maker	St. Georges Place Pimlico	8.6	D	A6
4788	Moore	George	Dyer	Lower Sloan St. Chelsea 46	8.6	D	
4812	McFarlane	John	Upholsterer	Marshall St. Carnaby Market 2	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4824	Mackintosh	John			8.6	D	
4826	Murray	John	Cutler	Strand 436	8.6	D	A24BsCsds
4876	McLeland	D.	Carpenter	Norfolk St. Middlesex Hospital 22	8.6	D	A18BsCs
4877	Mansell	A. J.	Cordwainer	Fetter Lane 53	8.6	D	
4892	Moore	Richard	Carver	Chapel Court Soho 16	12	D	As
4896	Mabbott	Joseph James	Cabinet-maker	Fulwoods Rents 18	12	D	As
4910	Mottran	Price	Gentleman	New North St. Red Lion Sq. 33	12	D	As
4914	Meyendorff	Le Baron A De		Regent St. 84	12	D	As
4916	Mitchell	John	Plumber etc	Tottenham Court Rd 32	12	D	AsB6C6
4930	Mackie	Robert	Carpenter	Granby Place New Cut 11	8.6		A
4946	Mason	Robert Thomas		Spencer St. 23	8.6		A
4950	Musgrave	William	Manufacturer	Wellington Terrace Borough	8.6		A
4958	Mather	John	Mason	King St. Golden Sq. 54	8.6		A B6
4963	Moore	Arthur		Queens Sq. Place Westminster 2	27		A BsCsDs
4970	Millar	John	Book-binder	Houghton St. Clare Market? 24	8.6		A
4977	Morris	Thomas	Press-maker	Drury Lane 15	8.6		A
4990	Meek	Henry	Square-maker	Somerset Place Hoxton 3	8.6		A
5002	Mussi?	C.	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Rahere St.	8.6		A B6C6D6
5005	Middleton	Michael		Plumber's Court Holborn 2?	8.6		A
5007	Montgomery	F.A.		Jerusalem Court 1	8.6		A
5014	Montgomery	Edwin		Jerusalem Court 1	8.6		A
5035	Miller	George M.		Blue Anchor Rd Bermondsey	8.6		A B6
5036	March	John	Engineer	Benjamin St. Clerkenwell 7	8.6		A
5064	Maxwell	Alexander	Law-stationer	Bell Yard 32	12		A BsC6D6
5069	Munsey	John	Carpenter	Chatton St. Somers Town 71	12		A Bs
5095	Millar	William	Engineer	North St. Lambeth 60	8.6		B
5133	McIntyre	Thomas	Silversmith	Rahere St. Goswell Rd 25	12		B Cs
5152	Muller	Stephen		Walworth Place 3	8.6		B C6D6
5173	Mercer	George	Carpenter	Trinity Place Borough	8.6		B C6D6
5193	Murray	James	Printer	George Sq. Hoxton 17	8.6		B C6D6
5196	Mackenzie		Examiners Office	East India House	8.6		B
5204	McQuige	Thomas		Judd St. Brunswick Sq. 71	12		B Cs
5205	Millbank	R. S.		Judd St. Brunswick Sq. 71	12		B Cs
5211	Murgatroyd	Samuel		Cooke's Row St Pancras 4	12		B Cs
5213	Moore	James	Bookseller	Wilderness Row 23	12		B Cs
5218	Molineux	Joseph	Printer	Rolls Buildings 13	12		B CsD6
5225	Mollison	James	Engraver	Southampton Place Euston Sq. 19	8.6		C D6
5226	Mills	William	Jeweller	Brunswick St. Stamford St. 25	8.6		C D6
5242	Martin	John	Cabinet-maker	Southampton Row 45	8.6		C D6
5251	McNicoll	David	Printer	Canterbury Place Lambeth 16	8.6		C
5270	Mercer	Mark	Carpenter	Trinity St. Borough 4	8.6		C D6
5284	Macdonald	John	Chemist	Temple St. Whitefriars 15	8.6		C D6
5295	Male	Samuel	Law-stationer	Grays Inn Lane	8.6		C D6
5326	Millington	George	Clerk	Bartholomew Place Kingsland	8.6		C
5341	Murdock	Adam	Bakes	Castle St. Borough 26	8.6		C D6
5349	McEvoy	William	Mason	Great Portland St. 57	8.6		C
5356	McMahon	John		Worship St. Finsbury 7	8.6		C
5366	Metcalfe	Francis D.		Henry St. Pentonville 29	12		C Ds
5369	Mathewman	Henry		Swallow St. 13	12		C Ds
5376	Melhuish	Charles		Wake St. William St. Blackfriars Rd 10	12		C Ds
5389	Moore	Lewis	Boot-maker	Swallow St. 2	8.6		D
5395	Mathews	Charles	Printer	Newton St. Holborn 24	8.6		D
5435	Mathes	William	Mason	Redgate Court Minories 3	12		C Ds
5441	Mathewman	Benjamin		Swallow St. 13	12		C Ds
5453	Mitchell	J. G.	Tailor	East St. Red Lion Sq. 2	12		C Ds
5456	Moncur	Richard	Clerk	Castle St. Leicester Sq. 24	12		C Ds
5466	Mitchell	Robert	Printer	Rolls Buildings 13	8.6		D
5472	Mowatt	James Charles	Draftsman	Cromer St. 13	8.6		D
5480	Mickelburgh	G.	Clerk	Old Swan Stairs	8.6		D

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
5491	Molineux	Henry	Chronometer-maker	Devonshire St. Queen Sq. 44	8.6				D
5492	Molineux	Robert Jun.	Chronometer-maker	Devonshire St. Queen Sq. 44	8.6				D
5576	Maclairin	John		St Johns St. Rd 102	8.6				D
5560	McSevyny	Eugene	Printer	Tookes Court Carey St. 1	8.6				D
5570	Martin	T.	Surgical-instrument-maker	John St. Commercial Rd 47	8.6				D
5572	Marchette	W.	Stationer	Bridge Row Walbrook 16	8.6				D
5587	Mathiss	William	Printer	Fleet St. 85	8.6				D
5591	Mercer	George	Guilder	George Row St Lukes 7	8.6				D
5624	Milestone	James		Southampton Buildings 24	8.6				D
5630	Moss	J. M.	Hardwareman	Cheapside	12				D
5662	Marshall	W. P.	Book-binder	Lambs Conduit St. 41	8.6				D
5668	Mackie	William	Surveyor	Charlotte St. Blackfriars Rd 2	8.6				D
34	Norwood	William	Jeweller	Old North st. Red Lion Sq. 3	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
57	Nichols	John	Printer	Margaret St. Spaffields 12	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
110	Nash	Eliezer	Jeweller	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell	20	D	AsBsCs		
143	Nash	Joseph	Oil and colourman	Fetter Lane 54	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
239	Norris	Charles	Weaver	City Rd 35	5	D			
1910	Nichols	Thomas	Clerk	John St. Islington 5	5	D			
247	Nanson	Thomas	Painter	Bath buildings City Rd 1	5	D	A6B6C6		
303	Nichols	Richard	Warehouseman	Maiden Lane Wood St. 12	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
315	Nichols	William S.		Maiden Lane Wood St. 12	5	D	A6B6		
343	Nicholson	George	Clerk	Park St. Islington 46	5	D			
346	Nicholson	W. W.	Iron-monger	Union St. Borough 189	5	D	A6B6C6	A6B6	
390	Nichols	Richard S.		Maiden Lane Cheapside 12	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
4580	Norton	William	Barometer-maker	Cross St. Hatton Garden 6	8.6			C D6	
424	Newton	John	Cork-cutter	St Johns St. 50	5	D	A6B6C6		
1871	Nelson	William	Vintner	Butcher Hall Lane 20	5	D			
1922	Nettleton	Thomas		Fleet Market	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
1927	Nicholls	John	Carver	Dudley Court Silver St. Wood...? 4	5	D			
2053	Nicholson	Peter	Architect	Sidmouth St. 31	24		A BsCsDs		
2114	Neave	George	Hatter	Haddington Sq. Camberwell	8.6		A		
2136	Neave	Thomas		St Mary at Hill	8.6		A B6		
2153	Nicholson	I. G.	Clerk	Watling St. 7	8.6		A B6C6		
2214	Noble	William	Mariner	Bartletts Buildings	27		A BsCsDs		
2215	Newberry	William	Engraver	Quality Court 7	27		A BsCsDs		
1280	Nott	James H.	Painter	Parish St. Horsleydown	5	D	A6		
1345	Neeves	William	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Great St Andrews St. 16	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1595	Nott	John	Brewer	Cold Bath Sq.	5	D			
1622	Nichols	Samuel	Clerk	Wellington St. Camden Town 15	5	D	A5B6C6D6		
1736	Nowell	William	Brush-maker	Bunhill Row	5	D	A6		
1790	Nichol	Henry	Accountant	Queen St. Cheapside 88	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
1818	Noad	John	Clerk	Charles St. Hatton Garden 3	5	D			
2260	Negus	Richard	Clerk		8.6		B C6	D 8.6	A6B6C6D6
2314	Nash	Samuel	Gentleman	Grays Inn Lane 90	8.6		B		
2331	Nicholas	William	Clerk	Brunswick Place City Rd 34	8.6		B		
2446	Nock	David	Goldsmith	Seymour Row Seymour St. 7	8.6		C D6	A6	
2554	Newcomb	George	Printer	Hanway St.	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
2586	Nunez	Joseph	Gentleman	Charles St. Somers Town 13	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6^
2598	Newman	Thomas	Brush-maker	Bethel Place Camberwell	27		C Ds	AsBs	
2683	Nicol	Frederick	Printer	Great Newport St. 3	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
2815	Nicholas	Alexander	Clerk	Gloucester St. Hoxton 18	8.6		D		
2872	Neal	George	Printer	Fleet Lane Fleet Market 7	8.6		D	A6B6C6	
2940	Nories	Benjamin	Furrier	New Southwark Bridge Rd	8.6		D		
2962	Nettleship	W. J.	Clerk	Claremont Sq. 39	8.6		D		
3052	Nash	Thomas	Watch-maker	Whisken St. Clerkenwell 13	8.6		D	A6	
4029	Norton	John	Philosophical-instrument-maker	leather Lane 10	8.6			A B6C6D6	
4040	Nolan	James	Gentleman	Thayer St. Manchester Sq. 6	8.6			A	
4619	Nail	Samuel	Gentleman	Dulwich Surry	12			C Ds	A6B6
4142	Nelson	William		Butcher Hall Lane 22	8.6			A B6C6D6	A6
4218	Nott	Charles		Beauford House Strand	8.6			A	
4254	Needham	Robert	Printer	Pitfield St. Hoxton 30	12			A BsC12Ds	A6B6C6D6
4425	Nott	James H.			8.6			C D6	A6B6
4635	Noah	H. C.	Tailor	Jermyn St. 74	12			C Ds	
4650	Nutting	William	Clerk	Fleet St. 136	12			C Ds	
4718	Neirn	James	Painter	Albany St. Regents Park	8.6			D	
4767	Nisbet	James	Gentleman	Wigmore St. 39	8.6			D	A6B24CsD

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No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
4841	Napier	Robert	Millwright	Nelson Place Gravel Lane Borough 5	8.6			D	A6
4854	Nott	Thomas W.	Chemist	Mason St. Waterloo Rd 7	8.6			D	
4861	Nicholson	George	Clerk	Basinghall St. 31	8.6			D	
4862	Newbury	George	Artist	Buckingham Place Fitzroy Sq. 24	8.6			D	
4869	Nicholson	W. W.		Castle St. Bloomsbury 7	8.6			D	
4935	Newton	James	Clerk	Boswell Court 1	8.6				A B6C6D6
4975	Norton	Richard		Cooks Ground Chelsea 1	8.6				A
4985	Newbury	Frederick	Painted baize manufacturer	Upper Marylebone St. 54	8.6				A
5040	Newman	W. H.	Copper-plate printer	King St. Soho 64	12				A BsC6
5057	Noden	George	Hearth rug manufacturer	Baldwins Gardens 41	8.6				A B6C6D6
5086	Nutt	Thomas	Painter decorative painter	London Wall 101	8.6				B C6D6
5171	Newman	William	Carpenter	Fullwood Rents 13	8.6				B C6D6
5207	Newman	James	Schoolmaster	Providence Row Finsbury 27	12				B Cs
5249	Nicoll	Thomas	Gilder	Upper Tottenham Place Tottenham Court Rd 1	8.6				C D6
5261	Nicol	James	Millwright	Woburn Court Bloomsbury 2	8.6				C D6
5334	Nicoll	Thomas		Dove Court Lombard St. 7	8.6				C
5412	Norrington	Michael	Scale-maker re-entered	South St. Finsbury 10	8.6				C D6
5465	Nairn	Joseph			8.6				D
5538	Nash	William R.	Scotch warehouseman	Wood St. Cheapside 122	8.6				D
5565	Norris	J.	Stationer	Upper Thames St. 62	8.6				D
5585	Nightingale	James	Smith	Charles St. Hatton Garden 39	8.6				D
5592	Nethercliffe	John B.	Gentleman	Great Knightrider St. 5	8.6				D
5669	Noden	Stephen	Hearth-key manufacturer	Baldwins Gardens 41	8.6				D
5619	Norris	James	Cabinet-maker	Banner St. St Lukes 33	12				D
87	Otley	Edward	Tavern-keeper	Crown and Anchor Strand	20	D	AsBsCs		
434	Oades	Joseph	Clerk	Edward St. Blackfriars Rd 31	5	D	A11Bs		
927	Oldren	Benjamin	Tailor	Pulteney St. 16	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
1497	Oliver	Isaac	Ornamental painter	John St. Fitzroy Sq. 52	5	D			
1683	Osborne	Henry	Carpenter	Long Acre 33	5	D	AsB12C6D6		
1697	Owen	Henry	Clerk	Jermyn St. St James's 34	5	D			
2141	Orpwood	Thomas	Gentleman	Long Acre 109	8.6		A		
2151	Oakey	Andrew W.			8.6		A		
2863	Oliver	William	Glazier	King St. Holborn 26	8.6		D	A6B6	
2948	Owen	Robert	Painter	Fountain Court Strand 10	8.6		D	A6	B8.6 D8.6
2998	Otto	Bernard	Tailor	Goodwin Court St Martins Lane 8	8.6		D	A6BsC12	
3083	Ottley	Henry	Student	Devonshire St. 31	8.6		D	A6	
4207	Oger	Lewis		Charlton St. 54	8.6			A	
4339	O'Connor	Jeremiah	Printer	Blackmoor St. Drury Lane 5	8.6			B C6D6	D8.6
4416	Owen	Charles S.	Articled clerk	Millman St. Bedford Row 10	12			B CsD6	
4483	Oatley	William	Painter	Houndsditch 71	27			C Ds	AsBs
4585	Otton	John	Carver	Chenies St. Gower St. 14	8.6			C D6	A6B6C6D6
4735	Oades	Joseph	Clerk	Great Surry St. Blackfriars Rd 4	8.6			D	
5091	Osborne	Henry	Writer	Clements Inn Passage 10	8.6				B C6D6
5605	Omer	James	Glass-cutter	Pitfield St. Hoxton 12	8.6				D
5633	Omer	Henry	Brass-turner	Pitfield St. Hoxton 12	12				D
5634	Osborn	William	Picture-frame-maker	George Yard Hatton Garden 9	12				D
30	Pearsall	Thomas John		Royal Institution Albermarle St.	6		AsB6C6D6		
31	Poole	Moses	Gentleman	Patent Office	24		C Ds	AsBs	
32	Preston	James M.	Pianoforte-maker	Bayham St. Camden Town 5	5	D	AtB6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
33	Poole	Henry	Mason	Princes St. Westminster 16	20	D	A4BsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
100	Pickering	John	Painter	Bridgewater Gardens Aldersgate St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
124	Place	Francis Jun.	Tailor	Charing Cross 16	20	D	AsBsC4D24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
148	Pritchard	Andrew	Mechanical-draftsman	Picket St. 18	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
202	Place	Frederick		Charing Cross 16	5	D	A6		
209	Pye	William	Turner	Shrewsbury Court White Cross St. 10	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
221	Parsonage	J.	Baker	Cloth fair	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
224	Peacock	Joseph	Cabinet-maker	Grays Inn Lane 18	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
240	Pasquier	William	Carpenter	St Johns St. 120	5	D	A6		
267	Pettit	Charles	Chaser	Devereux Court Strand 18	5	D	A6B6		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
284	Page	James	China-man	Grays Inn Lane 109	5	D	A6BsC12		
316	Price	Philip	Lock-smith	Bell Sq. Moorfields 5; 67 ?Jury Alley Worship St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	A6
318	Pollock	David	Barrister	Lincolns Inn Fields 40	20	D	AsBsCsD25	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs
326	Pridie	Hamden S.	Gun-maker	Cock Court Jewry St. 5	5	D	A6B6		
344	Price	James	Silversmith	Bolt Court Fleet St. 4	5	D	A6B6C6		
376	Perkins	Nathaniel	Engineer	Fleet St. 69	5	D	A6B6		
409	Pearson	Abraham	Clerk	Bunhill Row	5	D			
411	Potbury	Gregory	Upholsterer	Homer St. Pentonville 28; 11 Goswell St.	5	D	A6B6		
412	Peake	John P.	Chemist	Horsleydown	5	D			
413	Pendlebury	John	Die-turner	Hull Market Turnmill St.	5	D	A6		
432	Penberthy	Henry	Cabinet-maker	King St. Clerkenwell 12	5	D			
461	Pickard	William	Clerk	Kingsgate St. Red Lion Sq. 16	5	D	A6		
494	Place	John	Tailor crossed out; Carpenter added	Charing Cross 16	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
548	Pridden	Charles	Tallow-chandler	High St. Borough 77	5	D	A6B6C6		
552	Paterson	William	Coal merchant	Orchard St. Portman Sq. 24	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
553	Palmer	Thomas	Secretary to the London Friendly Society	Hatton Garden	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
574	Phelps	B. Joseph	Stationer	Paternoster Row 27	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
703	Perkins	William	Carpenter	Allen Terrace Islington 1	5	D			
767	Palmer	John	Cutler	Castle St. Leicester Sq. 40	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
839	Plummer	Joseph	Tailor	Ship Yard Temple Bar	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
855	Payne	Joseph	Teacher	Rodney Buildings New Kent Rd 3	5	D	A6B6C6		
892	Pickworth	John	Book-binder	Kerby St. Hatton Garden 42	5	D	A6B6		
921	Paterson	James	Cabinet-maker	New St. Clarke Market 20	5	D	A6		
929	Place	Francis		Charing Cross	24		A BsCSDs	A24BsCsDs	
987	Pullin	Joseph	Scourerer	Little Moorfields 13	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1067	Perkins	John	Tanner	Elizabeth Place Kensington 14	5	D	A6		B8.6
1074	Perrin	George	Clerk	Gough Sq. 2	5	D			
1237	Pratt	James	Painter	Long Lane Smithfield 79	5	D			
1239	Price	Edward	Colour-man	West Smithfield 53	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D^	A^B6C6D6
1243	Pratt	William	Book-binder	Brill Row Somers Town 48	5	D			
1350	Perkins	A. M.	Engineer	Fleet St. 69	5	D			
1351	Procktor	Robert	Clerk	Tottenham Court Rd 93	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1364	Piggott	Peter William	Drawing-instrument-maker	Penton St. Walworth 4	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1420	Partridge	Joseph Samuel	Coal Merchant	Bankside	5	D			
1429	Piercy	Josiah	Silversmith	Cobourg St. Hampstead Rd 16	5	D			
1431	Powell	John	Carpenter		5	D			
1458	Payne	C. B.	Builder	Goulden Terrace White Conduit Fields 13	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1492	Price	E. W.	Umbrella-maker	Strand 221	5	D			
1529	Phillips	Edward	Wheel-wright	Addle Hill	5	D	A6		
1536	Poynter	Robert	Coach-maker	Lambs Conduit St. 57	5	D	A6		
1537	Peck	William	Grainer	Bartholomew Terrace City Rd 2	5	D			
1538	Pilcher	Henry	Gentleman	Furnivals Inn	24		CDs	AsBs	
1596	Parsons	James	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Bull and Mouth St. 22	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
1597	Parsons	William	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Bull and Mouth St. 22	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
1626	Potbury	Alfred	Cabinet-maker	Ridinghouse Lane 32	5	D			
1666	Perry	Thoms Edwin		Catcaton St. 25	5	D			
1722	Pithouse	Stephen	Tallow-chandler	Princes St. Cavendish Sq. 21	5	D	A6		
1723	Potts	M. Le Fleming	Gentleman	Grays Inn Lane	20	D	AsBsCs		
1726	Polkinghume	William	Plumber	Bury St. Bloomsbury 9	5	D			
1750	Page	H. I.	Clerk	Cross Lane St Maryat Hill 10	5	D	A6Bs12		
1768	Payne	William	Wine merchant	Hand Court	5	D			
1770	Poole	James	Philosophical-instrument-maker	Falcon Sq.	5	D			
1786	Potter	Henry	Silversmith	Craven St. Strand 17	20	D	AsBsCs		
1798	Piggott	William Peter	Drawing-instrument-maker	Penton St. Walworth 4	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
1811	Padbury	Richard	Pianoforte-turner	London St. Fitzroy Sq. 57	5	D	A6		
1826	Parr	Samuel	Painter	Bermondsey	5	D	A6		
1861	Page	Samuel	Clerk	Skinner St. 40	5	D	A6B6		
1862	Pitt	William		Aldersgate St. 56	5	D			
1876	Paradise	Benjamin			5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
1878	Perry	Robert	Tailor	Porter St. Soho 1	5	D			
1887	Plaskett	William	Builder	Eagle St. 21	5	D	A6		
1895	Price	William	Gentleman	Pilgrim St.	5	D	A6		
1903	Patten	Joseph	?-maker crossed out; Broker written in	Ashby St. Goswell St.; House Yard 30	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1917	Price	Charles Morgan		Lisle St. Leicester Sq. 48	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
1964	Pike	Charles W.	Gentleman	Angel Court Throgmorton St. 9	5	D			
1971	Panzetta	Joseph	Paper-stainer	Noel St. Soho 12	5	D			
1988	Pitt	Richard Jun.	Metal dealer	Drury Lane 20	5	D			
2057	Pewtner	Joseph	Joiner	St Albion St. Kennington 22	6		A 6B6		
2063	Pell	George Haddon		Kings Rd Camden Town	6		A 6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2104	Pell	John	Carver and gilder	Gloster House Camden House	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
2117	Preston	Charles	Carver	Henry St. Hampstead Rd 8	8.6		A		
2118	Perry	Daniel	Attorney	Grays Inn Lane	8.6		A		
2120	Pouncy	William	Plasterer	Domingo St. Old St. 4	8.6		A		
2122	Purkis	Benjamin	Fruiterer	Wigmore St. Cavendish Sq.	8.6		A B6C6		
2128	Pereira	Jeremiah [Jonathan]	Apothecary	Aldersgate St.	8.6		A C8.6		
2132	Peckover	Richard	Bank of England	Bank of England	8.6		A B6		
2144	Parker	Robert Jun.		Queen St. Cheapside 79	8.6		A		
2152	Pitman	Robert	Warehouseman	Bow Lane Cheapside	8.6		A B6		
2161	Place	Thomas		Charing Cross	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2171	Percy	Thomas	Surveyor	Cleveland St. Fitzroy Sq. 42	27		A BsCSDs	A6B6C6	
2179	Peters	E.	Chemist	Paradise St. Lambeth	27		A BsCsDs	A6B6	
2188	Peers	George	Plumber etc	Duke St. Stamford St.	8.6		A B6C6D6		
2224	Powell	David	Tailor	Brabant Court Water Lane 3	8.6		A B6		
2231	Partridge	Samuel	Coal Merchant	Bankside	15		A Bs		
2242	Penafiel	V. Gonzalez	Physician	Drummond Crescent 8	8.6		B C6		
2250	Pastor	James	Carver	Spring St. Portman Sq. 22	6		B C6B6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2274	Paye	James	Glover	Brunswick St. Blackfriars Rd 57	8.6		B C6		
2315	Potts	Charles	Brush-maker	Hatton Wall 25	8.6		B C6D6	As	
2326	Peirce	Charles		Basinghall St.	27		B CsDs	AsB6C6	
2347	Philmore	William	Farrier	St Pancrass	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2349	Pollard	Andrew		Wharf City Rd 29	8.6		B		
2351	Pile	S.	Gentleman	Hatton Garden 70; 21 Middle Row	8.6		B C6D6		
2374	Plank	Henry	Grocer	Tooley St. 67	8.6		B C6		
2400	Penry	John	late 1049		8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6	
2438	Proctor	Henry	Surgical- instrument- maker	Barton St. Westminster 12	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
2438	Pemberton	Richard	Engraver	Queen St. Islington 31	8.6		C D6	A6	
2459	Parker	Timothy		New Gloucester Place Hoxton Rd 9	8.6		C		
2482	Plumb	Thomas	Gentleman	Old Broad St. 68	8.6		C D6		
2489	Phillips	John	Clerk	Hyde St. Bloomsbury 14	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
2503	Perry	Thomas	Joiner	Spring St. Spafields 4	8.6		C		
2532	Patteson	Thomas	Ivory-turner	Dean Court New Round Court St. 3	8.6		C D6		
2537	Page	William	Cork-cutter	Piccadilly 28	8.6		C D6	A6	
2553	Potts	Robert	Ornamental carver	Little Gower Place 16	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2562	Pitt	Benjamin Edward	Carpenter and joiner	Clerkenwell Green 14	8.6		C D6	A6	
2604	Pulbrook	Anthony	Linen draper	Strand 425	8.6		C D6		
2617	Petherick	James	Plasterer	Newcastle Court Temple Bar 12	8.6		C D6		
2618	Peckston	Thomas S.	Civil Engineer	Grosvenor Terrace Horseferry Rd 66	8.6		C D6	A6BsC12D6	AsB12C6D 6
2619	Pickstone	Thomas S. Jun.		Grosvenor Terrace Horesferry Rd 66	8.6		C D6	A6BsC12D6	AsB12C6D 6
2633	Palmer	John		Jermyn St. 126	8.6		C		
2639	Parken	J. P.	Solicitor	New Boswell Court	8.6		C		
2657	Page	Richard	Watch-maker	Waterloo St. St Lukes	8.6		C		
2659	Pearse	Robert		King St. Seven Dials 44	8.6		C D6		
2710	Perry	John	Surveyor	Spencer St. Northampton Sq. 31	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2719	Pyne	Robert	Joiner	North Place Grays Inn Rd 54	8.6	C		
2725	Partington	Charles	Confectioner	Strand 190	8.6	C		
2747	Perkins	William	Trimming-maker	Curtain Rd 6	8.6	D	A6	
2766	Plumer	John	Clerk	Gloster St. Commercial Rd 45	8.6	C		
2778	Peill	F. W.	Clerk	Bucklersbury 23	8.6	C		
2781	Perks	Francis		Bunhill Row 42	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
2784	Pidding	John	Gentleman	Blackheath	8.6	C D6		
2834	Padley	John	Pianoforte-maker	Fitzroy Place Fitzroy Sq. 3	8.6	D	A6	
2850	Pastorelli	John	Barometer-maker	Cross St. Hatton Garden 5	8.6	D		
2852	Perry	Thomas		Red Lion Sq. 36	8.6	D		
2853	Phillips	George	Gentleman	Bennett St. Stamford St.	8.6	D		
2871	Parker	F. P.	Gentleman	Stamford St.	8.6	D		
2878	Pearce	Joseph	Plasterer	Church Terrace Waterloo Rd 10	8.6	D		
2883	Porter	Richard	Warehouseman	Old Change 39	8.6	D		
2911	Pyrry	Thomas	Fancy paper manufacturer	Newcastle St. Fleet Market	8.6	D		
2926	Palmer	William		Kings Place Stones End Borough 3	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2930	Pomer	Samuel	Printer	New St. Sq. 17	8.6	D	AsB12	
2938	Preece	Charles	Carpenter	Stacy St. Soho 20	8.6	D		
2947	Parkes	Samuel	Clerk	Pickering Terrace Bayswater 3 ?	8.6	D		
2954	Prosser	John	Jeweller	Sherrard St. Golden Sq. 26	8.6	D		
2966	Plaskett	William	builder	Hemlock Court Carey st. 1	8.6	D		
2967	Pullen	T. W.		Salisbury Place New Rd 10	8.6	D		
3001	Pearce	Charles	Engineer	Kings Place Stones End 3	8.6	D	A6B6	
3010	Palmer	I. G.	late 112		8.6	D	A6	
3011	Pitt	William		Brewer St. Golden Sq. 47	8.6	D	A6	
3040	Porter	G. R.	Wine merchant	Old Broad St.	8.6	D		
3071	Peppercorn	James	Gentleman	Vauxhall	8.6	D		
4001	Pouncy	Gilbert	Stationer	Long Acre 65	27	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs
4009	Peacock	Thomas	Carpenter	Kensington Palace	27		A BsCsDs	A24BsCsDs
4047	Parker	James	Clerk	Hanover St. Long Acre 10	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6c6D6
4051	Postill	Charles	Carpenter	Fort St. Spitalfields 20	8.6		A B6C6D6	6B6C6
4074	Powell	James	Clerk	New Boswell Court Lincolns Inn 13	8.6		A B6	
4077	Pollard	James	Chair-maker	Brill Row Somers Town 64	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6d6
4086	Pilkington	John	Cabinet-maker	Charlotte St. 36	8.6		A	
4087	Perry	Frederick	Compositor	Little East Cheap 25	8.6		A	
4099	Pryce	John	Upholsterer	Aldersgate Buildings	8.6		A B6	
4102	Pratt	John	Goldsmith	Goswell St. 49	8.6		A	
3072	Peppercorn	Francis	Gentleman	Vauxhall	8.6	D		
4132	Payne	Edward	Clerk	Fleet St. 19	27		A BsCsDs	
4155	Pile	Robert	Painter	Southampton Crescent 8	8.6		A	
4183	Powell	Charles	Clerk	Basinghall St. 8	8.6		A B6C6D6	
4262	Peplow	Richard	Tailor	Little Windmill St. 1	12		A Bs	
4305	Phillips	Thomas		Potters Fields	8.6		B C6D6	
4312	Poole	Edwin	Joiner	South Moulton St. 43	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4326	Petherick	James		Providence Place New North St. 9	8.6		B	
4331	Pond	William	Jeweller	Drummond Crescent 14	8.6		B C6	
4335	Powsey	Frederick	Saddler	Great Pulteney St. 6	8.6		B	
4363	Pattison	Henry	Stationer	Earl St. Blackfriars 10; 5	8.6		B C6	B8.6
4381	Pope	William	Working Silversmith	Brunswick Place Market St. 22	12		B CsD6	
4389	Plank	Henry		St Swithins Lane Lombard St.	12		B CsD6	A6B12CsD12
4396	Povak	John	Butcher	Red Lion St. Holborn 39	12		B CsD6	A6B12Cs
4414	Powle	John	Meal-man	Prospect Place Deptford 18	12		B Cs	
4420	Partington	Robert	Artist	North St. Fitzroy Sq. 13	8.6		C	
4446	Parry	Thomas	Gentleman	Ludgate Hill 10	8.6		C D6	A6 C6D6
4453	Patmore	Joshua	Joiner	Vittoria Place St Pancras 6	8.6		C D6	
4470	Packer	William	Shoe-maker	Red Lion St. Holborn 36	8.6		C	
4485	Potts	Charles	re-entered	Grays Inn Terrace	8.6		C	
4498	Preston	Nathaniel	Murillion-maker	City Rd 29	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6
4499	Parrott	George	Sales-man	Clements Inn Passage 6	27		C Ds	AsBsC24Ds
4504	Purser	G. H.	Artist	Lancaster St. 39	8.6		C	
4507	Piddington	P.		Mount St. Grosvenor Sq. 89	8.6		C D6	
4516	Plater	John		Denton St. Somers Town 28	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6
4528	Ponten	Joseph		Strand 334	8.6		C D6	A6
4571	Parsons	James		Brownlow St. Holborn 7	8.6		C	
4586	Purvis	John	Carpenter	North Audley St. 4	8.6		C	



No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
4603	Prentice	James	Drawing-instrument-maker	New Buildings King St. Snowhill 3	8.6		C D6	B6
4618	Pritchard	Robert	Chaser	Greville St. 22	12		C Ds	
4641	Price	Edward	Schoolmaster	Licensed Victuallers School	12		C Ds	A6
4669	Piercy	William	Shorthand-writer	Basing St. 15	12		C Ds	
4686	Pearse	Charles	re-entered		8.6		D	A6B6C6D6
4700	Pickering	George	Carpenter	Arabella Row Pimlico 7	8.6		D	
4705	Phelps	Richard	Stationer	Racket Court Fleet St. 3	8.6		D	A6
4712	Pownall	Thomas	Attorney	Doughty St. 39	27		D	AsBsCs
4715	Peers	G. J.	re-entered		8.6		D	A6
4726	Palmer	James F.	Ornamental painter	Sharps Alley Cowcross St. 21	8.6		D	A6B6C6
4734	Purkes	John	Painter	Bread St. Hill 29	8.6		D	
4746	Palmer	William F.		Sharps Alley 21	8.6		D	A6B6
4747	Powell	Charles		Clapham	8.6		D	
4802	Page	William	Architect	Stamford St. Blackfriars 8	8.6		D	A6
4814	Perry	William	Satin-dresser	Raven Row Spitalfields 4	8.6		D	A6B6C6D6
4847	Pickering	John	Dyer	Wilson St. Finsbury 21	8.6		D	A6
4862	Parker	J. P.	Solicitor	New Boswell Court	8.6		D	
4864	Pilcher	Jesse	Upholster	Berners St. 32	8.6		D	A6B6
4867	Parker	T.B.	Printer	Whitmore Rd Hoxton 22	8.6		D	A6
4875	Parker	Richard K.	Carpenter	Whitmore Rd Hoxton 22	8.6		D	A6B6c6D6
4897	Parker	Frederick		Upper Stamford St. 74	12		D	As
4918	Phare	George	re-entered		8.6			A
4940	Perry	Joseph	Carpenter	Houghton St. Clare Market 24	8.6			A B6
4951	Porter	William	Banks Clerk	Lombard St. 24	8.6			A B6C6D6
4965	Pile	Simon		Wilmot St. Brunswick Sq. 13	8.6			A B6C6
4969	Parker	Thomas B. Jun.	Printer	Whitmore Rd Hoxton 22	8.6			A B6C6D6
4980	Purdy	Isaac	Geographical draftsman	Waterloo Place Pall Mall 14	8.6			A
4993	Prall	Thomas	Carver and gilder	Cromer St. 9	8.6			A B6
5017	Parker	William	Bricklayer	Maiden Lane Battle Bridge	8.6			A B6C6D6
5054	Paget	Arthur	Druggist	Upper Thames St.	8.6			A
5063	Purkiss	John		Bread St. Hill 29	12			A B6
5077	Phillips	James	Printer	Queen St. Seven Dials 13	8.6			B
5096	Preston	C. H.	Carpenter	Laystall St. Grays Inn Lane 9	8.6			B
5112	Pell	John Edward	Carver and gilder	Gloucester House Camden Town	8.6			B
5125	Patch	Joseph	Gentleman	Upper Gower St. 34	8.6			B
5127	Price	James	Tailor	Sackville St. Piccadilly	8.6			B
5129	Peppercorn	James W.		South London Water Works Vauxhall	8.6			B
5149	Paul	Alfred	Clerk	Jewry Place Kent Rd 29	8.6			C D6
5150	Philo	James	Clerk	Elliotts Place Islington 12	8.6			C
5172	Purvis	Alexander	Mason	Crown St. Westminster 16	8.6			B C6
5280	Purcell	John	Carpenter	John St. Tottenham Court Rd 78	8.6			C D6
5301	Philo	George	Jeweller	Elliotts Place Islington 12	8.6			C
5337	Phillips	Charles	Engraver	Fetter Lane 115	8.6			C D6
5338	Phelps	R. W.		Seymour St. Euston Sq. 70	8.6			C D6
5392	Penry	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Beech Lane Whitecross St. 7	8.6			D
5398	Paul	John	Accountant	Cophthall Buildings 3	8.6			D
5438	Prratt	Charles Thomas		Vineyard Walk Clerkenwell 4	12			C Ds
5450	Parnell	James	Silk-waterer	Earl St. Finsbury 4	8.6			C D6
5462	Pavey	Henry	Paper-hanger	Flint St. East Lane Walworth 9	12			C Ds
5482	Packer	William	Carpenter	Stepney	8.6			D
5496	Pickering	Robert	Bricklayer	Poppins Court Fleet St. 11	8.6			D
5503	Plimpton	G. R. Jun.	Optician	Grays Court Carey St. 1	8.6			D
5504	Palmer	Joseph	Leather-cutter	Grub St. Finsbury 3	8.6			D
5521	Perry	Henry	Carpenter	Wood St. Cromer St. 7	8.6			D
5567	Parkinson	H.	Chronometer-maker	Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell 50	8.6			D
5596	Paton	William	Cabinet-maker	Upper Marylebone St. 16	8.6			D
5651	Pike	Charles	Carpenter	St Johns St. Smithfield	8.6			D
5604	Parry	Hugh H.	Cabinet-maker	Gloucester St. Queens Sq. 25	8.6			D
5620	Palmer	Joseph		Fenchurch St. 2	8.6			D
5656	Pyefinch	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Gunhills Rents Smithfield 29	8.6			D
5675	Pring	T. G.		High St. Newington Butts	8.6			D
5701	Pegg	Sam			24			D
1674	Quitter	William	Accountant	Bunhill Row	5	D	A6B6	
2074	Quick	John V.	Wood-engraver	Bowling Green Lane	5		A B6C6	
2075	Quick	William K.	Wood-engraver	Grove Place City Rd; Aldersgate St.	5		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6 A6B6C6
2399	Quick	Samuel	Builder		8.6	C		
4091	Quinton	Frederick	Chair-maker	Garden Row London Rd 6	8.6		A B6C6	
4328	Quinton	William	Chair-maker	Garden Row London Rd 6	8.6		B C6	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
43	Robason	Edward	Silversmith etc	Little Bath St. Cold Bath Sq. 9	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
58	Robinson	Henry	Bricklayer	James St. Broad Wall 7; George Row John's Row St Luke	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
89	Rapley	William Robert	Cabinet-maker	Edmunds Place Aldersgate St. 31	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
113	Ryder	Samuel	Coach-maker	Liquorpond St. 37; 83 Guildford St. Foundling Hospital	5	D	A24BsCsDs	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
115	Reader	C. J.	Bookseller	Bell Yard Temple Bar	24	Ds	AsB24CsDs	AsB24CsDs	AsB24CsDs
149	Rait	George	Tailor	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 9	5	D	A6B6		
178	Rathke	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Boston St. Marylebone 27	5	D	A6B6		
187	Reynolds	John	Teacher	Arlington House St Johns St. Rd	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs
252	Riches	John	Carpenter	High St. Marylebone 105	5	D			
268	Rigge	John	Carver	Southampton Row Russell Sq. 5	5	D	A6B6C6		
287	Rothery	Samuel	Chaser	Charlton St. Somers Town 71; 6 Seymour St. Euston St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
290	Robinson	Samuel	Muslin manufacturer	Watling St. 7	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
549	Robinson	Edward	Clerk	Lombard St. 76	6		A		
600	Rumble	James	Cabinet-maker	Windmill St. Finsbury Sq. 29	5	D			
606	Robinson	B. J.		Gloucester St. Queen Sq. 40	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
609	Russell	John	Cabinet-maker	Cross Court Drury Lane 6	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
737	Rowland	J. E.	Hatter	Swan St. Minories	5	D	A6B6		
773	Rea	John	Musical-instrument-maker	Gresse St. Rathbone St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
775	Rance	Edward	Silver-polisher	Southampton St. 16	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6Ds	A12B6C6D6
776	Robinson	B.	Tailor	Gloucester St. Queen St. 40	5	D			
805	Rummins	John	Cabinet-maker	Camden Place Camden Town 7	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
812	Russell	William	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Staple Inn Buildings 7	5	D	6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
813	Robinson	A. W.	Accountant	Mount St. Whitechapel 21	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
852	Rogers	Richard	Printer	Denmark Court Strand 2	5	D	A6		
1080	Ray	George	Printer	Regent St. Westminster 71	5	D	A6B6C6		
1086	Reid	Thomas	Upholsterer	Theobalds Rd 38	5	D			
1348	Robertson	James	Clerk	Rolls Buildings 18	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1353	Ross	Charles	Clerk	St Pauls Church Yard 43	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
1356	Rouse	Frederick J.	Book-binder	Bedford Court Covent Garden 4	5	D	A6B6		
1357	Rouse	Benjamin	Chemist	Windsor Terrace City Rd 17	5	D	A6B6		
1362	Reid	William	Coach-painter	Vernlam Buildings Grays Inn Lane 1	5	D			
1460	Reynolds	E. H.	Printer	City Rd	5	D	A6B6		
1651	Russell	James	Pianoforte-maker	Porter St. Newport Market 5	5	D			
1652	Russell	Charles	Optical-turner	Fox Court Grays Inn Lane	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
1670	Reid	John	Mechanic	Bridge House Place Newington Causeway 30	20	D	AsBsCs		
1686	Robertson	Charles	Book-binder	Rolls Buildings 18	5	D			
1727	Rayson	Philip	Glove manufacturer	Rolls Buildings	5	D			
1730	Rea	James	Pianoforte-maker	Gresse St. 26	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1742	Ruler	Thomas	Machinist	Suffolk St. Southwark 63	5	D	A5		
1774	Rickitts	Joseph	Gentleman	Newgate St. 39	5	D			
1808	Rhynel	John	Printer	Great Warren St. 3	5	D	A6		
1819	Russell	John	Cabinet-maker	Hanover St. Long Acre 22	5	D	A20BsCsDs		
1833	Riddley	George	Jeweller	Plumtree St. Bloomsbury 8	5	D	A6B6C6		
1841	Ruff	Thomas		Bank of England	5	D	Q6B6C6D6	A6	
1904	Robins	William	Clerk at Mr Fishers	Symonds Inn 9 At Mr Fishers	5	D			
1914	Robinson	David	Professor of fortification	Woolwich	20	D	AsBsCs		
1926	Robertson	James	Goldsmith	Cobourg St. Clerkenwell 2	10	D	As		
1942	Richards	William	Goldsmith	Wynyard St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
2009	Richards	William	Clerk	Ivy Lane Hoxton 1	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
2025	Rance	Henry	Engraver	Banner St. 6	8.6		A		
2037	Robson	J. A.	Clerk	Angel Court Snowhill 12	8.6		A		
2077	Rouse	Robert	Chemist	Banner St. St Lukes 36	6		A B6		
2078	Rogers	Henry	Gentleman	Pratt St. Camden Town	8.6		A		
2101	Reilly	John	Saddler	Finsbury Place	8.6		A		
2105	Robinson	Jonathan	Shoe-maker	Wells St. Grays Inn Lane 2	8.6		A B6C6		
2116	Reed	John	Milkman	Union St. New Bond St. 6	8.6		A B6C6		
2175	Riley	W. E.	Gentleman	Old Broad St. 53	8.6		A		
2197	Renton	John	Engraver	New North St. 22	8.6		B C6		
2212	Roberts	Thomas	Gentleman	Goswell Rd 87	27		A BsCsDs		
2222	Ruff	Edward	Map-mounter	Hinds Court Fleet St. 2	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2232	Rowbottom	Benjamin		Aldersgate St. 93	8.6		A		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2233	Reaseigh	Thomas	Accountant's apprentice	Newington Butts	8.6	A		
2246	Robertson	Thomas	Hat manufacturer	Strand 164	8.6	B C6		
2263	Reed	John	Merchant	Dean St. Holborn 16	8.6	B C6D6		
2276	Rayson	Philip	Glove manufacturer	Cheapside 12	8.6	B C6D6	A6	
2284	Rumford	Edward	Bookseller	Red Lion Passage Red Lion Sq. 13	8.6	B		
2294	Roberts	Samuel	Gentleman	Pultney St. White Conduit Fields 9	8.6	B		
2322	Reynolds	John	Clerk	White Conduit Fields 3	8.6	B C6		
2324	Rogers	Andrew Richard	Carpenter	Cirencester Place Marylebone 52	8.6	B C6		
2345	Rogers	Thomas	Smith	Little George St. Hampstead 41	8.6	B C6		
2372	Rigge	Henry	Tailor	Marylebone St. 56	8.6	B C6		
2408	Robins	John	Stationer	Tooley St.	8.6	B		
2452	Roberts	Alfred	Cabinet-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 23	8.6	C		
2513	Rotton	Anthony	Clerk	Newington Green	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2518	RowSELL	Joel	Bookseller	Brownlow St. Holborn 6	8.6	C D6	A6B6	
2675	Rabadan	Charles	Gentleman	Clarendon Sq. Somers Town	8.6	C D6		
2703	Ryan	William		Down St. Piccadilly 4	8.6	C D6		
2726	Richardson	W.	Iron-monger	Union St. Borough 189	8.6	C D6		
2732	Ramsay	Alexander	Tailor	Warren St. Fitzroy Sq. 39	8.6	C D6	A6	
2754	Romney	Francis	Gentleman	Paradise St. Lambeth 33	8.6	C D6		
2780	Raper	William	Silk warehouseman	Wood St. 4	8.6	C D6		
2794	Rabadan	Jose	Gentleman	Clarendon Grove Somers Town 12	8.6	D		
2819	Reid	Hugh	Gentleman	Dears Place Somers Town 6	8.6	D		
2822	Rotton	Richard	Gentleman	Newington Green	8.6	D	A6B6	
2824	Roope	Frederick	Gentleman	Hyde Place Hoxton	8.6	D		
2827	Riles	Samuel	Draper	Skinner St. 41	8.6	D	A6	
2910	Roberts	Samuel	Clerk	Parade White Conduit House 15	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
2915	Reddish	John	Tailor	Regent St.	8.6	D		
2935	Robertson	Daniel	Compositor	Aldersgate Buildings Aldersgate St. 8	8.6	D		
2995	Royall	George	Modeller	Regent St. Piccadilly 14	8.6	D		
2996	Robins	Isaac	Carpenter	Robert St. Bedford Row 29	8.6	D	A6B6C6	
3037	Ross	Robert William	Clerk	College Place Goswell St. Rd 1	8.6	D	A6	
3042	Reynolds	Edmond H.	Painter	City Rd 17	8.6	D		
3056	Routledge	Edward		Haberdasher St. Hoxton 18	8.6	D		
3092	Rose	Alexander	Jeweller	Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell 52	8.6	D	A6	
3093	Rochfoul	John	Surveyor	Bishopsgate Church Yard	27	D	AsBsCs	
4002	Robertson	James	Silversmith	Goswell St. 136	8.6	D	A6	
4007	Rees	James	Printer	Stanhope St. Clare Market 7	8.6		A	
4020	Russell	James Henry	Optical-turner	Fox Court Grays Inn Lane 7	8.6		A B6C6D6	
4034	Ray	Benjamin	Carpenter	Broad St. Bloomsbury 36; Drake St. Red Lion Sq.	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6
4043	Reynolds	Thomas		Freemans Court Cornhill 2	8.6		A B6	
4097	Robotham	John	Coach and harness-maker	Princes Row Pimlico 2	8.6		A B6C6D6	
4107	Rentell	Samuel	Saddler	Grays Inn Lane 76	8.6		A	
4115	Rose	James	Jeweller	Great Sutton St. 25	8.6		A	
4134	Reeves	Benjamin	Carpenter	Red Lion Court 6	8.6		A	
4168	Roberson	James	Printer	Aylesbury St. Clerkenwell 18	8.6		A B6	
4230	Ross	James	Clerk	Ironmonger St. St Lukes 26	8.6		A	
4238	Robinson	Samuel		Upper Quebec St. 9	8.6		A	
4293	Richardson	John	Cabinet-maker	Wardour St. Soho 9	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4304	Rough	Robert	Plate-glass manufacturer	Hyde Place Hoxton 27	8.6		B C6D6	
4310	Rathke	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Boston St. Marylebone 5	8.6		B	
4315	Ryder	Thomas	Carpenter	Liquorpond St.	8.6		B C6D6	A6
4367	Rule	George	Gentleman	Guilford St. Foundling Hospital 5	8.6		B	
4387	Rogers	James	Bricklayer	Gloucester St.	12		B CsD6	
4432	Reed	John			8.6		C	
4450	Rich	Wilding	Carpenter	Carey St. Vincent Sq. Westminster 6	8.6		C D6	A6
4491	Raves	George		North St. Fitzroy Sq. 9	8.6		C	
4536	Rahn	John	Gentleman	Bridge Row Wallbrook 16	8.6		C	
4539	Randall	John	Chemist	Castle St. Holborn	8.6		C D6	
4564	Roberts	Jenkin	Carpenter	Grays Inn Lane 118	8.6		C	
4577	Rudd	Henry	Coach-maker	Duke St. Bloomsbury 15	8.6		C D6	A6
4594	Rice	Joseph	Painter	Henrietta St. Hackney Rd 20	8.6		C D6	
4604	Reeve	Thomas	Chemist and druggist	Calthorpe Place Grays Place Grays Inn Rd 1	8.6		C	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
4627	Roberts	Francis	Gentleman	Upper Henry St. Bedford Sq. 20	12			C Ds	A6B6C6D6
4653	Rogers	Solomon	Baker	King St. Snowhill	24			C Ds	AsBs
4653	Rix	William	Plumber	Penton St. Pentonville 11	12			C Ds	
4667	Ridge	John	Clerk	St Johns Rd 86	12			C Ds	A6
4697	Ross	Alexander	Tailor	Wells St. 7	8.6			D	
4725	Ross	George	Bricklayer	Star Court Picket Place 1	8.6			D	
4732	Roffe	Felix	Engraver	Ossulton St. Somers Town 48	8.6			D	A6B6C6D6
4749	Robbins	James		Bishopsgate St. 17	8.6			D	
4761	Rose	John	Jeweller	Fleet Market 96	8.6			D	
4785	Riach	James		Devonshire Sq. 2	8.6			D	
4856	Richards	William	Book-binder	Newgate St. 24	8.6			D	A6B6
4867	Richson	James	Gentleman	Walcot Place Lambeth 2	8.6			D	
4883	Rymer	James		Bakers Court Holborn Rd 1; 86 Dean St. Soho	12			D	AsB6C6D6
4885	Ravone	George		Bakers Court Holborn Rd 1; 86 Dean St Soho	12			D	As
4934	Rymer	Gaven	Artist	Bakers Court Holborn Rd 1	8.6				A B6C6D6
4973	Reed	John	Engineer	Tottenham Court Rd 249	8.6				A B6C6D6
5022	Riddell	Joseph		Orange Court Leicester Sq.	8.6				A B6C6D6
5101	Roe	Freeman	Plumber	Newcastle Court Strand 7; Founders Hall Founders Court	8.6				B C6
5126	Rainford	Edward	Printer	Red Lion Court Red Lion Sq.	8.6				B
5134	Ryall	Henry Thomas	Engraver	Clarendon Sq. Somers Town 16	12				B CsD6
5220	Reynolds	Charles E.		Stonefield Terrace Islington	27				C Ds
5352	Reid	James	Licensed victualler	Dorset St. Salisbury Sq.	8.6				C
5353	Reid	George Jun.		Lower Grosvenor St. Grosvenor Sq.	8.6				C
5358	Rendell	Francis	Painter etc	Judd St. Brunswick Sq. 76	8.6				C
5364	Rowlston	F.	Artist	Grove St. Camden Town 104	12				C Ds
5406	Richardson	James	Cabinet-maker	North Audley St. 29	8.6				C D6
5415	Ruffy	Daniel W.	Cabinet-maker	Holland St. Blackfriars 62	8.6				C D6
5439	Robertson	Thomas Jun.	Hatter	Strand 164	12				C Ds
5443	Richards	Joseph	Schoolmaster	Andersons Place Cornwall Rd 4	12				C Ds
5455	Robertson	James	Die-sinker	Strand 164	12				C Ds
5463	Robinson	Charles W.		Islington	8.6				D
5489	Rooke	Henry	Engraver	Henry St. Lambeth 11	8.6				D
5500	Reynolds	Robert	Engraver	Breams Buildings Chancery Lane 1	8.6				D
5507	Robertson	Charles		High Holborn 57	8.6				D
5511	Redpath	Philip	Printer	Warwick Sq. 2	8.6				D
5549	Rainford	E.	Bookseller crossed out; Printer added	Red Lion Court Red Lion Sq.	8.6				D
5566	Rippon	William	Joiner	Greenhills Rents Smithfield 32	8.6				D
5597	Rogers	George	Carver and gilder	Castle St. Oxford St. 5	8.6				D
5603	Richards	William	Book-binder	Fore St. Cripplegate 39	8.6				D
5649	Reeve	George	Gentleman	Kingsland	12				D
5705	Roberts	John		South St. New Rd 1	12				D
5707	Reeve	Thomas	Chemist and druggist	Calthorpe Place Grays Inn Rd 1	12				D
52	Strange	William	Printer and Bookseller	Fetter Lane 24	24	A BsCsDs			
53	Selman	William	Goldsmith	Dorrington St Clerkenwell 4; 15 Exmouth St. Spafields	24	A BsCsDs			
59	Sanders	John	Baker	Tothill St. Westminster 12	5	D A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
60	Salmon	Morris	Printer	Fleet St. 119	20	D AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
61	Sage	Jeremiah	Architect	St Johns Lane	5	D A6B6C12Ds	A12BsC12D s	A12BsC12 Ds	A12BsC12
66	Stratton	William	Mathematical- instrument- maker	Boundary Row Blackfriars 12	5	D A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
67	St Leger	Barry	Book-binder	Grays Inn Lane 18	10	D			
68	Smith	John	Plumber	Crown Court Russell St. 23	5	D A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6	
108	Simpson	Thomas James	Cabinet-maker	Clifton St. Finsbury 1	20	D AsBsCsD24' A sBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
126	Simms	William	Mathematical- instrument- maker	Bowmans Buildings Aldersgate St. 1	20	D AsBsC24Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBs	
150	Stokes	Isaac	Cabinet-maker	Wardour St. 125	5	D			
156	Shallard	James	Printer	William St. Spafields 10	5	D A6B6C6D6	A6B6		
159	Sowerby	Thomas	Pawnbroker	Chiswell St. 78	24	Ds AsB24CsDs	AsBsC30Ds	AsBs	
160	Stratford	W. S.	Gentleman	Metropolitan Loan Office	24	A BsCsDs	AsBsCsDs	A48BsCSD s	
179	Smythe	Thomas	Machinist	Oxford St. 309	5	D AsB12CsD12	AsBsCsDs	A30B6C6D 6	
183	Straker	John	Turner	Redcross Sq. 11	5	D A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
211	Sutton	William	Sail-maker	Bankside	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6C8.6D6
212	Shuttleworth	George	Carpenter	Great Suffolk St. Borough 5	5	D	A6		
222	Simms	Alfred	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Bowmans Buildings Aldersgate St. 1	5	D	A6B6		
255	Smyth	William	Compositor	Prospect Place Lambeth	5	D	A6		
305	Saull	William Devonshire	Wine merchant	Aldersgate St. 19	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
320	Sledge	J. T.	Clerk	Friday St. Cheapside 42	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B^C6D6	A6B6C6D6
321	Spiers	Walter Jun.	Printer	Dean St. Soho 102	5	D			
347	Strong	Robert		Great Suffolk St. Borough 6	5	D	A6B6 D8.6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
352	Sylvester	John			68	Ds	AsBsCsDs	A68BsCSDs	
353	Stevenson	George	Smith	Little Portland St. 2	24	Ds	A24BsCSDs	A24BsCSDs	
377	Strong	William	Hatter	St James's St. 78	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
391	Smith	Charles	Tailor	Mays Buildings 13	5	D			
393	Sharp	James	Clerk	Hyde Place Hoxton 21; 13 Andersons Buildings City Rd	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
414	Somersall	Francis R.	Warehouseman	Ashford St. Hoxton	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6c6d6	A6
415	Stacy	George Jun.	Jeweller	Aldersgate St. 165	5	D	A6B6C6		
417	Smart	William	Millwright	Winsley St. Oxford St.	5	D	A6B6	A11.6BsC6	
418	Shakel	Richard	Chaser	Catherine St. Strand	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6c6d6
451	Swan	William	Gentleman	Swinton St. Grays Inn Rd 5	24	Ds	AsB24CsDs	AsB24CsDs	As
519	Spickett	John	Clerk	Leathersellers Buildings 3	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
526	Styles	Joseph D.	Carpenter	Vine St. Westminster 5	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
551	Sisserson	Joseph	Clerk	Catherine St. Strand 8	24	Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsC24Ds
554	Stones	James	Carpenter	Tottenham Court Rd 29	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
557	Shakel	Charles	Chaser	Weston St. Somers Town	5	D	A6B6		
568	Sibley	Charles	Linen-draper	Maiden Lane	5	D	A6B6C6		
576	Smith	Martin	Accountant	High Holborn 300	24	Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsC6	
598	Spurrell	Charles	Herald-painter	Queen St. Blackfriars Rd 13	5	D			
601	Shearer	James	Watch-maker	Devonshire St. Queens Sq 23	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
617	Sowerby	Dickinson	Gentleman	Brick Lane	5	D	A6B6		
717	Smith	Charles	Tailor	White House Yard Drury Lane 6	5	D	A6B6		
774	Stead	William	Carpenter	Down St. Piccadilly 9	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
850	Spence	W. R.	Builder	Featherstone St. City Rd 13	5	D			
858	Swift	Charles	Mechanist	Willow St. Westminster 27	5	D	A6		
889	Squire	William	Goldsmith	Strutton Ground Westminster 58	5	D			
893	Stratton	William M.	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Boundary Row Blackfirars 12	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
895	Starkey	B.	Jeweller	Fetter Lane 38	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
931	Simpson	John	Carpenter	Chancery Court 3	5	D	A6		
939	Stratford	Arthur	Clerk	Clifton St. Finsbury 8	5	D	A6		
967	Starkey	Joseph	Gold-lace-man	Regent St. 203	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
976	Saull	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Little Titchfield St. 7	5	D			
1044	Steward	Thomas	Japanner	Chapel Row Clerkenwell 11	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1076	Sumeran	James	Jeweller	Lisle St. Leicester Sq. 27	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6 C8.6D6	A6
1077	Sayer	William	Tailor	Kerby St. Hatton Garden 22	5	D	A6		
1089	Salter	Frederick	Tailor	Charlton St. Somers Town 74	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
1091	Seymour	Frederick S.	Printer	Stanhope St. Clare Market 43	5	D			
1144	Stangroom	Jeremiah	Shoe-maker	Northumberland Court	5	D	A6		
1247	Sim	Robert	Builder	Torrington Sq.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6C8.6D6
1248	Sacker	Peter	Painter	Great St Andres St. 16	5	D			
1258	Smith	John	Carpenter	Beech St. 34	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6 D8.6	A6
1259	Seeling	John Lewis	Turner	Boston St. Regents Park 6	5	D	AB6C6Dt	A6B6C6	
1349	Snelling	William	Paper-hanger	West Harding St. 7	5	D			
1377	Sand	Michael	Engineer	Little Titchfield St. 7	5	D			
1378	Swap	William	Cutler	Miles's Lane Cannon St.	5	D			
1421	Stiles	Mason	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Cow Cross St	5	D	A6		C8.6D6
1471	Skeate	William	Pianoforte-maker	Church St. Soho 21	5	D	A6		
1520	Staples	John	Law-stationer	Serles Place Lincolns Inn	5	D			
1535	Seaton	Alexander	Tin-plate-worker	Bunhill Row 10	5	D	A6B6C6		
1569	Speare	Thomas	Carpenter	Gower Place 7	5	D	A6B6		
1574	Sanson	George	Plasterer	Duke St. Lisson Grove 7	5	D			
1578	Scholey	J. B.	Coffee-dealer	Seward St. Goswell St. 60	5	D	A6		
1588	Smith	William	Builder	Woodland Place	5	D			
1590	Smith	Edward	Builder	Mortimer St.	5	D			
1600	Scott	William	Printer	Goldsmith St. 3	5	D			
1606	Stannard	George	Upholsterer	Wardour St. 26	5	D	A6B6C6		
1611	Stanley	Christopher John	Brush-maker	Tavistock Row Covent Garden 14	5	D	A6		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
1617	Smith	Andrew	Carpenter	Wells St. Oxford St. 28; White Lion St. Pentonville 65; 21 Palace St. Pimlico	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B12CsD6	
1623	Swan	William R.	Carpenter	Borough Market 18	20	D	AsBsCs		
1630	Stirling	Robert	Gentleman	Pembroke Place Vauxhall Bridge Rd 27	5	D	A6B6		
1638	Sevicke	Charles		Manor Place Walworth 46	5	D			
1654	Shepherd	Edmund	Chemist	Jane St. Blackfriars Rd 5	5	D	A6		
1655	Smets	Edward S.	Carpenter	Grosvenor Market 26	5	D			
1660	Satrustegia	J. A.	Merchant	Beavoir Crescent Hoxton	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCs	
1665	Sadd	John			5	D	A6 C6	A8.6	
1695	Seadden	James	Carpenter and joiner	Vine St. Westminster 7	5	D	A6B6		
1698	Still	Alfred Henry	Gentleman	Weymouth St. New Kent Rd 7	5	D			
1702	Saunders	Gilbert	Carver etc	Clements Passage 10	5	D	A6B6C6		
1709	Snelling	Robert		Montague St. 3	5	D	A6		
1733	Soulinnge	Sanguaire	Gentleman	Edgware Rd 25	20	D	AsBsCs		
1754	Street	William Jesse	Clerk	Serle St. 11	5	D			
1760	Steabben	Isaac	Carpenter	Boston Place	5	D	A12BsC6		
1762	Smith	William	Printer and book-binder	New Square Minories 4	5	D			
1771	Sheppard	Thomas	Clerk	Rosomans St. 8	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
1772	Smith	Thomas	Coach-maker	Liquorpond St.	5	D	A6		
1773	Smith	James	Upholsterer	Fleet Market; 2 Guildford St. Founding Hospital	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1779	Smith	William	Tailor	Upper John St. Golden Sq. 5	5	D	A6		
1785	Starling	Thomas	Engraver	Wilmington Sq. 19	5	D			
1787	Smith	Daniel	Weaver	Grays Inn Lane 52	5	D	A6B6		
1791	Smith	Thomas	Carpenter	Charles St. Clarendon Sq. 13	5	D			
1794	Sadd	Burgess	Carpenter	Vauxhall	5	D	A6 C6	A8.6	
1809	Stiling	Henry	Draftsman	South Villa Cottage Larkhill	5	D	A65B6C6		
1812	Smith	William	Cork-cutter	Pudding Lane 1	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1813	Squire	Arthur	Wool-merchant	Rodney St. Pentonville	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6 D8.6	A6
1832	Sweet	Edward		Chancery Lane 38	5	D	A6		
1874	Sydenham	William	Jeweller	Dean St. Fetter Lane 17	5	D	A6B6C6		
1883	Scott	Thomas		Duke St. Bloomsbury 27	5	D	A6B6		
1886	Smith	Richard Brinsley	Clerk	Committee Room Carey St.	5	D	A6B6		
1901	Sankey	Thomas	Stationer	Essex St. Strand 10	5	D	AB6C6D6	A6B6	
1915	Scharf	George	Artist	St Martins Lane 3	20	D	AsBsCs		
1961	Schilling	George Frederick	Clerk	Worship Sq. 9	5	D			
1966	Shoare	George		Westmoreland Place	5	D	A6		
1975	Seare	George Alexander	Ladies shoe-maker	Henrietta St. Covent Garden 19	5	D			
2023	Stanley	S. T.	Glass enameller	Rahere St. Goswell St. 1	8.6		A		
2029	Sweet	Henry		Chancery Lane 3	8.6		A B6C6		
2030	Sweet	George		Chancery Lane 3	8.6		A B6C6		
2041	Setchfield	William	Druggist	Great Distaff Lane 10	8.6		A		
2045	Searle	Frederick			8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6 D8.6	A6B6C6D6
2052	Stotesbury	Robert J.	Printer	Union St. Lambeth 25	6		A		
2056	Starling	William John		Symonds Inn 8	5		A B6C6D6		
2059	Speight	Seth	Cabinet-maker	Upper Dorset St. 5	6		A B6C6D6	A6B6 D8.6	A6B6C6D6
2061	Sherwood	Frederick	Builder	Cornwall Rd Lambeth	24		A BsCsDs		
2058	Sadd	John		Maldon Essex	24		A BsCsDs		
2071	Savage	Thomas	Organ-builder	Denmark St. Soho 29	5		A B6		
2085	Shelton	Thomas	Carpenter	Robert St. Bedford Row 20	6		A		
2115	Stores	Frederick		Baham St. Camden Town 6	8.6		A		
2125	Straker	Edward W.	Gentleman	Wilderness Row Clerkenwell 19	15		A Bs		
2172	Sly	Stephen	Draftsman	Compton St. Brunswick Sq. 34	8.6		A B6C6D6		
2181	Stephen	William	Clerk	Northumberland St. Strand 34	8.6		A B6		
2183	Steel	Thomas R.	Stationer	Chancery Lane 12	27		A BsCSDs	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2193	Smith	Stephen P.	Carpenter	Little Queen St. Westminster 10	8.6		B D6D6	A6B6C6	
2213	Sewell	William		Red Cross St. 40	27		A BsCsDs	A24BsCSDs	A24BsCsDs
2236	Strong	Thomas	Tailor	Church Court Piccadilly 5	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6	
2262	Stachell	John	Gentleman	River Terrace City Rd 5	8.6		B C6D6	A6	
2275	Smith	James	Glover	Brunswick St. Blackfriars Rd 47	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
2289	Straker	Ezra	Printer	Gravel Lane	8.6		B C6		
2306	Scott	Richard	Cabinet-maker	Noel St. Berwick St. 11	8.6		B		
2316	Sharp	William	Bookseller	Paternoster Row	8.6		B		
2323	Search	John	Clerk in ...	Bank of England	8.6		B		
2327	Stright	Napoleon	Hatter	Great Charlotte St. Blackfriars 20	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6	
2330	Stright	Simon	Hatter	Great Charlotte St. Blackfriars 20	8.6		B C6D6		
2337	Sturge	Tobias		Bridge Wharf City Rd	8.6		B		
2348	Swain	Thomas	Gentleman	Mansell St. Goodmans Fields 13	8.6		B		
2363	Stevens	William	Gentleman	Artillery Place Finsbury Sq.	8.6		B		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2369	Slater	Edward		Kensington	8.6	B		
2378	Shaw	Major Henry	Gentleman	Margaret St. Cavendish Sq. 66	15	B Cs		
2386	Spiller	Francis	Wine merchant	Holborn Hill	8.6	C D6	A6	A8.6
2404	Savage	Humphrey	Architect	Essex St. Strand	8.6	B C6D6	A6B6C6	
2407	Stacy	George	Military store-keeper	Tooley St. Southwark	8.6	B		
2410	Simmons	George	Sack collector	Upper Thames St. 203	8.6	B C6		
2412	Stonham	Davie	Clerk	Penton St. Walworth 11	8.6	B C6D6		
2413	Smart	William	Carpenter	College St. Lambeth	8.6	B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
2440	Spencer	William		Charlton St. Somers Town 110	8.6	C D6	A6	
2441	Sly	Benjamin	Mechanical draftsman	Compton St. Brunswick Sq. 34	8.6	C D6		
2442	Swan	James	Smith	Market St. Haymarket 2	8.6	C D6		
2454	Seymour	Samuel	Pianoforte-maker	Holliwell St. Westminster 14	8.6	C		
2460	Secker	J. A.		Tysoe St. Spafields 9	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2472	Stent	Henry	Tin-plate-worker	Drake St. Red Lion Sq 10	8.6	C		
2484	Spencer	John L.	Compositor	Tottenham Court Rd 250	8.6	C D6		
2497	Steabben	William	Carpenter	Castle St. Oxford Market 71	8.6	C		
2504	Savage	Edgar	Tin-plate-worker	Wardour St. Soho 3	8.6	C D6	A6	
2541	Stratford	W. G.			8.6	C D6		
2558	Satomayor	Anthony M.		Brownlow St. Holborn 6	8.6	C D6		
2573	Saxe	Henry	Tool-maker	Castle St. Long Acre 20	8.6	C		
2574	Schierenback	Henry	Carpenter and joiner	Grafton St. Sho 25	8.6	C		
2575	Sherriff	Charles	Cabinet-maker	New Compton St. Soho 63	8.6	C D6		
2587	Senosian	Bernard	Gentleman	Percival St. Northampton Sq. 29	8.6	C		
2603	Spencer	James	Linen-draper	Strand 425	8.6	C D6		
2609	Stuart	Alan	Draper	Finch Lane 9	8.6	C		
2615	Solomon	James	Warehouseman	Regent St. 142	8.6	C		
2616	Stokes	Isaac			8.6	C D6		
2625	Sutton	Henry	Ornamental carver	Prospect Place Elephant and Castle 74	8.6	C		
2647	Sewell	John	Painter	Aldersgate St. 57	8.6	C D6	A6	
2648	Spicer	James	Stationer	Fleet Market	8.6	C		
2649	Spilsbury	James	Printer	Strand 448	8.6	C		
2662	Sario	Joseph	Clerk	Hyde St. Bloomsbury 27	8.6	C		
2663	Smith	Thomas	Miller	Adam St. Edgware Rd 45	15	C Ds		
2666	Solomon	George		Angel Terrace Islington 2	8.6	C D6		
2671	Sander	George	Silk-weaver	Holborn 319	8.6	C D6	A6	
2681	Singleton	Thomas	Watch-maker	John St. Spafields 10	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2730	Smith	William	Carpenter	Great Chart St. City Rd 37	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
2739	Stokes	M. D.	Architect	Furnivals Inn 10	8.6	C D6		
2743	Steel	Barnabas C.	Wharfinger	Bankside 86	8.6	C D6	A6	
2764	Sharwell	George	Painter	Mill Hill Place	8.6	C D6		
2774	Spencer	Thomas S.	Ornamental carver	Upper Marylebone St. 56	8.6	C		
2777	Symms	William	Engraver	Metcalfe Place Angel Terrace 8	8.6	C D6		
2790	Stokes	Frederick Michael	Silk manufacturer	Union St. Bishopsgate 2	8.6	C		
2792	Satrustegui	Joachim	Gentleman	Johnson St. Somers Town 33	8.6	D	A6	
2799	Steel	William	Engineer	Brook St. New Rd 1;81 Grays Inn Lane	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2804	Selwyn	Joseph	Turner	Northampton St. Clerkenwell 31	8.6	D		
2809	Scholefield	John	Gentleman	Portsmouth St. Lincolns Inn 4	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2818	Snelling	Robert	Turner	Red Lion Passage 16	8.6	D	A6	
2880	Seward	James	Gentleman	Theobalds Rd 36	8.6	D		
2891	Spencer	Richard		South St. Grosvenor Sq. 36	8.6	D	A6	
2931	Stevenson	George			6	D		
2908	San Miguel	E.		Little Clarendon St. Somers Town 50	8.6	D	A6	
2928	Savage	Samuel	Printer	Wardour St. 3	8.6	D	A6	
2938	Sander	Joseph		Little Pulteney St. 5	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2941	Salter	James	Iron-monger	Queens Place Great Queen St. 7	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2944	Smith	Charles	Brass-worker	Poppins Court Fleet St.	8.6	D		
2988	Salter	William	Sieve-maker	Coleman St. 32	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2991	Swallow	Benjamin	Carpenter	Great Quebec St. 25	8.6	D	A6	
2997	Sutton	Francis		Newcastle St. Fleet Market 8	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6
3021	Straffer	John		Yorkshire	8.6	D		
3054	Sparrow	James	Calico-machine-maker	Maiden Lane Covent Garden 34	8.6	D	A6B6	
3062	Stevenson	John	Gentleman	Miles's Lane Upper Thames St. 23	8.6	D	A6B6c6	
3068	Smith	John	Carpenter	Sutton St. Soho 9	8.6	D	A6	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
3081	Soames	Nicholas	Tallow-chandler	Holborn Hill 68	8.6	D		
3090	Smith	William	Upholder	St Pauls Church Yard	8.6	D		
4011	Smith	William		Ossulton St. Somers Town 65	8.6		A	
4037	Simmonds	John	Silversmith	Southampton Row 3	8.6		A B6	
4044	Saville	William		Rundle St. Whitechapel 3	8.6		A B6C6	
4046	Slaughter	W. N.	Gentleman	New Compton St. 69	8.6		A	
4065	Salt	Thomas	Farrier	Clarges St. Piccadilly 25	8.6		A	
4080	Saunders	J. H.	Clerk	Alfred Buildings City Rd 4	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6
4089	Shallcross	Josiah	Watch-maker	Yardley St. Spafields 12	8.6		A B6C6d6	
4092	Shankland	George	Warehouseman	Poultry 18	8.6		A	
4120	Savage	Alfred		Milk St. Cheapside	8.6		A	
4123	Scott	Richard	Cabinet-maker	Noel St. Soho 11	8.6		A B6	
4158	Sawkins	William	Clerk	Rawstorn St. Clerkenwell 5	27		A BsCsDs	
4178	Sanderlands	John	Tailor	Brewer St. Golden Sq. 42	8.6		A	
4181	Spooner	F. W.	Linen-draper	Chiswell St.	8.6		A B6C6D6	
4193	Smith	Edward	Mason	Browns Court North Row Grosvenor Sq. 3	12		A Bs	
4224	Skeene	Philip	Gentleman	Southampton Row 32	8.6		A	
4247	Stephens	Charles	Carpenter	Bullin Court Strand 12	12		A BsC6D6	A6B6C6D6
4250	Smeaton	William		John St. Pentonville	12		A Bs	
4253	Storey	Thomas	Clerk	Jewin Crescent 24	12		A Bs	
4266	Summersby	Joseph	Writing-master	St Johns St. Rd 74	12		A Bs	
4276	Sawyer	William	Draftsman	Howland St. Tottenham Court Rd 20	12		A Bs	
4281	Scoles	James	Stationer	Macclesfield St. 13	8.6		B	
4303	Stephens	John	Upholsterer	Piccadilly 213	8.6		B C6	
4317	Sharpe	James	Carpenter	Barton St. Westminster 4	8.6		B	
4322	Symonds	Henry		Fetter Lane	8.6		B C6	
4337	Simpson	Andrew	Watch-maker	King St. Clerkenwell 31	27		B CsDs	As
4353	Shaw	William	Last-maker	Kingsgate St. 40	8.6		B	
4355	Scott	William	Stonemason	Shepherds Court Shepherds Market 18	8.6		B	
4366	Shirtcliffe	Edward		Bouverie St. 30	8.6		B C6D6	A6
4388	Shirtcliffe	Henry		Bouverie St. 30	12		B CsD6	A6
4391	Shaffeffer	James	Machine-maker	Richmond St. Lambeth 39	12		B Cs	
4394	Sibley	Richard	Silversmith	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 30	12		B Cs	
4412	Smith	William	Merchant	Ironmonger Lane 22	12		B CsD6	
4413	Shafto	Richard	Clerk	Cophall Court 12	12		B CsD6	B11.6CsD6
4423	Stokes	Isaac		Wardour St. 125	8.6		C D6	
4429	Stone	Charles	Tailor	Princes St. Hanover Sq. 2	8.6		C D6	A6
4438	Sabine	Cornelius	Cabinet-maker	Brownlow St. Holborn 13	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6
4442	Smith	William S.	Carver and gilder	Orange St. Red Lion Sq. 12	8.6		C D6	A6
4452	Smith	John	Hairdresser	Windmill St. Tottenham Court Rd 3	8.6		C	
4497	Stephenson	Thomas	Whitesmith	Medway St. Westminster 16	8.6		C D6	
4563	Standen	William	Tailor	Meredith St. Spafields 2	8.6		C	
4569	Sander	John	Haberdasher	Ratcliffe Highway 168	8.6		C D6	C8.6D6
4591	Shearman	William	Chemist	Strand 67	8.6		C D6	
4606	Sackett	Thomas		Gloucester Terrace Hoxton	8.6		C	
4611	Spencer	William		Chalton St. Somers Town 110	12		C Ds	A6
4634	Schnett	Charles		Dorset St Dorset Sq. 42	12		C Ds	A6
4647	Stedman	J. J.	Haberdasher	Holborn Hill 48	12		C Ds	
4678	Stebbing	Frederick	Cabinet-maker	South Molton St. 21	8.6		D	A6B6
4691	Sturot	John Michael	Accountant	Webber St. Blackfriars Rd	8.6		D	A6B6
4694	Scott	John	Carpenter	Upper Thames St. 123	8.6		D	A6
4695	Seagrasse	Frederick	Water-gilder	Charter House St. 9	8.6		D	
4696	Stark	William		Old White House Cellar	8.6		D	
4706	Sutton	Thomas	Powder-flask-maker	Crown Court St James's 16	8.6		D	
4721	Swain	Benjamin	Brewer	Ossulton St. Somers Town 34	8.6		D	A6
4738	Sutherland	James	Upholsterer	Charles St. Covent Garden 4	8.6		D	A6
4741	Sheat	Richard	Carpenter	Henry St. Hampstead Rd 37	8.6		D	
4742	Skeene	Philip		Garden Court Temple 2	15		D	As
4743	Spiller	John	Silk weaver	Turner Sq. Hoxton 5	8.6		D	
4760	Stevens	John H.	Clerk	Chalton St. Somers Town 73	8.6		D	A6
4768	Squire	Cornelius		Rodney St. Pentonville 1	8.6		D	A6
4769	Sweizer	Philip	Engineer	Dove Court Monkwell St.	8.6		D	
4770	Sankey	Thomas		Essex St. Strand 10	8.6		D	A6
4775	Sparks	Charles		Baalzephon St. Long Lane Borough 18	8.6		D	A6B6C6D6
4792	Stumbke	Thomas	Tailor	Oxendon St. 19	15		D	as
4794	Swaine	Thomas	Traveller	Borough 80	8.6		D	
4813	Smith	James	Plasterer	Drummond St. Euston Sq. 47	8.6		D	
4819	Sharpe	James	Gentleman	Prospect Cottage Barsberry P...	27		D	AsBsCsD12
4820	Shirrar	Alexander	Goldsmith etc	Carburton St. Fitzroy Sq. 3	8.6		D	A6



No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826 1827	1828	1829
4849	Savage	John	Haberdasher	Crawford St. 35	27	D	AsBsCs
4870	Symington	James	Chronometer-maker	City Rd	8.6	D	
4872	Stunt	Henry		Richards Place Blackfriars Rd 4	8.6	D	A6B6
4882	Sole	John	Architectural-draftsman	Vauxhall Bridge Rd	12	D	As
4887	Smith	Job	Carpenter etc	Howland St. Tottenham Court Rd 52	12	D	AsB6C6D6
4901	Smith	Joab	Clerk	Moorfields 5	8.6	D	A6B6
4904	Stunt	Alfred		Richards Place Blackfriars Rd 4	12	D	AsB6C6D6
4915	Sylvester	Abraham	Gentleman	New North St. 33	12	D	As
4920	Sharp	W. H.	Irish Chamber	Guildhall	12	D	AsB6C6D6
4923	Steel	G.	Baker	Woodstock St. Oxford St.	12	D	As
4931	Smith	Henry	Clerk	Hatton Garden 56; 2 Southampton St. Bloomsbury	8.6		A B6C6D6
4941	Smith	Charles	Clerk	Queen St. Cheapside 6	8.6		A B6C6D6
4953	Stephens	William	Schoolmaster	Noble St. Wilmington Sq. 35	8.6		A
4957	Swett	Edward		Chancery Lane 39	8.6		A B6C6D6
4974	Sherwin	John G.	Engineer	Bydes Place Shoreditch 3	8.6		A
4983	Strangways	John	Printer	Warwick Sq. 2	8.6		A B6C6D6
5001	Shell	Thomas		Bouverie St. Fleet St.	8.6		A
5029	Smith	T. H.	Gentleman	Derby St. Grays Inn Rd	8.6		A
5034	Savage	Charles	Carver and gilder	Brill Crescent Somers Town 1	8.6		A
5041	Still	Alfred H.		Albion St. Regents Park 163	12		A Bs
5052	Sturgess	James	Tailor	Hop Gardens St Martins Lane 7	8.6		A
5070	Spittle	David	Patent-bedstead-maker	Cyre St. Hill	12		A BsC6D6
5079	Spencer	Thomas	Carver	Upper Marylebone St. 56	8.6		B C6D6
5085	Smith	Charles	Tailor	Grays Inn Lane 52	8.6		B C6D6
5092	Stanley	Arthur G.	Clerk	Bank of England	8.6		B C6
5113	Simpson	Charles	Gentleman	Bernard St. 23	8.6		B
5130	Sheperd	Robert		Furnivals Inn	8.6		B
5140	Synnett	Andrew		Ellen St. Sloane Sq. 24	12		B Cs
5146	Sparrow	Thomas	Jeweller	Brook St. Holborn 18	8.6		C D6
5158	Seaborn	Hugh		Salisbury St. Fleet St. 13	8.6		B C6D6
5170	Southwood	Thomas	Trimming manufacturer	Aldermanbury 44	8.6		B
5175	Simpson	Charles W.	Clerk	Clifton St. Finsbury Sq. 1	8.6		B
5180	Smith	Dudley		Stamford St. 48	8.6		B C6D6
5183	Savage	William	Articled clerk	Thanet Place Strand 9	8.6		B C6D6
5189	Shepard	Richard		Furnivals Inn 12	8.6		B C6D6
5200	Smith	Joseph		Ossulton St. Somers Town 65	12		B Cs
5201	Somerville	John	Grocer	Fleet St. 190	12		B CsD6
5212	Steel	E. T.	Clerk	Grays Inn Lane 81	12		B CsD6
5232	Swinden	Edward	Tailor	Great Wild St. Lincolns Inn Fields 23	8.6		C
5234	Sheppard	Henry	Carpenter	Bowling Green Walk Hoxton Potfield 4	8.6		C D6
5235	Somerville	John		Wilmington Sq. 4	8.6		C D6
5238	Smith	George	Clerk	Middleton St. Spafields	8.6		C
5267	Straight	Thomas	Ivory-worker	Bartletts Buildings 26	8.6		C D6
5272	Sershall	John	Engineer	Ship Tavern Place Leadenhall Market 11	8.6		C D6
5279	Stokes	Joseph	Engineer	Cross St. Old St. Rd 4	8.6		C D6
5281	Skinner	William	Carpenter	John St. Tottenham Court Rd 78	8.6		C
5283	Shepherd	Edmund	Chemist	Temple St. Whitefriars 15	8.6		C D6
5287	Strong	William		St James's St. 78	8.6		C D6
5299	Shaw	William	Plasterer	Carburton St. Fitzroy Sq. 6	8.6		C
5304	Smith	John	Carver and gilder	Little Henry St. Camden Town 6	8.6		C
5305	Sayers	G.	Carver and gilder	Little Henry St. Camden Town 6	8.6		C D6
5323	Stead	Francis	Engraver	Queen St. Golden Sq. 27	8.6		C D6
5330	Sayer	J.		Bucklersbury	15		C Ds
5343	Summersall	F. R.	Gentleman	Kings Sq. Goswell St.	8.6		C D6
5344	Skellett	Edward	Warehouseman	Hemlock Court 15	8.6		C D6
5345	Sumereau	James	Jeweller	Castle St. Leicester Sq.	8.6		C D6
5354	Smith	James	Coal merchant	Burr St. East Smithfield 22	8.6		C
5377	Sims	John	Clerk	Inner Circle Regents Park	12		C Ds
5387	Smith	C. F.	Surveyor	Montague Close Southwark	8.6		D
5397	Stewart	Alexander	Warehouseman	London Rd 114	8.6		D
5428	Skilbeck	William	Gentleman	Highbury Plain Islington 15	8.6		C
5431	Stephens	Robert	Clerk	Furnivals Inn	8.6		C D6
5470	Stent	Edmund	Student	Abchurch Lane	8.6		D
5487	Shaw	Frederick		Bennet St. Blackfriars 26	8.6		D
5497	Skeat	Richard	Carpenter	Henry St. Hampstead Rd 37	8.6		D
5498	Swan	John	Printer	Banner Sq. St Lukes 57	8.6		D
5499	Sabine	James	Cabinet-maker	Upper Ground St. Blackfriars 85	8.6		D
5515	Snelling	Robert	Turner	Mongagu St. Russell Sq. 3	8.6		D

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
5554	Sadler	Simeon		Wellington St. Goswell St. 9	8.6			D
5558	Smith	William	Carver and gilder	Warren St. Bloomsbury 12	8.6			D
5559	Smith	William	Compositor	Prospect Place Southwark 11	8.6			D
5571	Smith	J.	Dish-maker	Charles House Lane	8.6			D
5584	Scott	James	Watch-maker	Eliza Place Clerkenwell 7	8.6			D
5606	Smith	R. B.		Committee Room Carey St.	8.6			D
5607	Swift	James	Carpenter	Wynatt St. 18	8.6			D
5613	Shuttleworth	Samuel	Solicitor's clerk	Smith St. St Pancrass Rd 25	8.6			D
5632	Stenchan	John	Die-sinker	Gerrard St. Soho 8	12			D
5689	Stillard	John		Lawrence Pountney Lane 27	12			D
9	Tucker	Thomas	Clerk	Strand 68	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6
10	Taylor	Richard	Printer	Shoe Lane	20	Ds	A20BsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
11	Truman	Henry	Clerk	Gas Works Westminster	11	Ds	A11B6C6	
62	Thomas	William	Tin-man	Prices St. Blackfriars Ct. 7	5	D	A6	
69	Thick	Robert	Carver	Clipstone St. Marylebone 35	5	D	A6B6C6	
114	Turpin	Thomas	Clerk	Lane's Court Great Warren St. 1	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
116	Tennant	Benjamin	Wine merchant	Trinity Sq.	20	D	AsBsCs	
168	Thomas	James		Old Swan Stairs London Bridge	6	Ds	AsBsC6	
184	Twigg	John	Dry-salter	Coleman St. 35	5	D	A6B6C6	
191	Thompson	Peter	Carpenter	Great Newport St. 23	20	D	AsBsCs	
203	Tijou	William	Carver and gilder	Greek St. Soho 17	24		A BsCsDs	
256	Tovey	Richard	Engraver	Felix Place Islington 10; 20 Portland Place	5	D	6B6C6D6	A24BsCsDs
261	Taine	James	Bricklayer	Lad Lane	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
270	Toplis	Charles	Surgeon	Robert St. Bedford Ros 13; Frederick Cottage Goswell Ros	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
295	Taylor	John	Gentleman	Bedford Row	47	Ds	AsBsCsD47	AsBsCsDs
304	Thompson	Thomas L.	Printer	Wingrove Place St Johns St. Rd 15	5	D	A6B6C6D6	
306	Tuely	Charles	Sash-maker	Kenton St. 41	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
322	Tyler	Abraham	Carpenter	Church St. Bethnal Green 119	5	D	A6	
334	Towgood	Frederick	Paper-maker	Sherborne Lane 14	24		A BsCsDs	A24BsCsDs
354	Tucker	William	Schoolmaster	Hackney	5	D	A6B6	
433	Taylor	William	Printer	High Holborn 110	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
483	Teasdale	Benjamin	Book-binder	Bartletts Buildings 22	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
649	Timbury	Charles	Engineer	Cursitor St. 8	5	D	A6B6	
683	Taylor	Henry	Engineer	Crescent Jewin St. 11	20	D	AsBsCs	
685	Timms	Thomas	Printer	Church St. Westminster 10	5	D		
720	Thorne	James			5	D		
722	Throssell	Charles	Sadler	East Harding St.; 13 Harp Alley	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
738	Thompson	Thomas	Coach-wheelwright	Little Welbeck St. 3	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
819	Taylor	Frederick	Watch-maker	Devonshire St. Queens Sq. 44	5	D	A6B6C6D24	AsBsCsD24
932	Topple	George	Draftsman	Chapel St. Bedford Row; 23 Queen St. Golden Sq.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6CsD12
938	Taylor	Ridge	Architect	Francis St. Bedford Sq. 28	6	Ds	A6	
1161	Taylor	C. N.	Jeweller	Ryders Court Leicester Sq. 2	5	D		
1192	Thompson	Peter	Jeweller	Brewer St. Golden Sq. 8; 46 Brewer St. Golden Sq.	5	D	A6B6CsD12	
1373	Taylor	William	Warehouseman	Bucklersbury 31	6	Ds	AsBsC6D6	A6B6C6
1359	Taylor	Henry	Gentleman	Miles's Lane Cannon St. 24	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1374	Tapster	Stephen	Wine merchant	Craven St. Strand 46	5	D	A6B24CsDs	As
1374	Todd	John	Tailor	Tottenham Court Rd 204	5	D	A6	
1388	Theobalds	W. Jun.	Silversmith	Greville St. Hatton Garden 22	5	D	A6B6C6	
1375	Taylor	Edwin	Boot and shoe-maker	Hanway St. Oxford St.	5	D		
1592	Todd	David	Cabinet-maker	New Compton St. Soho 26	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1605	Taylor	Edward	Boot-maker	Great Ormond St. 31	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
1608	Taylor	William	Tailor	Charlotte St. Whitechapel 52	5	D	A6	C8.6D6
1609	Taylor	John		Clifford St. Bond St. 14	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6
1617	Toms	Josiah	Tailor	Brighton St. Cromer St. 23	5	D	A6	
1701	Thompson	Robert	Printer	Weymouth St. 43	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1731	Tyler	Joseph	Upholsterer	Broad St. Bloomsbury 58	5	D		
1769	Tooze	James	Plumber	Grainge Court 2	5	D		
1803	Taylor	John Jun		Bedford Row 12	20	D	AsBsCs	
1804	Taylor	Richard Jun.		Bedford Row 12	20	D	AsBsCs	
1816	Taylor	Thomas	Draper	Sloane St. 201	5	D		
1827	Truby	William	Clerk	Marsham St. Westminster 11	5	D		
1831	Thorogood	George	Lithographic printer	Bagnigge Wells	5	D	A6	
1849	Thompson	Henry	Joiner	Upper Baker St. Spafields 5	5	D	A6B6	
1897	Thompson	William	Clerk	Cliffords Inn	5	D		
1912	Tillman	George	Coach-lamp-maker	Cross St. Clerkenwell 1	5	D	A6	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
1954	Taunton	John	Carpenter	Barrows Buildings 5	5	D		
1958	Tidemore	Thomas	Hatter	Melion St. Borough 8	5	D	A6B6	
2006	Frite	William	Carpenter	Princes Row Pimlico 15	6	A		
2013	Turner	William	Musical-instrument-maker	Charlton St. Fitzroy Sq. 13	8.6	A		
2053	Tulley	William	Shoe-maker	Fetter Lane 9	6	A		
2069	Tate	George	Surveyor	Chapel St. Pentonville 18	6	A		
2090	Thompson	Abraham	Tailor	Hatton Garden 104	6	A	B6C6	
2137	Thompson	William	Engraver	Old Chapel Rd Kentish Town 10	8.6	A	B6C6D6	
2146	Tapp	Joseph	Clerk	Foley St. Middlesex Hospital 29	8.6	A	B6	
2150	Thum	George	Gun-maker	Chelsea	8.6	A	B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6 A6
2156	Thomas	John	Stay-maker	Wood St. Cheapside	8.6	A	B6C6D6	
2157	Thomas	William	Stay-maker	Wood St. Cheapside	8.6	A	B6C6D6	A6
2180	Trevy	I.	Distiller	Church St. Lambeth	8.6	A		
2189	Thomas	Joseph	Clerk	Finch Lane Cornhill	8.6	A		
2192	Tessier	Lewis	Jeweller	Portland St. Soho 13	8.6	B	C6D6	
2206	Thompson	Francis		Lambeth Walk 10	8.6	A	B6C6D6	A6
2256	Trotter	James	Draftsman	Kings Row Pimlico	8.6	B	C6	
2277	Tucker	John	Gentleman	Church St. Hackney	8.6	B		
2304	Thornton	William	Carpenter	Shepherds Market 6	8.6	B	C12Ds	
2333	Taylor	James	Engraver	Barnesbury Row Chandos Sq. 25	8.6	B	C6	
2335	Twigg	Henry	Printer	Hartmells Office Fleet St.	8.6	B	C6	
2381	Taplin	Edward	Teacher of mathematics	Castle St. Holborn 19	8.6	B	C6	
2403	Tillidge	Elias	Warehouseman	Skinner St. 11	8.6	B		
2448	Thompson	John	Brush-maker	Hatton Wall 25	8.6	C	D6	A6B6
2478	Thurkle	Benjamin	Sword-cutler	New St. Sq. 115	8.6	C	D6	A6B6C6D6 A6B6C6D6
2480	Twinny	Henry	Woollen-draper	Bird St. Manchester Sq. 9	8.6	C	D6	A6BsC12
2487	Theakston	Edward	Gentleman	Belgrave Place Pimlico 4	8.6	C	D6	
2488	Thompson	John	Carpenter	Craven St. City Rd 1	8.6	C		
2500	Thompson	James	Plumber	Old Chapel Row Kentish Town 70	8.6	C		
2552	Tipton	A. J.		Kent Rd	8.6	C	D6	
2572	Tillott	John	Smith	Belton St. Long Acre 37	8.6	C		
2591	Taylor	James John		Aldersgate Buildings 6	8.6	C	D6	A6B6
2594	Turner	W. H.	Gentleman	Preston St. Kings Sq. Goswell St.	8.6	C		
2597	Treppass	C. S.	Gentleman	St Johns St. Rd	8.6	C	D6	
2661	Townsend	I.		Ludgate St. 16	8.6	C		
2676	Thorpe	George	Glass-shade-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 21	8.6	C	D6	A6B6C6D6 A6
2682	Turner	William	Musical-instrument-maker	Upper Charlotte St. Fitzroy Sq. 13	8.6	C		
2742	Thorp	Henry	Schoolmaster	Ernest St. Regents Park	8.6	C	D6	
2748	Town	Leonard	Chemist	Wellington Terrace Waterloo Bridge 9	8.6	D		AsBsC18D6
2769	Taylor	N. H.	Upholsterer	Oxendon St. Haymarket 22	8.6	C		
2789	Traice	William	Carpenter	Ecclestone St. North 17	8.6	C	D6	A6B6
2800	Trowbridge	Peter	Cabinet-maker	Torrington Place Montagu Sq. 12	8.6	D		A6B6
2844	Thomas	William	Tailor	Titchfield St. Marylebone Rd 40	8.6	D		
2920	Thomas	John	Artist	Old Chapel Row Kentish Town 10	8.6	D		A6B6
2922	Tilley	Thomas	Mathematical instrument maker	Blackfriars Rd	8.6	D		A6B6C6
2933	Thomas	Richard		John St. Fitzroy Sq. 71	8.6	D		
2958	Thompson	Henry	Tin-plate-worker	Cross st. Leonard St. Shoreditch 6	8.6	D		A6
2960	Taylor	John Robert	Law-stationer	Cursitor St. 28	8.6	D		A6
2983	Tomlin	William	Cabinet-maker	Dean St. Tooley St. 29	8.6	D		
3027	Trezevant	T. M.	Engineer	New Rd	15	D		AsBsCsDs A30BsCs
3029	Tunncliff	Joseph		Cold Bath Sq. 25	8.6	D		
3034	Tomlin	Frederick	Gentleman	Grafton St. Bond St. 13	8.6	D		A6
3088	Turner	John	Carpenter	White St. Little Moorfields 1	8.6	D		
3096	Thomson	John S.	Attorney	Chancery Lane 9	27	D		AsBsCSD24 AsBsCSD24
4027	Taylor	George	Carpenter	Princess Sq. Kennington	8.6		A	B6C6D6 A6B6C6
4030	Terry	James E.		Russell Court 10	8.6		A	B6C6
4088	Thomas	Edward	Pocket-book-maker	Upper St. St Martins Lane 7	8.6		A	B6C6D6
4116	Taylor	William	Jeweller	Bloomfield St. Finsbury	8.6		A	B6C6
4118	Tindley	John	Tailor	Lancaster Court Strand 8	8.6		A	
4139	Traice	Henry			8.6		A	B6C6D6 A6B6C6D6
4140	Tabor	Thoms		Brownlow St. Drury Lane	8.6		A	
4162	Talfor	John	Carpenter	William St. Spafields 19	8.6		A	
4165	Thomus	Thomas	Draper	Vere St. Oxford St. 13	8.6		A	
4184	Tietgen	Bernard	Harp-maker	Broad St. Golden Sq. 37	8.6		A	B6C6D6 A6B6c6

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826 1827	1828	1829
4216	Taglabue	Anthony	Phi <sup>l</sup> Glass-blower	Brook St. Holborn 11	8.6	A	
4236	Tranter	Joseph	Millwright	Compton St. Clerkenwell	8.6	A	
4239	Tottern	George		Thomas's St. Stamford St. 12	8.6	A	
4240	Tucker	James	Stone-cutter	Baalzephon St. Lory Lane Borough 1	8.6	A	
4311	Tippin	William	Carpenter	Speaks Buildings Spitalfields 1	8.6	B	
4336	Turner	John	Clerk	Berwick St. 98	8.6	B	
4340	Thorpe	William	Joiner	Gower Place Euston Sq. 9	8.6	B	
4342	Thompson	James	Bricklayer	Portpool Lane 49	8.6	B C6	
4348	Townsend	Richard L.	Upholsterer	Argyle Place Regent St. 6	8.6	B	
4359	Thurrell	John	Carver	Wells St. Oxford St.	8.6	B C6	
4398	Tate	W. K.	Modeller	Ryders Court Leicester Sq. 4	12	B CsD12	As
4422	Tessier	Lewis			8.6	C	
4458	Turner	James	Whitesmith	Kensington	8.6	C	
4491	Tylor	Joseph	Chair-maker	Broad St. Bloomsbury 58	8.6	C D6	A6
4521	Thornton	Joseph	Carpenter	Stone-cutters Buildings Lincolns Inn Fields 7	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6d6
4529	Thomas	J.	Carpenter	Hemlock Court Carey St. 8	8.6	C	
4615	Todd	William Henry		Cold Bath Sq. 23	12	C Ds	A6B6C6D6
4642	Thorpe	Henry			12	C Ds	A6
4652	Thornton	Thomas	Gentleman	Craven St. Strand 32	12	C Ds	
4677	Thackwray	Charles	Carpenter	Cromer St. Grays Inn Lane 77	8.6	D	
4699	Thorn	Richard		Stanhope St. Clare market 3	8.6	D	
4702	Tomlinson	Charles	Law clerk	Theobalds Rd 18	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4736	Thomas	John	Pianoforte-maker	Baldwins Gardens 30	8.6	D	
4737	Todman	Joseph G.	Engraver	Redcross Sq. Cripplegate 31	8.6	D	A6B6C6d6
4754	Turner	John	Turner	Gibson St. Waterloo Rd 24	8.6	D	A6
4765	Thomas	William	Pianoforte-maker	Baldwins Gardens 30	8.6	D	
4806	Truran	Richard	Joiner	Redcross St. 55	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4855	Thompson	George	Teacher	Clapham	8.6	D	A6
4899	Taylor	William	Tailor	Wimpole St. 75	12	D	AsB6
4908	Thompson	Thomas J.	Clerk	Upper Thames St. 124	12	D	AsB6C6D6
4912	Trull	Robert	Carpenter	Cross St. Newington 3	12	D	As
4925	Tayton	Thomas	Carver	Oxendon St. 20	12	D	AsB6C6D6
4964	Taylor	William	Plumber	Brunswick St. Stamford St. 9	8.6	A	
5027	Trimmell	Arthur	Butcher	Dorset St. Portman Sq.	8.6	A	
5037	Tapp	Joseph	Haberdasher	King St. Seven Dials 2	8.6	A	
5038	Tapp	Edward	Member's son	son of King St. Seven Dials 2	8.6	A	
5042	Thompson	I. H.	Measure-maker	King St. Clerkenwell 33	12	A	BsC6D6
5051	Tilliduff	Joseph	Printer	New Rd St Georges East	8.6	A	
5065	Thompson	Samuel	Printer	Rolls Buildings 13	12	A	BsC6D6
5154	Tunnickliff	Joseph	Engineer	Cold Bath Sq. 25	8.6	B	
5250	Trinder	John	Clerk	Alfred Place Blackfriars Rd 2	8.6	C D6	
5262	Tomlin	John	Smith	Tabernacle Sq. Old St. 16	8.6	C	
5293	Thick	Charles James		Cloudesley Sq. Islington 32	8.6	C	
5306	Thompson	John	Carpenter and joiner	Kings Arms Stairs	8.6		C
5324	Thomas	Henry	Jeweller	Charles St. City Rd	8.6		C D6
5342	Taylor	William	Warehouseman	Bucklersbury 12	8.6		C D6
5373	Treherne	George	Coach-maker	Little Marylebone St. 21	8.6		C
5378	Tiffin	Charles	Upholsterer	Somers Place New Rd 17	12		C Ds
5386	Thomas	Hugh	Engineer	Kingsgate St. Holborn 40	8.6		D
5426	Trott	Henry	Goldsmith	Museum St. Bloomsbury 26	8.6		C D6
5449	Towzey	John	Coach-smith	Lower St. Islington 18; 2 Arlington St. Saddlers Wells	12		C Ds
5451	Trimming	T.	Clerk	Jewin Crescent 8	8.6		C
5517	Tindall	William	Clerk	Upper Thames St. 49	8.6		D
5529	Theobald	William	Clerk	Bucklersbury 26	8.5		D
5531	Tierney	William	Musician	Rolls Buildings 10	8.6		D
5534	Timewell	John	Cabinet-maker	John St. Tottenham Court Rd 102	8.6		D
5537	Timewell	Henry		John St. Tottenham Court Rd 102	8.6		D
5546	Turner	George	Baker	High St. Borough 111	8.6		D
5552	Thornton	Thomas		Adam St. Adelphi 9	8.6		D
5573	Tate	Stephen	Plate and Glass-cutter	Miles's Lane 13	8.6		D
5637	Truell	Robert	Carpenter	Newington	12		D
5640	Tucker	Henry		King St. Holborn 24	12		D
5641	Tucker	Charles		King St. Holborn 24	12		D
5685	Tayton	Silas		Crossby Rd Borough 13	12		D
5686	Tarbatt	W.		Little Fisher Lane Doctors Common 1	12		D
449	Vickers	John	Engineer	Whitefriars	5 D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6 A6B6C6D6
520	Underhill	Henry	Glass-cutter	Bartletts Buildings 15	5 D	A6B6C6D6	

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
599	Underhill	James	Glass-cutter	Bartletts Buildings 15	5	D	A6B6C6		
1046	Unite	Samuel	Japanner	Pott St. Bethnall Green 19	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
1640	Umpelby	W.	Schoolmaster	Blackfriars Rd	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6 C8.6	A6B6
1675	Vaughan	John	Gentleman	Clarendon Sq. 16	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6c6D6	A6B6C6D6
1882	Verinder	John	Cutler	St Pauls Church Yard 79	5	D	A6		
2062	Unite	George	Saw-maker	Little White Lion St. Seven Dials 3	6		A		
2138	Van Setter	Francis	Gentleman	Queen St. Cheapside	8.6		A		
2481	Underston	Charles	Carpenter	Crown St. Hoxton Sq. 75	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	
2560	Umpelby	Edward W.	Stationer	Dowgate Hill 38	8.6		C D6	A6	
2588	Villanueva	Francis	Gentleman		8.6		C		
2734	Verrey	Henry	Hozier	Regent St. 216	8.6		C		
2795	Valdes	Dionisio	Gentleman		8.6		C		
2924	Umpelby	George		Charlotte St. New Cut 15	8.6		C		
4046	Viall	Charles R.	Linen-draper	High St. Bloomsbury 43	8.6			A	
4117	Ulloa	Jose		Kingsland Place 9	8.6			A	
4176	Vine	William		Chancery Lane 40	8.6			A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4220	Verron	Thomas	Tailor	Bishopsgate without 10	8.6			A	
4313	Verdera	Raphael	Pianoforte-maker	Marsham St. Westminster 44	8.6			B C6	
4462	Urwin	Robert	Painter	Duke St. Lincolns Inn Fields 31	8.6			C	
4570	Verrable	George	Cabinet-maker	Fulwoods Rents 18	8.6			C D6	A6B6C6
4787	Varney	Richard	Carpenter	Castle St. Strand 16	8.6			D	
4828	Vesey	John		Cheapside 127	8.6			D	
5074	Vasseur	Jules	Gentleman	Grove St. Lisson Grove North 1	12				A Bs
5190	Vale	George Frederick	Clock-maker	Paul St. Finsbury 32	8.6				B C6
5436	Vogel	J. B. G.	Painter	Nile Place Weymouth St. Old St. Rd 3	12				C Ds
5481	Ussner	Charles	Jeweller	Gloucester St. Queens Sq.11	8.6				D
51	Wood	Charles	Printer	Poppins Court Fleet St.	5	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCsD24
63	Webster	William	Engineer	Little Henry St. Waterloo Rd 5	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
64	White	Alfred		Chapman St. Islington 29	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
65	Wilson	Alexander	Engraver	Leigh St. Red Lion Sq. 6; 55 Upper Marylebone St.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
70	Whitaker	J. L.	Cabinet-maker	Thomas St. Grosvenor Sq. 41	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
117	Williams	William	Gentleman	Castle St. Holborn 14	24	Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsC24Ds
118	Weston	William	Cabinet-maker	Orange Court Leicester Fields 3	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
121	Warwick	Guy	Gentleman	Dorset Whart Whitefriars	24	Ds	AsBsD24	AsBsCs	
151	Wood	George	Carver	Red Cross St. Cripplegate 58	5	D	A6B6C6		
152	Wood	John	Carver	Red Cross St. Cripplegate 58	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
153	Wood	Henry	Carver	Red Cross St. Cripplegate 58	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
185	Wheeler	David E.	Watch-maker	Grays Inn Passage 9	12	Ds	A12BsC12Ds	AsB12C12Ds	A12Bs
186	Wilson	Alexander	Jeweller	Northumberland Court Strand 1	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	
188	Webster	James	Clerk	South St. Finsbury Market 10	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6	
189	Warner	James	Turner	Marsom St. Somers Town 6	5	D	A6B6		
208	Wellington	John	Printer	Saracens Place Fitzroy Sq. 31	10	D10	A6		
210	Wilson	Thomas	Tailor	Goodwins Court St Martins Lane 4	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
216	Woolley	Robert	Music-engraver	Jewin Court Jewin St. 4	5	D	A6		
227	White	P. S.	Chemist	Chapman St. Islington 29	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
241	Watts	Francis	Gentleman	New St. Vincent Sq. Westminster 7	20	D	AsBsCsD24	AsBsCSD24	AsBsCs
271	Waller	George	Clerk	Pleasant Place Kingsland Rd 74	5	D	A6B6		
319	Willson	Henry	Gentleman	Stockwell Surry	5	D	A6B6C6Ds	A12BsC12D6	
336	Wood	Edward George	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Red Cross St. Cripplegate 58	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
337	Wornell	Alexander	Trimming manufacturer	St Ann's Lane City 6	5	D			
381	White	William	Engineer	Fleet St. 69	5	D	A6B6		
394	Ward	Cornelius	Musical-instrument-maker	Great Titchfield St. 38	12	Ds	AsB12CsD12	AsB12CsD12	As2
396	Walker	Joseph John	Upholsterer	Hanover St. Long Acre 10	5	D			
420	Watts	Joshua	Pewterer	Shoe Lane 61	5	D	A6B6		
435	Wheeler	John A.		Grays Inn Passage 9	5	D	6B6C6D6	A6	
436	Wacey	George	Book-binder	Charles St. Hatton Garden	11	Ds	A11		
438	Wilkinson	Joseph	Merchant	Barge Yard Bucklersbury 5	24	Ds	AsB24CsDs	As	
482	Weston	John S.	Silk mercer	Bread St. 62	5	D	A6B6C6		
499	Webb	Joseph	Printer	St James's Walk	6	Ds	AsBsC6		
527	Walker	John G.	Tailor	Hanover St. Long Acre 10	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6	A8.6
529	West	James John	Cabinet-maker	Oxford St. 19	5	D			
550	Warren	Edward D.	Printer	Dean St. Fetter Lane 3	5	D	A6B6		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
577	Wylie	James	Oil and colourman	Drury Lane 150	24	Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsC24Ds	AsBsC24Ds
579	Wood	Samuel James	Silversmith	St Johns St. 35	12	Ds	A12		
603	Worster	Samuel	Tailor	Fetter Lane 31	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
607	Whitbourne	Edward	Coach-maker	Goswell St. 8	5	D			
647	Wilson	James	Carpenter	Denmark St. Soho 14	5	D			
648	West	Robert	Accountant	Upper Marylebone St. 51	5	D	A6B6C6Ds	A12BsCs	
654	Williams	F. F.	Clicker	Little Russell St. Covent Garden 7	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D30	AsBsCsD30
655	Wilson	T. W.	Linen manufacturer	Yorkshire	10	D			
719	Watson	Edward			5	D			
724	Woodward	George	Clerk	Green St. Theobalds Rd 6; 7 King St. Long Acre	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
734	Whitfield	Jackson	Musical-instrument-maker		5	D	A6BsC12D6		
772	Wilkinson	John	Gentleman	Great Eastcheap 5;10 Edmund Place Aldersgate St.;3 Wellington St. Strand	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
778	Webb	J. B.	Watch-maker	Clerkenwell	5	D	A6 D8.6		
783	Wilcoxon	Robert	Coach-maker	Wilson Place Grays Inn 4	5	D	A5B6		
832	Webb	William	Carpenter	Chancery Court 3	5	D	A6		
896	Wright	Robert	Carpenter	Theobalds Rd 52	5	D			
898	Wheeler	Joseph	Plate-glass-man	Coventry St. 23	5	D	A12Bs		
933	West	Edward	Iron-monger	High Holborn 251	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
1062	Wilson	Thomas	Carpenter	Window St. Bryanstone Sq. 10	5	D			
1064	Wheelen	Thomas	Goldsmith	Tavistock St. Covent Garden 38	5	D	A6		
1149	West	William	Gold-lace-man	Richard St. Islington 21	5	D			
1150	Williams	Theodore	Jeweller	Cobham Row 6	5	D	A6		
1157	Williams	Joseph	Stationer	Chichester Rents Chancery Lane; 4 Dyers Buildings	5	D	A6B6C6		
1175	Williams	Thomas	Engineer	Shaftsbury Place Aldersgate St. 9	5	D	A6		
1251	Wood	Charles Jun.	Glass Engraver	Crown Court Fleet St. 11	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6
1263	Walker	Richard	Coach-maker	Crown Court Russell St. 23; 2 Old North St. Red Lion Sq.	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	
1360	Walker	John	Cooper	King St. Smithfield 72	5	D			
1370	Williams	Eli	Carpenter	Windmill St. Tottenham Court Rd 16	5	D			
1371	Ward	John	Coach-maker	Great Surry St. Blackfriars Rd 139	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1376	Wrede	Herman	Flute-maker	St Johns Sq. Clerkenwell	5	D			
1572	Wonfor	Thomas	Jeweller	New Bond St. 83	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
1577	Wood	Henry	Painter	Museum St. 7	5	D			
1586	West	Benjamin	Book-binder	Bacchus Walk Hoxton 9	5	D	A6B6C6D6		
1589	Webster	John	Picture-frame-worker	Portland St. Wardour St. 5	5	D	A6		
1601	Watkins	Francis	Optician	Charing Cross 5	5	D	A6BsC12	C26.6Ds	AsBsC24Ds
1642	Wilson	Edward	Clerk	Cannon St. City 65	5	D	A6		
1643	Wheadon	William	Carpenter	Wells St. Oxford St. 33	5	D			
1646	Waller	James	Printer	York St. Middlesex Hospital 2	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1653	Williams	T. E.	Clerk	Upper St. Islington 9	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1681	Worcester	Thomas	Mariner	Lemon St. Goodmans Fields 91	5	D			
1687	Weldon	Charles	Pianoforte-maker	Kensington Place Westminster 8	5	D			
1689	Williams	George	Coach-maker	Charles St. Hampstead Rd	5	D	A6B6		
1699	Widdrington	George	Painter	Charles St. Manchester Sq. 13	5	D			
1704	Willis	Thomas	Gold-beater	Greenhills Rents Smithfield 23	5	D			
1708	Williams	Robert	Copper-smith	Houndsditch 99	5	D	A6		
1718	Wills	Edward	Cabinet-maker	Museum St. 5	5	D			
1725	Winn	Robert	Gentleman	Park St. Islington 46	5	D			
1738	Whitehead	Walter	Joiner etc	Union St. Hoxton 62	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6	
1747	Wade	William		Holborn Hill 57	5	D	A6B6		
1748	Wade	Benjamin		Holborn Hill 57	5	D	A6		
1776	Willis	John	Clerk	Lion St. Kent Rd 35	5	D			
1781	Watts	John R.	Bookseller	Strand 415	5	D			
1814	White	Thomas		Exmouth St. 29	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
1836	Withrow	Jacob	Tailor	Maiden Lane Covent Garden 9	5	D	A6		
1844	Warren	Thomas	Upholsterer	Clipstone St. 7	5	D	A6B6C6		
1867	Wilson	Alexander Harper		Holborn Hill 45	5	D			
1881	Wood	John	Warehouseman	Old Bond St. 35	5	D			
1906	Wind-scheffel	John	Cabinet-maker	Drury Lane 54	5	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
1907	Wind-scheffel	William	Cabinet-maker	Drury Lane 54	5	D			
1916	Winstone	John	Carpenter	Ossulton St. Somers Town 26	5	D	A6B6C6		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub	1826	1827	1828	1829
1945	Ward	Richard	Linen-draper	Newgate St.	5	D			
1960	Walton	William	Gentleman	Elizabeth Terrace Islington 3	5	D	A6		
2008	Webb	Henry Jun.		Great Sutton St.	6		A B6C6		
2018	Watson	Joseph	Coach-maker	Baker St. Cornwall Rd 34	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
2020	Whitbread	George	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Baker St. Cornwall Rd 34	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6	
2024	Watkins	B.	Tailor	Charlotte St. Marylebone 9	8.6		A		
2066	Wilkinson	John		Upper Islington Terrace 7	5		A		
2086	Wilson	Henry	Bookseller	St Pauls Church Yard	6		A B6C6D6	A6	A8.6B6C6D6
2092	Wright	Joseph	Clerk	Brick Lane Old St. 42	8.6		A		
2102	Wilson	John	Cloth-factor	Basinghall St.	8.6		A		
2147	Williams	J. R.	Chemist and druggist	Shoreditch 168	8.6		A		
2158	Webster	Charles	Tallow-chandler	Marchmont St. 18	8.6		A B6		
2166	Wontner	Richard	Woolen-draper	Clothfair 24	8.6		A		
2167	Winch	John	Tailor	Bath St. City Rd	8.6		A B6		
2168	Whitehead	George	Coach-maker	Mount Row Westminster 14	8.6		A		
2170	Warrington	Robert			8.6		A B6		
2170	Whiteley	Henry		Rosomans St. Clerkenwell 2	8.6		A B6C6		
2196	Whilkie	David	Baker	Aldersgate St. 42	8.6		B C6		
2198	Wilkinson	Frederick	Gentleman	Prospect Place Deptford 2	8.6		B		
2203	Ward	George G.	Machinist	Great Castle St. East Marylebone 67; 42 Toley St.; 30 Union St.	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2211	Wiltshire	Robert	Gentleman	Great Russell St. Bedford Sq. 69	8.6		A B6		
2223	Wolloxall	J. L.	Hairdresser	Maiden Lane Covent Garden 1	8.6		A B6C6		
2234	Welch	Thomas	Oilman	Bishopsgate St. 46	27		B CsDs	As	
2249	Winter	Francis	Joiner	East St. Manchester Sq. 69	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6	
2265	Wilson	Robert	Painter	Poland St. Oxford St. 27	8.6		B		
2269	Weatherly	Joseph	Silversmith	Poultry Cheapside 9	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2272	Wilson	George	Printer	George Court Piccadilly 6	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2273	Willis	John	Clerk	Little Russell St. Bloomsbury 29	8.6		B		
2281	Wilson	David	Engineer	Apollo Buildings Lambeth	8.6		B		
2308	Worthy	Johnson	Carpenter	Constitution Row Grays Inn Lane 3	8.6		B C6		
2320	Wright	Michael	Shoe-maker	Little St. Thomas Apostle 14	8.6		B C6		
2328	Webb	John	Tailor	Strand	27		B CsDs	As	
2329	Wood	John	Warehouseman	Old Bond St. 35	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2340	Watson	E. F.	Carver and gilder		8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2346	Watson	Samuel	Solicitor	Bouverie St. Fleet St.	27		B CsDs	As	
2350	Wheeler	Daniel D.		Wynyard St. 8	8.6		B		
2361	Wakefield	George	Gentleman	Ossulton St. Somers Twon	8.6		B		
2388	Wilson	John		Holborn 45	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6
2424	Wall	Edmund		Great Titchfield St. 78	8.6		C		
2433	Whitmore	Henry	Surgeon	Great Bath St. Bold Bath Sq.	8.6		C	D8.6	
2453	West	Francis	Carver	Edward St. Blackfriars Rd 5	8.6		C		
2473	Woodhead	William	Japanner	Coppice Row Clerkenwell 11	8.6		C		
2485	Webber	John			8.6		C		
2511	Ward	John	Japanner	Garden Row London Row	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
2534	Wright	John	Smith	Charter House Lane	8.6		C D6	A6	
2539	Walker	William	Schoolmaster	Webbs Lane Hammersmith	8.6		C		
2544	Wright	Richard	Machinist	George St. Lambeth 32	8.6		C		
2545	Williams	Samuel	Draper	Corset St. Salisbury Sq. 94	8.6		C D6		
2546	Wood	Benjamin	Cabinet-maker	Cleveland St. Fitzroy Sq. 19	8.6		C D6	A6	
2582	Webb	Thomas C.	Smith	Essex St. Battle Bridge 32	8.6		C		
2590	Willoughby	Richard	Watch-maker	Henry St. Old St. 9	8.6		C D6		
2630	Withall	Charles	Woolen-draper	Aldgate 15	8.6		C		
2637	Warren	Henry	Printer	Titchbourne St. Piccadilly 9	8.6		C		
2638	Ward	Thomas	Bookseller	High Holborn	8.6		C D6	A6B6	
2644	Wilcox	Henry		Leigh St. Burton Crescent 25	8.6		C D6	A6	
2684	Whittaker	Stephen	Gentleman	Long Lane 121	27		C Ds	AsBs	
2688	Woolmer	Shirley	Solicitor	Staple Inn 10	8.6		C		
2695	Weippert	Nelson	Professor of music	Berners St. Oxford St. 23; 8 Tooley St.	8.6		C D6		
2724	Willoughby	John	Mason	Wilton Place Knightsbridge 13	8.6		C		
2744	Whitebourne				8.6		C		
2751	Westlake	Richard	Pianoforte-maker	Norton St. Portland Place	8.6		C D6		
2757	Wall	Charles	Schoolmaster	Henrietta St. Cavendish Sq. 15	8.6		C		
2761	Wood	James	Gentleman	Castle St. Holborn 35	8.6		C		
2770	Wall	Martin	Gentleman	Parliament St. 52	8.6		C		
2771	Wood	Robert	Printer	Wood St. Cheapside 9	8.6		C D6		
2786	Walwyn	Benjamin	Wine merchant	Old Bond St. 7	8.6		C D6		
2825	Watson	Richard	Painter	Charlton St. Fitzroy Sq. 6	8.6		D	A6	
2828	Worster	Thomas	Chaser	Monkwell St. 10	8.6		D		

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades &c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
2836	Warner	John	Engine-lathe-and-tool-maker	Spans Buildings 13	8.6	D	A6B6C6	
2841	Whittle	George		Carey St. 33	8.6	D	A6	
2845	Wyatt	James	Tailor	Frith St. Soho 36	8.6	D	A6	
2847	Wright	William	Carver and gilder	Augustus St. Regents Park 10	8.6	D	A6B6	
2848	Ward	Thomas	Builder	Jewin St.	8.6	D	A6B6C6	
2857	Woollett	George	Woollen-drapeer	Holborn Hill 92	8.6	D		
2858	Walter	George	Carpenter	Clerkenwell Green 14	8.6	D	A6	
2865	Wilson	William	Clerk	Guilford Place 21	8.6	D		
2888	Wright	Henry Benjamin	Grainer	Newman St. Oxford St. 91	8.6	D		
2906	Wilson	John		Wells St. Oxford St.	8.6	D	A6	
2907	Wilson	John	Clerk	Guilford Place 21	8.6	D	A6B6	
2923	Watson	William	Cabinet-maker	Trinity Place Trinity Sq.	8.6	D	A6	
2945	Walter	James		Lambs Conduit St. 28	8.6	D	A6	
2953	Williams	Samuel	Wood-engraver	Compton St. East Brunswick Sq. 2	8.6	D		
2957	Wallis	John	Gentleman	Holborn Bars 6	8.6	D	A6B6	
2959	Walker	Thomas	Engraver	Bernard St. Russell Sq. 47	8.6	D	A6B6CsD12	AsB12CsD6
2961	Wright	Edwin	Grainer	Newman St. Oxford St. 91	8.6	D		
2986	Walker	David	Cabinet-maker	Bridge St. Westminster 14	27	D	AsBsCs	
2989	Watson	Sanden	Gentleman	Temple	8.6	D		
2990	Watson	Andrew K.	Gentleman	Garden Court Temple	8.6	D		
2998	Williams	George	Chaser	Exmouth St. 15	8.6	D		
3013	Woodhill	Jabez	Factor	Bell Yard Doctors Common 7	8.6	D	A6	
3024	Webb	George		Brunswick Place Balls Pond 17	27	D	AsBsCsD12	AsB12CsD12
3025	Webb	Joseph		Brunswick Place Balls Pond 17	8.6	D	A6	
3033	Walsh		Barrister	Tavistock Row Covent Garden	8.6	D		
3036	Woodstock	Samuel	Press manufacturer	Aldersgate St. 51	8.6	D		
3039	Wilks	John		Finsbury Sq.	27	D	AsBsCs	
3055	Wall	John	Tailor	Tabernacle Row Finsbury 9	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6	A6B6
3065	Woodward	Samuel	Printer	Portsmouth St. 4	8.6	D		
3069	Ward	Kyrle	Gilder	Cloth fair 17	8.6	D		
4000	Woodhouse	John	Clerk	Mary St. Regents Park 42	8.6	D		
4019	Waller	John	Clerk	Holborn Hill 40	8.6		A	
4031	Wade	Henry	Saddler	Fetter Lane 69	8.6		A	
4035	Whittingham	William	Watch-maker	Brookisby St. Islington	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6
4042	Wood	John	Student	Devereux Court Flet St. 6	8.6		A B6	
4068	Wyon	James	Engraver	Royal Mint 5	8.6		A	
4069	Webb	John	Gentleman	Millman St. Bedford Row	15		A Bs	
4090	Woolnough	William	Sieve-maker	Swan Lane 4	8.6		A	
4112	Wilkinson	Joseph	Machinist	Russell Place Lambeth 21	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6
4128	Whitaker	Thomas	Law-stationer	Thomas St. Grosvenor Sq. 41	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4141	White	Edward		Exmouth St. 29	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4174	Walker	Charles	Engraver	Bernard St. 47	8.6		A B6C6D6	
4185	Williams	Theodore		Cobham Row Clerkenwell 6	8.6		A B6C12Ds	A6B6C6
4198	Webster	William	Clerk	Chapel St. Bedford Row 1	12		A Bs	
4204	Watson	William	Watch-case-gilder	James St. Old St.	8.6		A B6C6D6	A6C6D6
4211	Williamson	Charles C	Clerk	Chapel St. Bedford Row 1	8.6		A B6C6	
4217	Whitaker	Joseph		Warwick Court Holborn 5	27		A BsCsDs	
4235	White	John		St Johns Wood Rd	8.6		A	
4245	Whitwell	Stedman	Architect	Strand 147	8.6		A	
4270	Williams	William	Gentleman	Gough St. Grays Inn Lane 15	12		A Bs	
4273	Whiten	Charles	Book-binder	Chapman St. Liverpool Rd 33	12		A Bs	
4288	Wells	George	Clerk	Fleet St. 22	8.6		B CsD12	
4290	Wilson	Henry	Bookseller	George Court Piccadilly 6	8.6		B C6	
4291	Weightman	J. G.	Architect	Chenies St. Bedford Sq.	8.6		B C6D6	A6
4306	Withnall	Joseph	Clerk	St Martins Le Grand 9	8.6		B	
4307	Withnall	John	Clerk	St Martins Le Grand 9	8.6		B C6	
4364	Willcox	James M.	Ornamental-carver	Goswell St. 74	8.6		B C6	
4372	Whiting	Samuel	Cabinet-maker	Great Wild St. 35	8.6		B C6D6	
4373	West	James	Cabinet-maker	Houghton St. Clare Market 20	8.6		B C6D6	A6B6C6D6
4378	Wills	J. F.	Soap-boiler	John St. Bankside	8.6		B C6	
4383	Woodyer	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	New St. Fetter Lane 5	12		B CsD6	A6B6C6
4404	Williams	Benjamin	Music-printer	St Johns Court St Martins Le Grand 5	12		B CsD6	
4421	Welch	Thomas	Oilman	Bishopsgate St. 46	27		C Ds	AsBs
4437	Wilson	Thomas	Carver	Tabernacle Row City Rd 11	8.6		C D6	A6B6C6D6
4461	Ward	Thomas	Millwright	Summers Court Bishopsgate 2	8.6		C D6	A6
4494	Wood	Robert	Printer	Wood St. Spafields 9	8.6		C D6	
4495	Wilcox	Benjamin	Carpenter	John St. Commercial Rd Blackfriars Rd 28	8.6		C	
4513	White	Henry	Engraver on wood	Arnwell St. Pentonville 47	8.6		C	



No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826 1827	1828	1829
4520	Wood	Octavius	School-boy	St Johns St. Rd 14	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6
4524	Willis	Thomas	Enameller	West Smithfield 22	8.6	C D6	
4537	Willard	Charles	Merchant	West Smithfield 30	8.6	C D6	A6
4556	Wright	George	Printer	Poppins Court Fleet St. 10	8.6	C D6	A6B6
4558	Wilson	George	Cabinet-maker	Watton Place Blackfriars Rd 5	8.6	C D6	
4584	Williams	Watkin C.		Chancery Lane 10	8.6	C D6	A6
4584	Weigall	Thomas		Navy Office Somerset House	8.6	C	
4597	Weatherhead	Henry	Water-gilder	Newcastle Place Clerkenwell Close 1	8.6	C D6	
4598	Worrall	Henry	Modeller	Gower Place Gower St. North 31	8.6	C D6	A6B6C6D6
4623	Walker	George		Great New St. 15	8.6	C	
4639	Wilkins	Henry	Plumber	Nassau St. Middlesex Hospital 19	12	C Ds	
4668	Wellstead	Richard	Cabinet-maker	Shepherd St. Spitalfields 33	12	C Ds	A6
4673	Webb	Joseph	Gentleman	Cross St. Islington 3	8.6	D	A6
4693	Worrall	John	Watch-maker	St Lukes	8.6	D	A6
4707	Williams	John	Mathematical- instrument- maker	Brunswick St. Blackfriars Rd 30	8.6	D	A6
4717	Webb	Richard		Cross St. Islington 3	8.6	D	
4720	Ward	Samuel	Carver and gilder	Alfred Place Jacobs Well Barbican 12	8.6	D	
4722	Williams	Reverend John		Upper Seymour St. 87	8.6	D	A6
4771	Wheeler	John	Wood-engraver	Grays Inn Passage 9	8.6	D	A6
4778	Wilkinson	John	Plumber and glazier	East St. Red Lion Sq. 1	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4782	Wilson	Thomas	Pocket-book- maker	Kingsgate St. Holborn	8.6	D	
4798	Wilson	John		Middleton St. Exmouth St. 31	8.6	D	
4805	Webb	William	Box-maker	Great Distaff Lane St Pauls 4	8.6	D	A6
4815	Webb	William		Little Portland St. Oxford Market 4	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4822	Wood	William Robert		St Martins Lane 44	8.6	D	A6
4834	Weiden	Thomas	Cutler	Hart St. Bloomsbury 41	8.6	D	A6B6C6D6
4837	Woods	Charles	Watch-spring- maker	St Johns St. 126	8.6	D	
4850	Wright	I. P.	Gentleman	Wine Office Court Fleet St. 11	8.6	D	A6
4863	Williams	George	Goldsmith	Frith St. Soho 18	8.6	D	
4866	Worthington	Richard	Gentleman	London	27	D	AsBsCsD24
4894	Whitehall	James	Licensed victualler	Albermarle St. Clerkenwell 4	12	D	AsB6C6D6
4900	Wagstaff	William J.	Upholsterer	Hatton Garden 105	12	D	AsB6C6D6
4913	Wickens	Henry	Clerk	Symonds Inn Chancery Lane 10	12	D	As
4926	Waterman	Thomas	Carpenter etc	Winsley St. Oxford St. 3	8.6	A	B6
4936	Watson	George	Carpenter	Cree Church Lane 9	8.6	A	
4942	Warman	George	Stationer	Bell Sauvage Yard 8	8.6	A	B6C6D6
4949	Wheeler	Joseph	Gentleman	St Johns Sq. 44	8.6	A	B6C6D6
4960	Winckles	Thomas	Optical-turner	Boundary Row Blackfriars 12	8.6	A	B6C6D6
4996	Waters	Henry	Cook	James St. Lodge St James's Park	8.6	A	
4999	Woods	Francis F.	Tailor	Drummond St. Euston Sq. 56	8.6	A	
5032	Watts	William		Cloudesley Sq.	8.6	A	B6
5045	Wigman	John	Druggist	Upper Thames St. 213	12	A	Bs
5048	Warwick	Guy		Bankside 66	8.6	B	C6D6
5060	Wallwork	James	Book-binder	Upper Ranelagh St. Pimlico 8	12	A	BsC6D6
5083	Wearg	Charles	Clerk	Kings Rd Bedford Row 6	8.6	B	
5089	Wright	Joseph	Clerk	Henry St. Commercial Rd 9	8.6	B	C6
5090	Wallis	Emanuel	Wine merchant	Gloucester St. Queens Sq. 9	8.6	B	
5098	Woodley	James	Bookseller	Great Russell St. 95	8.6	B	
5120	Wood	Robert		Northampton Row 9	8.6	B	C6D6
5124	Watson	John	Calico-printer	Cheapside 16	8.6	B	
5136	Wood	John B.	Stationer	Leather Lane 25	12	B	CsD6
5139	West	B.		Haberdasher Place East Hoxton 11	12	B	Cs
5147	Waring	G.	Carpenter	Museum St. 32	8.6	C	D6
5151	Weldon	James W.	Clerk	New St. City Rd 13	8.6	B	C6D6
5165	Worrall	Thomas		Gower Place 31	8.6	B	C6D6
5177	Wood	L. J.		Redcross St. 58	6	B	C6D6
5181	Williams	John	Carpenter	Balls Court Giltspur St. 2	8.6	B	C6
5206	Wills	Joseph		Park St. Camberwell	12	B	CsD6
5224	White	William	Shoe-maker	Brydges St. Covent Garden 17	8.6	C	D6
5227	Webster	James	Clerk	Aske St. New Hoxton 4	8.6	C	D6
5229	Whipple	George	Pharmaceuti- cal-chemist	Goswell Rd 102	8.6	C	
5230	Wilcox	Benjamin	Carpenter	John St. Cornwall Rd 28	8.6	C	D6
5247	Williams	John	Fish-monger	Wigmore St. Cavendish Sq. 35	8.6	C	D6
5251	Waple	James	Clerk	Henry St. Pentonville 27	8.6	C	D6
5254	Watson	Charles	Book-keeper	Bill and Crown Holborn	8.6	C	
5270	Wilson	John	Engineer	Baker St. Westminster Rd 13	8.6	C	D6

No.	Last Name	First Name	Trades & c	Residences	Sub 1826	1827	1828	1829
5285	White	William	Wharfinger	Trig Wharf Upper Thames St.	8.6			C D6
5297	Williams	Frances	Painter	Cannon St. City 21	8.6			C D6
5311	Warren	Henry	Sadler	Harris Court Oxford St. 2	8.6			C
5316	Whittingham	C.	Schoolmaster	[space] St. Lisson Grove 5	8.6			C
5319	Williams	J. H.	Pin and needle- man	Gracechurch St. 64	8.6			C D6
5325	White	David	Carpenter	Cromer St. Grays Inn Rd 80	8.6			C D6
5340	White	James		Dowgate Ship Wharf	8.6			C D6
5346	Warren	John	Trunk-maker	Stationers Court Ludgate Hill	8.6			C D6
		William						
5357	Westwood	Robert	Chronometer- maker	Princes St. Leicester Sq. 35	8.6			C
5362	Wright	Robert A.		Aldersgate St. 110	8.6			C
5365	Watkins	Thomas		Waterloo St. Waterloo Rd 98	12			C Ds
5382	Wright	Thomas	Printer	Fulwoods Rents	8.6			D
5404	Watkinson	G.	Paper-hanger etc	Stepney Green	8.6			C D6
5418	Watkins	James	Cabinet-maker	New Millman Mews Millman St. 9	8.6			C D6
5433	Wright	Henry		Old Mint Tower 18	8.6			C D6
5440	Wells	Robert	Clerk	Camden St. Islington 6	12			C Ds
5442	Warren	Henry G.		Titchborn St. 9	12			C Ds
5457	Westley	William	Optician	Regent St. 24	12			C Ds
5513	Wilson	Alexander	2nd Battalion	Guards Mews Barracks	8.6			D
5514	Williams	Charles	Carver and gilder	Little Chapel St. Soho 5	8.6			D
5535	Ward	Thomas	Musical- instrument- maker	George St. Hampstead Rd 57	8.6			D
5536	Wilson	George	Cabinet-maker	Whitecross St. 48	8.6			D
5564	Woods	James	Joiner	Colville St. Charlotte St. 12	8.6			D
5593	Wade	Thomas		Edgware Rd 148	27			D
5594	Wade	Albany		Edgware Rd 148	27			D
5616	Williams	Richard	Engineer	College Wharf Waterloo Bridge	8.6			D
5625	Williams	Owen	Engineer	College Wharf Waterloo Bridge	15			D
5627	Walker	John		Bernard St. Russell Sq. 47	8.6			D
5646	Wright	Alfred	Shoe-maker	Broad St. Bloomsbury 25	12			D
5652	Walford	Samuel		Middleton St. Clerkenwell 72	8.6			D
5668	West	Frederick	Optician	Fleet St. 83	8.6			D
5670	Walford	Samuel	Carpet manufacturer	Middleton St. 72	8.6			D
5688	Williamson	Edward	Printer	New St. Stepney 12	12			D
357	Yonge	Walter	Watch and clock- maker	156 Strand	24	Ds	A24BsCsDs	A24BsCsDs A24BsCsDs
395	Yonge	John	Law-stationer	Essex St. Strand 10	6	Ds	AsB6C6D6	A6
1522	Yapp	George	Chemist	Quaker St. Spitalfield	5	D	A6B6 D8.6	A6B6C6D6 A6B6C6
1570	Yeates	Robert	Warehouseman	Bucklersbury 31	5	D		
1806	Young	Robert		Great Surrey St. 16	5	D		
1807	Young	Thomas R.		Great Surrey St. 16	5	D		
2204	Yarrell	William		Great Ryder St. St James's	8.6		A B6	
2493	Yeend	J. P.	Architect	President St. East Kings Sq. Grosvenor St. 14	27		C Ds	AsBs
2864	Younger	James	Jeweller	James St. Blackfriars Rd 20	8.6		C D6	
2879	Yeend	William	Carpenter	Temple Lane 2	8.6		C	
3012	Young	William		Bernard St. Russell Sq. 27	8.6		C	
4374	Yates	George	Engraver	Upper Seymour St. Portman Sq. 12	8.6			B
4551	Youngman	Arthur	Clerk at Mr Ellis's	Ludgate Hill	8.6			C
4888	Young	James	Silversmith	Guilford Place Spafiels 8	12			D AsB6
5105	Young	E.	Engraver	Brunswick Terrace	8.6			B C6D6
5108	Young	George	Clerk	Paradise Row Holloway	8.6			B C6D6
5569	Young	R.	Upholder	Great Titchfield St. Oxford Market 4	8.6			D

## Appendix B

### The first LMI members

This is a listing of the earliest members who still belonged to the Institution in December 1824 when accurate records began to be kept. It is based on information in the first volume of the manuscript Members' Registers (MRv1) covering December 1824 – December 1826. Although this Register did not begin until December 1824, it recorded membership numbers which were presumably allocated from 11 November 1823 onwards. Many membership numbers are missing in the Register. These were probably allocated to men who were no longer members in December 1824. Thus the following listing, which includes all allocated numbers in the first 1,001 in MRv1, amounts to only 576 names. (Note that many membership numbers were used more than once. This reinforces the view of chaotic record keeping in the early days.)

The fact that the committee believed that only 656 of the earliest members had actually paid their fees increases confidence in this approach. It seems likely that eighty of these 656 men might have resigned in the first year, leaving 576 original members paying their December 1824 subscription and thus appearing in the first Members' Register. (Although the first manuscript Quarterly Report (March 1824) had reported 1,085 original members, in September the committee amended this to report that only 656 of these had paid their dues.)

In these appendices, multiple spellings for the same person or street are frequent on the original manuscripts. This, along with the fact that the writing was often illegible, means that there will be errors in the spellings below.

There was little consistency in the spellings of double-barrelled or triple-barrelled occupations, for instance tin plate worker, wheel wright, brass founder, clock maker. Sometimes words were joined, sometimes hyphenated and sometimes separated. I have hyphenated them all for consistency and for ease of searching.

The addresses, which are taken from the database created for this thesis, record street name before number, an order which allowed me to track members by street address.

Number	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Address
3	Birkbeck	George	M .D.	Broad St. 50
31	Poole	Moses	Gentleman	Patent Office
50	Johnson	C.	Tin-plate-worker	Grenvill St. Somers Town 5
54	McLean	Archibald	Clerk	Cornhill 16
58	Kington	William	Plumber	Sherrard St. 27
62	Tucker	Thomas	Clerk	Strand 68
69	Truman	Henry		Westminster Gas Works
70	Taylor	Richard	Printer	Shoe Lane
79	Phillips	Richard	Wheel-wright	Addle Hill
97	Moore	Thomas	Clock-maker	Temple St. Elephant and Castle 23
98	McLagan	George	Pianoforte-maker	Henrietta St. Manchester Sq. 31
99	Cogan	William	Brass-founder	Cleveland St. 33
100	Strong	Samuel	Clerk	Prices St. Blackfriars Rd 17
100	Ferguson	John	Book-binder	Henrietta St. City Rd 18
101	Thomas	Joseph	Accountant	Exeter St.
101	Preston	James Michael	Pianoforte-maker	Bayham St. Camden Town 5
101	Ball	T. M.	Iron-monger	Coleman St. 61
102	Widdrington	George	Painter	Charles St. Manchester Sq. 13
102	Taylor	David jun	Boot-maker	Clifford St. Bond St. 14
102	Smart	William	Millwright	Winsley St. Oxford St. 2
103	Turtle	Peter	Vellum-binder	Fair St. Horsley Down
103	Adam	George	Joiner	Furnivals Inn Court 7
104	Maguire	James	Engineer	Wells St. Oxford St. 14
104	Fenton	Edward	Clerk	Golden Sq. 14
104	Biggs		Tin-man	Bath St. City Road 13
104	Barrett	J. F.	Cabinet-maker	Strand 270
105	Webber	Benjamin	Leather-cutter	Young St. Kensington 18
105	Porter	Richard	Dentist	Regent St. St James's 19
105	Millikin	W. J.	Painter	East Harding St.
105	Lewis	William	Carpenter	Daggetts Court 4
105	Alexander	William	Shoe-maker	Broad St. Golden Sq.
106	Smith	F. William	Member's son	
106	Biddulf	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Sun Tavern Fields St. Georges East 1
107	Treffry	William Henry	Apprentice engineer	Apprentice to Mr Martineau
107	Strange	William	Bookseller	Fetter Lane 24
107	Robinson	John		

Number	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Address
108	Collar	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Brook St. Grosvenor Sq. 20
108	Buckney	Thomas	Timber-dealer	Dorset Wharf White Friars
109	Clarke	John	Clerk	Fenchurch St. 7
110	McWilliam	Robert	Surveyor	Furnivals Inn 6
110	Hodgskin	Thomas	Gentleman	Gough Sq 16; 5 Brunswick Terrace Pentonville
111	Frend	William	Actuary	Rock Assurance Office
111	Clegg	Alfred	Accountant	Mansion House Place
112	Fayerman	Edmund R.	Clerk	Upper St. Islington
112	Emmett	William	Cabinet-maker	Litchfield St. Soho 3
112	Dixon	James	Tin-plate-worker	Wych St. Strand 34
114	Thomas	William	Tin-man	Prices St. Blackfriars 7
115	Wood	Charles	Painter	Poppins Court Fleet St.
115	Selman	William	Goldsmith	Dorrington St. Clerkenwell 4
116	Law	William	Ribbon-dresser	Monkwell St. 10
117	Thompson	John	Silk-winder	Monkwell St. 35
118	McDonald	William	Printer	Craven St. Strand 9
118	Cope	John James	Surveyor	Great Smith St. Westminster 11
119	Poole	Henry	Mason	Princes St. Westminster 16
120	Stacy	George	Jeweller	Charlotte St. Sadlers Wells 2
120	Holmes	Thomas	Shoe-maker	Cross St. Carnaby St 1
120	Dempsey	John	Tailor	Bouverie St. Fleet St. 10
121	Church	William	Engineer	King's Rd Pimlico 18
122	Ferguson	Daniel	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Castle St. Leicester Sq 14; 44 West Smithfield
122	Bacon	Ebenezer	Copper-plate-ruler	Chancery Lane 130
123	Pearsall	Thomas J.	Teinter	Birch's Place Symons Inn 9
123	Gowland	Thomas	Watch-maker	Goswell St. Rd 10
124	Sounnes	William	Die-sinker	Great Suffolk St. 36
124	Hemming	John	Gentleman	Penton St. Somers Town 51
124	Howell	George	Gilder	London Rd 113
124	Gowland	James	Watch-maker	Rahere St. Goswell St. 32
125	Ranwell	Edward	Coach-maker	James St. Broad Wall 1
125	Norwood	William	Jeweller	Old North St. Red Lion Sq 3
126	Gregory		Lieut	Royal Engineers
127	Taylor	Richard		Hadlow St. Burton Crescent
127	Pegg	Samuel	Iron wharf	Bankside
128	Gillman	William	Gentleman	Orange Row Fieldgate St. White Chapel 4
128	Coles	William	Truss-maker	London Bridge
129	Bone	John	Gentleman	Milk St. Cheapside 19
130	Parry	James	Shoe-maker	Castle St. Finsbury Sq. 4
130	Musgrave	John	Watch-maker	Bishops Court Old St. 14
130	Millington	George	Clerk	Mansion House Place 1
131	Watson	William		Hampden Court Somers Town
132	Bonnick	Pierce	Plate-glass-worker	Charles St. Blackfriars 21
133	Mote	Henry	Teinter	Lower Mall Hammersmith
134	Hanley	James	Smith	Cleveland St. Fitzroy Sq. 8
135	Robason	Edward	Plater and Silversmith	Little Bath St. Cold Bath Sq. 9
135	Dunstan	Samuel	Chemist	West Smithfield 30
136	Hume	Eliezer	Engineer	at Martineaus Company
137	Stratford	William George	Clerk	Sydney St. Goswell St. 24
137	Brown	Robert	Engineer	Wardrobe Terrace
138	Hall	Thomas	Carpenter	Cottage Place Westminster Rd 3
139	Willard	D. H.	Chemist	West Smithfield 30
139	Cowie	George	Bookseller	Fetter Lane 24
140	Austin	James	Weaver	St Andrews Hill 36
141	Wilson	Alexander	Engraver	Leigh St. Red Lion Sq. 6; 55 Upper Marylebone St. Marylebone
141	Page	G. W.	Builder	Southwark Sq.
141	Hindley	Samuel	Rug manufacturer	Weir lock Cottages City Rd 1
142	Hall	Thomas	Carpenter	Garden Row St Georges Fields 20
142	Bardons	Phil Samuel	Surveyor	Bedford St. Bedford Row 2
143	Saunders	John	Baker	Tothill St. Westminster 12
144	Webster	William	Engineer	Little Henry St. Waterloo Rd 5
144	Barr	John	Hairdresser	Cheapside 154
145	Gundry	William	Shoe-maker	Leigh St. Burton Crescent 24
147	Salmon	Moris	Printer	Gough Sq.
148	Harwar	Joseph	Pianoforte-maker	Serles Place 4
151	Nichols	John	Printer	Margaret St. Spa fields 12
152	Wilks	Joseph	Cotton-yarn Manufacturer	Strand 202
152	Richards	William	Apprentice [Silversmith] to Mr Clements	
152	Robinson	Henry Sen.	Bricklayer	Basket Alley Golden Lane 5
154	Sage	Jeremiah	Architect	St Johns Lane
155	Duncan	James	Carpenter	Lascelles Place Bloomsbury 3
156	Marsh	Joseph	Jeweller	Upper Rosomans St. Clerkenwell 10
157	Grant	John	Carpenter	Chapel St. Hacking Rd 1
159	Oxford	Isaac		Foundry Place Pitfield St. Hoxton 10
159	Gloyn	John	Clerk	New Wharf Whitefriars 10
159	Axford	Isaac	Joiner	Long Alley Moorfields 119
160	Martin	Thomas	Printer	Cornwall Place Waterloo Bridge 23

Number	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Address
161	Trewinnard	Joshua	Ruby-pen-maker later watch-maker	Great Ormond St. later 51 White Lion St. Pentonville
161	Howell	Edward	Tailor	Upper Brook St. 11
162	White	Alfred		Chapman St. Islington 29
163	Francis	George		
164	Raper	Thomas	Silversmith	Brooks Row Bagnigge Wells 3
164	Cameron	Hugh	Compositor	Wardrobe Place Doctor's Common
165	Stratton	William	Mathematical-instrument- maker	Boundary Row Blackfriars Rd 12
165	Elliot	Thomas	Builder	Grey Coat St. Westminster 9
166	Acus	Joseph	Cabinet-maker	Giblett St. 5
167	Thorn	James William	Cabinet-maker	Brook St. Grosvenor Sq. 20
168	Richard	John	Jeweller	East St. Spa fields 44
168	Haseldon	Henry	Engineer	apprentice to Martineau
169	Sevan	James	Lock-smith	Catherine St. Pimlico 3
169	Bagg	Elijah	Carpenter	Little George St. Hampstead Road 25
171	Taylor	John James	Printer	Little New St. Shoe Lane 11
171	Matther	William	Stonemason	Johns Courts Upper East Smithfield 10
172	Conway	George Michael	Paper-stainer	Camomile St. 27
173	Whitaker	Jos <sup>b</sup> Lister	Cabinet-maker	Thomas St. Grosvenor Sq. 41
174	Wright	George	Printer	Poppins Court Fleet St.
175	Mills	George	Stove-maker	High St. Marylebone 15
176	Smith	Charles	Hosier	Brydges St. Covent Garden 3
176	Douglass	G. S.		Silver St. Falcon Sq 12
177	Thick	Robert	Carver etc	Clipstone St. Marylebone 35
178	Keeton	John		
178	Fraser	Alexander	Gentleman	Tavistock Sq. 50
178	Fehon	John	Printer	New St. Sq.
178	Cook	Joseph	Coach-maker	Goswell St. 8
179	Thompson	William	Printer	Edmund St. Pancrass 5
179	St. Leger	Barry	Book-binder	Grays Inn Lane 18
179	Niven	Andrew	Printer	Berkeley St. Clerkenwell 19
180	Smith	John	Plumber	Crown Court Russell St. 23
180	Fryer	Christopher Wray	Tobacconist	Allerton St. Hoxton 48
180	Cross	G. J.	Printer	Bennett's Hill 8
181	Pickard	Alfred	Dyer	Fitchets Court Newgate St.
181	Godfray	John		
184	Duthie	Thomas	Book-binder	Bartless Place 2
188	Coredon	Richard	Cutler	Houndsditch 57
190	Killar	John	Carpenter	Bentick St. Soho 5
190	Hume	James	Baker	Shadwell Market
191	Haynes	William	Watch-case-maker	Bowling Green Lane 19
192	Mason	James	Printer	Exmouth St. Spa fields 3
192	Barnard	George	Chaser	Nichol Sq. Cripplegate 12
194	Millikin	John	Surgical-instrument-maker	Strand 301
194	Fehon	William	Printer	New St. Sq. 19; 3 Goldsmith St. Fleet St.
195	Luckin	George	Boot-maker	Queen Sq. Barthomew Close 5
195	Armstrong	Henry	Warehouseman	Foxes Lanes Shadwell
196	Cretney	Thomas	Tailor	Carleret St. Westminster 5 ?
197	Pillow	William Henry	Book-binder	Savoy Strand 1
198	Holtzapffel	Charles	Machinist	Cockspur St.
199	Morland	W. K.	Surveyor	Norfolk St. White Chapel 24; 43 Dempsey St. Commercial Rd
199	Lyne	George Henry	Engineer	John St. Blackfriars 42
200	O'Connor	James	Compositor Member's son	Dove St. St John's Square
200	Cordwell	William	Iron-monger	Long Lane Borough 84
200	Alford	Thomas	Coach-maker	Newington Road Surry
201	Rapley	William Robert	Cabinet-maker	Edmunds Place Aldersgate St. 31
201	Kilburn	Benjamin	Gentleman	Stamford St. Blackfriars 35
201	Hopping	Edward	Silversmith	Bartholomew Close 87
203	Hammond	William	Turner	Great Saffron Hill 103
203	Fowler	Samuel	Shoe-maker	Moneys St. Hoxton New Town 58
204	Smith	William	Cutler	Lombard St.
204	Robertson	Thomas	Hatter	Strand
204	Grant	Oliver	Gentleman	York Buildings Islington 2
206	Clarke	Robert	Thermometer-maker	Fox Court Hatton Garden 14
207	Hogan	James	Colourman	Blewitts Buildings Fetter Lane 2
207	Griffith	W. R.	Iron Wharf	City Rd
208	Elliott	James	Painter	Little Coram St. 6
209	Weston	William	Cabinet-maker	Orange Court Leicester Fields 3
209	Reader	C. J.	Bookseller	Bell Yard Temple Bar
209	Harding	William	Bookseller	Knight and Lacey's Paternoster Row
210	Pickering	John	Painter	Bridgwater Gardens Aldersgate St.
211	White	Joseph	Gold-beater	Well St. Jewin St. 16
211	Dawson	William	Gentleman	Upper Charles St. Northam Sq. 11
212	Gilbert	Charles		
213	Hains	George Jun.	Victualler	Warwick Lane
214	Hill	James	Carpenter	Pitfield St. 27
214	Christie	Peter	Carver	East St West Edgware Rd 25; 22 Spring St. Portman Sq.
215	Reynolds	E. H.	Painter	City Rd
216	Copping	John	Carpenter	Pitfield St. 27

Number	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Address
217	Knight	Richard	Clerk	London Wall 9
217	Bright	Richard	Lamp-maker	Bruton St. Bond St.
218	Rogers	W. S.	Wine-cooper	Hungerford St. Strand 8
219	Johnson	John	Smith	Hill St. Southwark 7
222	Kelk	George	Whitesmith	Old Crompton St. 36
223	Grant	George	Watch-maker	Charles St. Walworth 19
224	Dennant	James Jonathan	Carpenter	Haydon Sq.
225	Thurnell	George	Jeweller	Margaret St. Spa fields
226	Ramsay	George	Turner	Clements Lane Strand 62
226	Palmer	J. G.	Watch-maker	London Wall 3; 2 Fenchurch St.
227	Simpson	Thomas James	Cabinet-maker	Clifton St. Finsbury 1
228	Waterman	William	Carpenter etc	Winsley St. Oxford St. 3
228	Baddeley	Thomas	Die-sinker	Seward St. Goswell St. 27
234	Ewen	Robert	Coal merchant	Alfred Place Blackfriars Rd 4
236	Dalrymple	Hugh	Cabinet-maker	Great Pulteny St. 25
237	Killar	James	Joiner	Bentick St. Soho 5; 24 Greville St. Hatton Garden
238	Dotchen	John Ashton	Surveyor	Frederic Place Hampstead Rd 37
240	Liddell	William	Chemist	Temple St. Whitefirars 3
244	Turpin	Thomas	Clerk	Haines Court Bond St.
247	Hooper	William	Carpenter	Upper Charlton St. Marylebone 13
249	Fortune	John	Clerk of Works	New Post Office
250	Tennant	Benjamin	Wine-merchant	Trinity Sq.
250	Deville	Elijah	Brass-founder	Mercer St Long Acre 6
251	Mitchell	John	Jeweller	Castigny Place St Lukes
254	Williams	William		Castle St. Holborn 14
257	Kilner	William	Pianoforte-maker	Sutton St. Soho 4
259	Morey	W. H.	Saw-maker	Norman St. St Lukes 2
264	Higg	Edward	Veterinary surgeon	Clermont Terrace Pentonville 16
265	Kerr	John	Oil and colourman	Borough Market
269	Farley	Richard	Engineer	China Hall Deptford
275	Holdup	John	Silver-spoon-finisher	Kerby St. Hatton Garden
276	Crawford	Alexander	Book-binder	Pearless Row City Rd 18
277	Aldwinkle	Chas	Painter &c	Fetter Lane 83
279	Nash	Eliezer	Jeweller	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell
280	Walker	Richard	Coach-maker	Crown St. Russell St. 23
281	Wilson	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Duke St. St James's 42
282	Whiting	Charles	Cabinet-maker	Wells St. Oxford St. 41
282	Potter	Charles	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Paternoster Row 61
283	Birch	John	Architect	Hertford St. Blackfriars 8
284	Mills	George	Assayer	Goldsmiths Hall
285	Wheeler	John	Clerk	Botolph Lane 46
288	Clark	William	Book-binder	Finch Lane 21
292	Bentley	James	Carpenter	Stanhope St. Clare Market 49
296	Ryder	Samuel	Coach-maker	Liquorpond St. 37
300	Lindsay	Alexander	Gun-maker	Coventry St. 28
300	Evans	Richard	Brass-founder	Wine Office Court Fleet St. 4
301	Blake	James Frederick	Engraver	Britannia Row Islington 59; 7 Albion Terrace New North Rd
302	Staniford	Charles	Merchant	Hanover Sq.
302	Cumming	William	Silversmith	Church St. Blackfriars 57
303	Preston	Samuel	Teacher	Constitution Row Grays Inn Rd
303	Knox	William Perry	Upholsterer	New Bond St. 104
303	Elley	Dan	Smith	Hallow Garden 1
304	Davis	Charles	Accountant	Camden St. Islington 10
305	Middleton	James	Clock-maker	Little Guilford St. Russell 17
305	Harper	Samuel	Law-stationer	Bell Yard Carey St. 24
306	Lynes	John	Cabinet-maker	Tabernacle Walk 10
308	Cuddle	John	Bead-maker	Elephant and Castle 28
308	Bacon	William	Brass-turner	Chancery Lane 130
309	Munro	Benjamin	Watch-maker	Moor St. Soho
309	Clark	David	Engineer	at Donkins
310	McCombie	William	Engineer	at Donkins
310	Jones	Thomas	Coach-maker	Robert St. Bedford Row 19
311	Stratford	W. S.	Gentleman	Metropolitan Loan Office
311	Storer	Alfred	Printer	Warwick Sq. 23
311	Papps	Thomas	Gentleman	Charlotte St. Pimlico 1
312	Turner	Jos <sup>h</sup>	Clerk	Goswell St. 8
313	Stokes	Isaac	Cabinet-maker	Wardour St. 125
314	Henfrey	John	Engineer	Bowling Green Place Kensington 17
314	Callahan	Stephen	Brass-founder	Exeter St. Strand 8
315	Faulkner	Thomas	Surveyor	Marsham St. Westminster 44
317	Juggens	William	Cheese-monger	James St. Long Acre 22
318	Mountain	John	Carpenter	Exmouth St. Spa Fields 44
321	Warner	John	Turner	Hertford Place Somers Town 1
321	Sowden	Thomas	Tailor	Gough Sq. 8
322	Jenkins	John	Carpenter	Sherrard St. 27
322	Gordon	John	Engineer	Johnson's Place Pimlico 4
329	Lee	James	Cabinet-maker	Red Lion Court Charter House Lane 6
329	Lanagan	Francis (Son)	Shoe-maker	Little Britain 40
333	Higgs	Joseph	Engineer	Wellington St. Southwark

Number	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Address
334	Holmes	John	Cabinet-maker	Upper Cleveland St. 6
335	Wood	Henry Robert Jun.	Carver	Wellington St. Goswell St. 50
335	Vale	Samuel	Carpenter	John St. Waterloo Bridge 27
336	Wood	George	Carver	Wellington St. Goswell St. 50
337	Lane	Charles	Gentleman	Leonard St. Shoreditch 54
338	Charlwood	George	Seedsman	Drury Lane 146
339	Douglass	William	Coach-smith	North Row Oxford St.
340	Haines	Richard	Carver	Furnivals Inn Court
341	West	Edward	Iron manufacturer	High Holborn 251
341	Taylor	William	Clerk	York Buildings Islington 2
343	Christie	Robert	Teacher of mathematics	Southampton Buildings
344	Mason	George	Carpenter	Warren St. Fitzroy Sq. 9
350	O'Connor	Jeremiah	Compositor	Dove St. St John's Sq.
351	Warren	Henry	Printer	Tichborne St. Piccadilly 9
352	Coombe	Thomas	Brass-founder	Tottenham St.
354	Shallard	James	Printer	William St. Spa fields 10
354	Jenkins	William	Clerk	Percy St. Bedford Sq. 27
354	James	Robert	Smith	Crown Court Covent Garden 14
356	Gibbs	John	Fish-monger	Bishopsgate St. 99
357	Hartland	Jasper	Clerk	Lombard St. 68
358	Rait	George	Tailor	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 9
359	Johnson	T. James	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Arundel St. 3
361	Warwick	Guy		
361	Currie	Peter	Carpenter	Angel Court, Strand 12
362	Jones	A. James	Gentleman	Southampton Buildings 24
363	Sewell	Samuel	Painter	Aldersgate St. 57
363	Murray	John		Mark Lane 38
364	Smith	Michael	Gentleman	East Side Bethnal Green 20
364	Pritchard	Andrew	Optician; Mechanical Draftsman	Upper Thornhaugh St. 52; 18 Picket St. Strand
364	Loop	Thomas	Lapidary	Exmouth St. Spafields 24
365	Webb	John	Upholsterer	Old Broad St. 72
365	Sowerby	Thomas	Pawnbroker	Chiswell St. 78
365	Dixon	George	Carver and gilder	Great Portland St. 12
366	Campion	G.B.	Engraver	Coleman St. 68
368	Smith	Peter	Gentleman	East India Chambers
369	Gardner	Robert	Chair-maker	Seymour Place Bryant Sq. 9
369	Cave	John	Chair-maker	St Bartholomew's Sq. 9
370	Waterman	William	Carpenter	Winsley St. Oxford St.
370	Storey	Robert	Printer	East Harding St. 11
373	Straker	Samuel	Printer	Southampton St. Pentonville
375	Brewitt	William	Engineer	at Donkins
375	Aumonier	Henry	Jeweller	North St. Pentonville 7
376	Simms	William	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Bowmans Buildings Aldersgate St. 1
376	Muller	John	Engraver	Coleman St. 68 ?
377	Chant	James	Upholsterer	Britannia St. City Rd 41
379	Matthews	Richard	Stationer	High Holborn 38
379	Hunter	James	Engineer	Furnivals Inn 8
379	Dunnio	George	Brasier	Old St. 77
380	Tapley	John	Silversmith	Queen St. Blackfrairs Rd 51
381	Hodgson	James John	Glass-cutter	Hemings Row St Martins Lane 19
382	Richards	James	Carpenter	North St. Red Lion Sq. 28
383	Fairley	David	Baker	Johns St. Blackfrairs Rd 57
384	Mollison	Francis	Chaser	Devereux Court Strand 2
384	Davidson	William	Smith	Little Grays Inn Lane 24
385	Symms	Frederick Walter	Cabinet-maker	Broad way Blackfrairs Rd 4
385	Marshall	J. H.	Veneer-cutter	Honduras Mills Old St.
386	Nicholson	James	Solicitor	Percy St. Bedford Sq. 27
388	Marshall	Thomas	Carver and gilder	Edgware Rd 63
389	Nash	Joseph	Oil and Colourman	Fetter lane 54
390	Lothian	John	Carpenter	Market St. Oxford St.
391	Rorison	William	Carpenter	Marylebone St. 28
393	Birkingyoung	Frederick	Weaver	St Andrews Hill 37
394	Cheese	Charles	Brass-finisher	White Conduit Fields
395	Mowall	John	Schoolmaster's son	Cromer St.
395	Daniel	Francis William	Printer	Brook's Gardens Bagnigge Wells 2
396	Cannon	Michael	Brasier	Axe Court Hackney Rd 8
0396?	Coxhead	Henry	Glass-cutter	Denmark St. Strand 15
399	Wood	John	Carver	Wellington St. Goswell St. 50
400	Bishop	John	Jeweller	Leppard's Court Baldwins Gardens
401	Vandy	William	Printer	Red Lion Court Shoe Lane
401	Staples	Samuel	Architect and surveyor	Staple Inn 1
401	Canston Jun.	Davis	Schoolmaster	King St. Bryanstone Sq. 1
402	Fertel	John	Cabinet-maker	Poland St. Oxford St. 4
403	Thomas	James		
403	Gowring	John W.	Schoolmaster	Rodney Buildings Kent Road 3
403	Gate	Samuel	Chemist and druggist	Judd Place West Somers Town 27
403	Davis	David	Engineer	at Galloways; Collingwood St. Blackfrairs 42
404	Latimer	Thomas	Printer	Davison's Whitefrairs

Number	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Address
405	Richardson	William	Printer	Guilford St. East Wilmington Sq. 14
406	Whitlock	Thomas	Gentleman	Paradise Place Stockwell 14
406	Green	Charles	Engineer	Cow Cross 79
408	McSwiny	Eugene	Printer	Cookes Court Carey St.
408	Evans	Richard		
409	Russell	S.		
409	Pease	William	Gentleman	Hanover St. Newington
412	Newton	Robert	Carver	George St. Lambeth 18
420	Dixon	Halford	Chaser	Great Newport St. 2
421	Brookfield	Thomas	Joiner	Chapter St. Vauxhall Rd 96
423	Smythe	Thomas	Accountant	Oxford St. 309
424	Smythe	Thomas William	Member's son	Oxford St. 309
426	Markh...illegible, Markham?	James	Printer	Clements Inn Passage 14
430	King	Charles	Carpenter	London St. Fitzroy Sq. 57
430	Callahan	John	Brass-founder	Exeter St. Strand 8
431	Callow	John	Brass-founder	Queen St. Northampton Sq. 19
432	Turner	John	Saw-maker	Vince St. Hatton Garden 15
433	Packer	John	Printer	York St. Blackfriars 20
433	Clark	Samuel	Clerk	Lombard St. 60
436	Feltham	William	Gilder	Phoenix St. Soho 3
437	Tunstall	Charles	Printer	Three King Court Lombard St. 11
438	Strong	Valentine	Hatter	Great Suffolk St. Southwark 6
439	Sparks	William	Stationer	Theobalds St. Kent Rd 39
440	Edwards	Joseph	Cabinet-maker	Stamford St. Blackfriars Rd 47
441	Wilmot	William	Gilder	Greek St. Soho 17
444	Wheeler	D. E.	Watch-maker	Grays Inn Passage 9
444	Cradock	Charles	Silversmith	Cary St.
449	Jackson	M. David	Weaver	Carnaby Market 38
451	Wilson	Alexander	Jeweller	Northumberland Court Strand 1
451	Rathke	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Boston St. Marylebone 27
452	Hall	William	Printer	New Union St. Little Moorfields 34
453	Dible	William	Mason	Nelson St. Shoreditch 8
454	Walton	George	Clerk	Black Hill Timber Yard
456	Williams	John	Engine-maker	Pimlico
456	Smeaton	John	Solicitor	Mercers St. Long Acre 4
457	Jenkins	Robert	Mason	Clifton St. Finsbury 29
458	King	J. B.	Carpenter	Leather Lane 37
459	Levens	Thomas	Engraver	Long Acre 79
460	Wallace	Thomas	Smith	Bridgwater St. Somers Town 22
460	Talmage	Henry	Dyer	Fetter Lane 15
461	Munro	George	Gentleman	Upper Charles St. Northampton Sq. 11
462	Agar	Thomas	Brass-founder	Fitzroy Place New Road 11
464	Vowles	Samuel	Lithographic printer	St Michaels Alley
465	Thompson	William		
465	Hack	Thomas	Goldsmith	Well Yard Little Britain 3
467	Sweet	George	Bookseller	Chancery Lane 3
469	Bacon	John	Engraver	Chancery Lane 130
469	Atkins	John		
470	Kerr	Benjamin	Upholsterer	Fenchurch St. 36
471	Brady	Cornelius	Hat manufacturer	Gracechurch St
472	Davis	Joseph	Clerk	St. Mary Axe 1
472	Coulson	Edmund	Cordwainer	Gloucester Court St. James's 6
472	Barratt	James	Chemist	Great Queen St. Lincolns Inn Fields 8
474	Pitt	Charles	Architect	Pulteney St. Pentonville 16
475	Gale	John	Member's son	Judd Place West Somers Town 27
476	Soper	William	Schoolmaster	Bunhill Row 120
476	Paradise	Thomas	Fringe-maker	Newgate st. 52c
476	Montgomery	John	Accountant	London Rd Southwark 3
476	Jeves	John	Schoolmaster	Gun Lane Limehouse 2
476	Faris	Charles	Smith	Exeter St. Strand
477	Twigg	Thomas	Clerk	Miles Lane 27
478	Twigg	John Henry	Dry-salter	Coleman St. 35
478	Bevins	Daniel	Brass-founder	New Court St. John's St. 11
479	King	Alfred	Gentleman	Upper St. Islington 25
479	Anderson	David	Carpenter	Horseshoe Court Clements Lane 2
482	Straker	John	Turner	Red Cross Sq. 11
482	Hardwick	Henry	Woollen-draper	Strand 137
485	Hodgson	John	Upholsterer	Bunhill Row 61
486	Bryant	James	Gentleman	Paradise St. Lambeth 30
487	Jones	William	Plumber	Tysoe St. Clerkenwell 8
487	Brand	W. H.	Coal merchant	Union St. Hackney Rd 4
488	Pye	William	Turner	Shrewsbury Court White Cross St. 10
489	Harris	James	Pin-maker	Gracechurch St. 36
490	Webster	James	Clerk	Throgmorton St. 37
490	Robinson	Henry Jun.	Bricklayer	Basket Alley Golden Lane 5
491	William	Owen Thomas	Clerk	Drury Lane 73
491	Laskey	Samuel	Cabinet-maker	Francis St. Grays Inn Rd 1
491	Ghost	Thomas	Goldsmith	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 2
493	Hyne	David	Cabinet-maker	Georges Place St Johns St. Rd 2
494	Brown	James	Clerk	Bolton St. Long Acre 20



Number	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Address
495	Young	William	Jeweller	Bartholomew Close 53
495	Moore	John	Carpenter	Moorfields
496	Warner	James	Turner	Marson St. Somers Town 6
496	Couch	William	Cabinet-maker	Europa Place John St. St Luke 3
497	Bayne	William	Printer	Berkeley St. Clerkenwell 19
497	Applegarth	G. W.	Cabinet-maker	Bow St. Covent Garden 22
498	Dodd	Ed	Violin-bow-maker	Granbys Buildings Vauxhall 9
501	Bluett	Thomas	Musical-instrument-maker	Roles Buildings 16
504	Reynolds	John	Teacher of mathematics	Arlington Place St Johns St. Rd
504	Lowe	George	Gentleman	Bunhill Row
506	Hallick	William	Leather finisher	Earl St. Clifton St. 28
507	Kilner	James	Mercer	Drury Lane 95
510	Hall	Edward	Model maker	Ironmonger St. St Lukes 36
511	Brown	Thomas N.	Pawnbroker	Fetter Lane 39
512	Wellington	John	Printer	Saracens Place Fitzroy Sq. 31
512	Cliff	John	Carpenter	Cold Bath Sq. 8
514	Sinclair	Edward	Member's son	Trinity Sq.
514	Morris	Joseph	Engraver	Pilgrim St.1
516	Reid	S. W.	Merchant	Red Bull Wharf Upper Thames St.
520	Plato	Richard	Jeweller	Hoxton town
520	Derry	Charles	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Little Coram St. Brunswick Sq. 10
521	Alvey	Isaac	Schoolmaster	Richmond Terrace Walworth 11
522	James	Thomas	Cabinet-maker	Red Lion St. Clerkenwell 48
525	Patterson	Robert	Soap-maker	Thames St. 101
527	Stutchbury	Samuel		Hatton Garden 14
527	Jay	John	Plumber etc	White Cross St. St Lukes 209
528	Clements	George	Silversmith	Bedford St. Bedford Row 5
529	Anning	John	Weaver	Little Arthur St. Goswell St. 8
540	Barton	John	Engineer	Seward St. 38
541	Parry	Charles	Hatter	Bermondsey St. 281
542	Ritchie	David	Mechanist	Wormwood St. 5
542	Emes	Robert	Watch-maker	Wynatt St. Clerkenwell 9
543	Forster	Benjamin	Printer	Cornwall Place Waterloo Bridge 23
546	Thompson	Peter	Carpenter	Great Newport St. 23
550	Shuttleworth	George	Carpenter	Great Suffolk St. Borough 5
551	Roupell	Richard	Smelter	Blackfriars Rd
552	Atkinson	John	Merchant	Castle St. Falcon Sq. 23
553	Reynolds	Thomas Baker	Printer	Denmark Court 18
553	Dykes	William Jun.	Brass-founder	Queen St. Soho
554	Lines	John P.	Gentleman	Union Walk Kingsland Rd 5
554	Brown	R. N.	Painter	Denmark St. Soho 3
555	Kingsnorth	Thomas	Engineer	Castle St. Clerkenwell 2
556	Felstead	Thomas	Turner	Rawstorne St. 22
557	Evans	H. Y. S.	Engineer	Friday St.
560	Harrison	Thomas	Enameller	Wynatt St. Clerkenwell 5
561	Vale	John	Saw-maker	Old St. 140
562	Kember	Richard	Joiner	New North St. Red Lion Sq. 28
562	Griffith	W. F.	Member's son	City Rd
563	Griffith	Charles	Member's son	City Rd
564	Greenhill	William	Watch-maker	Goswell St. Rd 10
564	Griffith	J. F.	Member's son	City Rd
566	Gorsuch	William	Lapidary	St. Johns Sq. 4
567	Crawford	James (son)	Book-binder	Peerless Row City Rd 8
568	Burton	Benjamin	Brazier	Gower Place Euston Sq. 24
570	Wilson	Thomas	Tailor	Goodwins Court St Martins Lane 4
571	Whitaker	John	Plumber etc	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 12
571	Newman	Robert	Mathematical-instrument-maker	South St. New Rd 16
571	Braidley	John	Gentleman	Warren St. Fitzroy Sq. 62
572	Isaac	William	Carpenter	Seymour Place York St. Walworth
572	Edmonds	Owen	Gentleman	Great Prescott St. Goodmans Fields 55
573	Haines	Henry	Auctioneer	Fore St. 61
573	Beresford	William	Member's son	Kings Head Court St Martins Le Grand 5
578	Miller	James Jun.	Painter and Glazier	Sheppard St. Oxford St.
578	Glynn	James	Jeweller	Duke St. Grosvenor Sq. 25
579	Smith	Francis	Compositor	Swan Court William St. Blackfriars 6
581	Innes	John Sen.	Printer	Wells St. Oxford St.
581	Benoiment	James	Jeweller	Hatton Garden 90
582	Pashen	George	Smith	Old St. 16
582	Horsey	Edward	Cabinet-maker	Stephen St. Tottenham Court Rd 19
583	Moore	Henry	Carpenter	Prospect Place Grays Inn Rd 3
584	Windley	John	Compositor	Bull Crescent Somers Town 5
585	Wilkinson	James	Gun-maker	Church St. Mile End
586	Nash	Ebenezer	Tallow chandler	Aldersgate St.
587	Sutton	William	Sail-maker	Bankside 37
589	Woolley	Robert	Music-engraver	Jewin Court Jewin St. 4
590	Haseldon	William	Paper-stainer	Panton Sq. 13
591	Holdup	Henry	Member's son	Kirby St. Hatton Garden 2
600	Felstead	Thomas Jun.	Turner	Rawstorne St. 22

Number	Last Name	First Name	Profession	Address
601	Jackson	Henry	Cabinet-maker	Red Lion St. Holborn 26; 1 Francis St. Grays Inn Lane Rd
602	Vale	John	Carpenter	John St. Waterloo Bridge 26
604	Belmead	William	Carpenter	Free School St. Horsley Down? 67
605	Adams	Nathaniel	Upholsterer	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 5
606	Glassap	Thomas	Printer	Baldwin St. City Rd 54
607	Wells	George	Clerk	Fleet Market 88
608	Herriott	James		Somers Place East New Rd 17
609	Wrigglesworth	James	Chemist	Felix House Back Rd Islington
611	Eades	John	Plater	Hatton Yard Kinley St. 16
612	King	Frederick		Duncan Terrace Islington 2
613	Swan	Thomas	Clerk	Great Queen St. Westminster 9
614	Peak	W. Henry		Great Trinity Lane
614	Danks	Titus	Printer	Water St. Blackfriars 11
615	McDonald	Robert	Printer	Great Sutton St. 30
615	Lyons	Thomas	Printer	Shoemaker Row Blackfriars 33
616	Poyner	Joseph	Carpenter	Denmark Yard Hatton Garden 7
616	Kemp	Anthony	Carpenter	Daggetts Court Moorfields 4
616	Carfs	James	Sales-man	Shoreditch 49
617	Quaintance	Joseph	Tailor	Cold Bath Sq. 15
617	Carswell	William	Glass-cutter	Hart St. Monkwell St. 8
617	Beresford	Isaac	Die-sinker	Kings Head Court St Martins Le Grand 5
618	Darnell	Samuel	Gentleman	New Bond St. 105
619	Mackay	John	Engineer	at Perkins Regents Park
619	Collett	Thomas	Metal-sash-maker	Greystoke Place
620	Marshall	John	Clerk	Navy Office
620	Edmunds	John Thomas	Bricklayer	Chancery Lane 12
621	White	Paul S.	Chemist	Chapman St. Islington 29
621	Mascall	Edward	Woolen-draper	Southampton St. 19
622	Atkins	Edward	Carpenter	John St. New Road
623	Parsonage		Baker	Cloth Fair
623	Cook	Livett	Book-binder	Maiden Lane Covent Garden 1
624	Hall	William		Greenhills Rents 24
624	Hind	James	Book-binder	Cannon St. City Rd 18
625	Simms	Alfred	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Bowmans Buildings Aldersgate St.
625	Kelly	Thomas	Bookseller	Paternoster Row
626	Peacock	Joseph	Cabinet-maker	Grays Inn Lane 18
627	Burn	William	Book-binder	Kirby St. Hatton Garden 37
631	Howard	Barnard	Plumber	Church St. Camberwell 1
633	Lucas	Henry	Upholsterer	Newman St. Long Acre
635	Hackett	John James	Carpenter	Gower Place Euston Sq
650	Gowers	James W.	Attorney	Smith St. Northampton Sq.
652	Curtis	Thomas	Apprentice watch-maker	Upper Crown St. Westminster 1
660	Ethell	John	Paper-hanger	Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd 12
661	Burnard	John	Surveyor	Formosa Cottage Eden Grove Holloway
686	Ball	John	Surveyor	New Road
687	Allen	J. W.		
701	Aston	C. P.	Gun-barrel-maker	Little Windmill St Golden Sq. 26
704	Padley	Paul	Surveyor	Thavies Inn 3
706	Wallen	William		
707	Stiles	Richard	Mathematical-instrument-maker	Round Court Sharps Alley Cow Cross 2
709	Tijou	William	Carver and gilder	Greek St. Soho 17
722	Taylor	William	Gentleman	Brompton Terrace 4
724	Hucks	John	Cooper	East Lane Bermondsey
725	Cottam	George	Iron-founder	Winsley St. Oxford St.
763	Pavyer	Benjamin	Type-founder	Eden Place Hoxton Old Town
764	Martineau	John	Engineer	City Road
779	Stanley	Christopher	Brush-maker	Tavistock Row Covent Garden 14
786	Thorn	James	Clerk	Cannon St. 56
807	Appleby	George	Cutler	Hatton Garden 14
815	Heath	William	Teacher	Suffolk St. Borough
828	Smart	Thomas	Artist	Tichborne St. 10
861	Foster	Joseph	Cabinet-maker	Wilson St. 27
901	Place	Frederick	Tailor	Charing Cross
902	Place Jun.	Francis	Tailor	Charing Cross
903	Wills	Joseph	Whitesmith	Park St. Camberwell
904	Hetherington	Henry	Printer	Kingsgate St. 13
928	Le Gros	Peter S.	Watch and Clock-maker	Upper Crown St. Westminster 1
937	Squire	William	Goldsmith	Stratton Ground Westminster 58
994	Winter	John	Carpenter	London Wall 20
1001	Talkes	Thomas	Gentleman	Ram Inn Uxbridge

## Appendix C

### Members on the provisional and first LMI committees Elected in November and December 1823

Although the class of the men on these early committees was important, the provisional and first committee men were not formally divided into ‘working-class’ and ‘not-of-the-working-class’ categories. I have drawn on reports of later committees (as shown in appendix D) to provide the self-designated class, where possible, of these men. ‘NWC’ signifies ‘not of the working class’, ‘WC’ signifies ‘working class’. For each committee, I also provide the men’s occupations, addresses, and membership numbers which were allocated in sequence (a smaller number indicated earlier membership).

#### Provisional committee 11 November to 16 December 1823

The first provisional committee men were recommended by the organisers at the 11 November 1823 meeting (manuscript Minute Book [MBv1], 11 Nov. 1823), and identified in the *Mechanics’ Magazine (MM)*, 1 (1824), p. 189. These men had permission to add to their numbers, which they did on 14 and 22 November 1823.

Original spellings are inconsistent and they have been corrected in places.

#### Sources:

MS LMI Minute Book, volume one (MBv1), 11, 14, 23 November 1823 for members on the committee

MS Members’ Register, volume one (MRv1), begun in December 1824 for membership number and address

*Mechanics’ Magazine (MM)*, 1 (1824), p. 189, also provided listings and addresses of the original provisional committee. As shown below, the *MM* included two men not listed in MBv1. In the case of a provisional committee man ceasing to be a member by December 1824 and thus not being listed in MRv1, I have indicated that information about his address and occupation comes from the *MM*.

Appendix D gives the sources for later committees in which the class of the members was identified.

#### KEY:

Men who are indicated with an asterisk also served on the first committee

Number	Member	Occupation	Address	Class
200	* Alford, Thomas	Coach-maker	Newington Road Surry	
	Bevan, Benjamin	Engineer	Furnivals Inn [ <i>MM</i> ] not in MRv1	
3	* Birkbeck, George	M. D.	50 Broad St., City	NWC
1649	* Emmens, Thomas	Carpenter	6 Emmens Row, Pentonville	NWC
	* Hall, Thomas	Engineer	Elliot’s Row, Lambeth [ <i>MM</i> ] not in MRv1	
219	* Johnson, John	Smith	7 Hill St., Southwark	WC
	Maine, George	Engineer	13 Oakley Street [ <i>MM</i> ] not in MRv1	
764	* Martineau, George	Engineer	City Road	NWC
110	* Mcwilliam, Robert	Surveyor	6 Furnivals Inn	NWC
	Mothershed, R.	Engineer	Jane St, Bethnal Green Rd [ <i>MM</i> ]	
389	Nash, Joseph	Oil & colourman	54 Fetter Lane	
	Nicholl, James	Smith	Gravel Lane [ <i>MM</i> ]	
130	* Parry, James	Shoe-maker	5 Castle St., Finsbury Sq.	WC
70	* Taylor, Richard	Printer	Shoe Lane	NWC
571	* Whitaker, John	Painter and glazier	12 Goodge St., Tottenham Court Rd	WC

Two further men appeared in *MM* 1 (1824), p. 189.

4359	Place, Francis	Tailor	20 Charing Cross Rd	
	Vallance, John		32 Surrey Street [ <i>MM</i> ]	

Seven men were added at the 14 November management meeting: MBv1, 14 November, 1823. When the men were not included in MRv1 and information is only available from these Minutes, I have referenced MBv1.

	Bayley, William (also spelt Bailey)	Iron-monger	High Holborn [MBv1]	
528	* Clements, George	Silversmith	5 Bedford St., Bedford Row	WC
	* Dunn, William		Messrs Taylor & Martineau [MBv1]	
	Galloway, Alexander	Engineer	Skinner Street [MBv1]	
	Hampson, Squire		37 Little Canterbury Place, Lambeth [MBv1]	
136	* Hume Mr. given as Eliezer Hume <i>Mechanics' Oracle</i> , 1 (1824-5), p. 176.	Engineer	5 Henry St Waterloo Road [MBv1] listed as at Martineaus: MRv1	WC
	* Taylor, John Sydney	Barrister: MBv1	Not in MRv1	

Six more added on 22 November 1823 (MBv1, 22 November 1823).

605 (4927)	* Adams, Nathaniel (entered twice)	Upholsterer	Goodge Street Tottenham Court Road (Cleveland St, Fitzroy Square)	WC
343	Christie, Robert	Mathematics teacher	Southampton Buildings	
	* Henderson, John		Not in MRv1	
?102 (2554)	?Smart, Mr. Could be William Smart (entered twice)	No occupation  Millwright	Ordnance Wharf, Westminster Bridge  Winsley St, Oxford St.	
	* Smith, William States		Yates Court, Carey St. [MBv1]	
228	* Waterman, William	Carpenter	3 Winsley Street, Oxford St	WC

### First committee elected 16 December 1823

Alongside the provisional committee men asterisked above, the following men were elected (MBv1, ff. 48-49, 16 Dec. 1823). Their class categorisations are based on later elections (appendix D). Note that the president and four vice-presidents were always 'not-of-the-working-class'. The two thirds rule related only to the thirty committee men. I have therefore listed the office holders separately from the thirty-man committee.

Officer holders:

3	Birkbeck, George	M .D.	50 Broad St.	NWC
1140	Gilchrist, John Borthwick	L. L. D.	11 Clarges Street	NWC
764	Martineau, John	Engineer	City Rd.	NWC
110	McWilliam, Robert	Surveyor	6 Furnivals Inn	NWC
none	Millington, John	Professor of Mechanics	Royal Institution, Bloomsbury Sq.	NWC

Committee men:

540	Barton, John	Engineer	Seward Street	
104	Barrett, John	Cabinet-maker	270 Strand	
501	Bluett, Thomas	Musical-instrument-maker	16 Roles Buildings	WC
	Braide, Mr		Not in MRv1	
250	Deville, Elijah	Brass-founder	6 Mercer St., Long Acre	WC
111	Freund, William	Actuary	Rock Assurance Office	NWC
928	Le Gros, Peter	Watch-maker	6 Upper Crown St., Westminster	WC
	Levick, Mr		Not in MRv1	
199	Lyne, George Henry	Machinist	42 John St., Blackfriars	WC
	Kermock, Mr		Not in MRv1	
	Mills, Mr		Not enough information to identify	
120	Stacey, George also spelt Stacy	Jeweller	2 Charlotte St., Sadlers Wells	WC
none	Styles, William	Mathematical- instrument- maker	1 Sharps Alley, Cow Cross	WC
	Walker, Mr		Not enough information to identify	
144	Webster, Mr probably William Webster Because Webster was referred to as having repaired a model of a steam engine, <i>LMR</i> , 3 (1826), p. 8, he is likely to have been William Webster, the engineer whose details are shown. Three of the other four Websters in MRv1 were clerks and the fourth was a picture frame maker.	Engineer	5 Little Henry St., Waterloo Rd	WC

The low membership numbers of the provisional and first committee men (as recorded in MRv1) support the view that members with a low number were likely to have been present at the Crown and Anchor 11 November 1823 meeting.

The fact of early members having low numbers may help to clarify who some of the early committee men were. For instance Mr Smart on the provisional committee for whom we have neither first name nor occupation, may have been, as I have suggested above, William Smart, a wheelwright. Alternatively the men may have ceased paying their subscriptions by December 1824 and not be represented in MRv1.

Emmens' high number is an anomaly. It is possible that '1649' was a second number allocated to Emmens. Members were occasionally entered twice with different numbers. (Nathaniel Adams and William Smart were both entered twice.) Presumably original numbers must have in some cases been lost. Place's '4359' may be the result of a lost original number, or perhaps he had not technically joined at the beginning. His sons have numbers in the 900s.

## Appendix D

### Committee elections: September 1824 – March 1831 ‘working class’ and ‘not of the working class’

September 1824 was the first quarter in which committee nominations and elections referred to the class of the members. The following information comes from different sources as indicated at the beginning of each election. When possible, I have listed all the men nominated to give the broadest view of how the members classified themselves and indicated with an \* those men who were elected.

The two-thirds rule applied to the committee only and did not include the president and four vice-presidents who were ‘not of the working class’. Birkbeck was president and John Martineau was a vice-president throughout this period. The three other founding vice-presidents were replaced: John Millington in 1830 by John Hemming (occupation given as ‘gentleman’ in MRv1), John Borthwick Gilchrist and Robert McWilliam in March 1828 by Thomas Snowdon Peckston (civil engineer) and Charles Toplis (surgeon).

The original manuscript sources often had multiple spellings. This, along with the fact that the writing was difficult to transcribe, means that there will be errors in the spellings below.

#### Second committee – September 1824

##### sources:

nominated: QMv1, f. 29 recorded surnames only. First names, occupations and addresses are taken from MRv1.

elected: *Mechanics’ Chronicle*, 1 (1824), p. 33 gave full names.

##### ‘Working class’

Alvey, Isaac	Schoolmaster	11 Richmond Terrace Walworth
*Appleby, George	Cutler	14 Hatton Garden
*Bacon, Ebenezer	Copper-plate-ruler	130 Chancery Lane
*Bonnick, Pierce	Plate-glass-worker	21 Charles St. Blackfriars
*Cheese, Charles	Brass-finisher	White Conduit Fields
Collar, Charles	Cabinet-maker	20 Brook St. Grosvenor Sq.
*Corredon, Richard	Cutler	57 Houndsditch
Edmunds, John Thomas	Bricklayer	12 Chancery Lane
Edwards, Joseph	Cabinet-maker	47 Stamford St. Blackfriars Rd
*Ethel John	Paper-hanger	12 Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd
*Hackett John	Carpenter	2 Gower Place Euston Sq.
Jackson	Unidentifiable	
James	Unidentifiable	
Jones	Probably William Jones, elected in March 1825	
*Loop Thomas	Lapidary	24 Exmouth St. Spafields
Nash	Unidentifiable	
Nicholl	Unidentifiable	
Pasquier, W. C.	Carpenter	120 St Johns St.
*Place, Francis Jun.	Tailor	Charing Cross
*Thompson, Peter	Carpenter	23 Great Newport St.

**‘Not of the working class’**

*Dotchen, J. N.	Surveyor	37 Frederic Place Hampstead Rd
*Reynolds, John	Mathematics teacher	2 Arlington Place St Johns St. Rd
*Blake, J. F.	Engraver	59 Britannia Row Islington; 7 Albion Terrace New North Rd
Hemming, John	Gentleman	51 Penton St. Somers Town
Lawrence, ?John	?Plumber	? 2 Cushion Court Broad St.
Lewer, William Henry	Architect	3 Duke St. Westminster
Payne	Unidentifiable	
*Tennant Benjamin	Wine merchant	2 Trinity Sq.
*Cope John James	Surveyor	11 Great Smith St. Westminster

**Third committee – March 1825**

**sources:**

nominated: *London Mechanics’ Register (LMR)*, 1 (1825) p. 251.

elected: *ibid.*, p. 297.

**‘Working class’**

Adams, Nathaniel	Upholsterer	5 Goodge St. Tottenham Court Rd
*Aumonier, Henry	Working-jeweller	7 North St. Pentonville
Collar, Charles	Cabinet-maker	20 Lower Brook St. Grosvenor Sq.
*Deville, Elijah	Brass-founder	6 Mercer St. Long Acre
Dixon, James	Tin-plate-worker	34 Wych St. Strand
*Duthie, Thomas	Book-binder	2 Bartlett’s Place Bartlett’s Buildings
Edwards, Thos.	Painter	Harp Alley Shoe Lane
*Fowler, Richard	Iron-monger	19 Gray’s Inn Lane
Hall, William	Printer	34 New Union St. Little Moorfields
Hogan, James	Colour-maker	2 Blewitt’s Buildings Fetter Lane
*Holdup, John	Silver-spoon-finisher	2 Kirby St. Hatton Garden
*Hetherington, Henry	Printer	13 Kingsgate St. Holborn
Jackson, M. David	Weaver	38 Carnaby Market
*Jones William	Plumber, &c.	Tysoe St. Clerkenwell
Mills, George	Stove-maker	15 High St. Marylebone
Mote, Henry	Teinter	8 Lower Mall Hammersmith
Parry, Charles	Silk-hat-maker	281 Bermondsey St.
Pavyer, Benjamin	Type-founder	31 Featherstone St. and Eden Place Hoxton
*Stacy, George	Working-jeweller	2 Charlotte St. Sadler’s Wells
*St Leger, Barry	Book-binder	18 Gray’s Inn Lane
*Styles, William	Mathematical-instrument-maker	1 Sharp’s Alley Cow Cross
Thurnell, George	Jeweller	Margaret St. Spa Fields
Turner, Joseph	Working-cutler	Castle St. Turnmill St.
[*Waterman, William refused to serve ( <i>LMR</i> , 1 (1825), p. 302)]	Carpenter	3 Winsley St. Oxford St.

**‘Not of the working class’**

Dempsey, John	Tailor and draper	10 Bouverie St. Fleet St.
*Fayerman, Edmund R.	Clerk	Upper St. Islington
Lane, Charles		54 Leonard St.
*Marshall, John H.	Veneer-cutter	Honduras Mills, Old St.
Nash, Eliezer	Jeweller	2 Red Lion St. Clerkenwell
*Smythe Thomas	Machinist	309 Oxford St.
*Thomas, Joseph	Accountant	19 Exeter St. Strand
*Tijou, William	Carver and gilder	17 Greek St. Soho
Wheeler, William O.	Clerk	16 Mabledon Place, Burton Crescent

## Fourth Committee – September 1825

### sources:

nominated: *LMR*, 2 (1825), p. 312.

elected: *Ibid.*, p 328.

### 'Working class'

*George Adam (replaced Collet between March and June 1826)	Joiner	7 Furnivals Inn court, Holborn
Adams, Nathaniel	Upholsterer	6 Mercer St. Long Acre
Collar, Chas	Cabinet-maker	20 Brook St. Grosvenor Sq.
*Collet, Thomas (resigned and replaced by George Adam)	Metal-sash-maker	4, Greystoke Place Fetter Lane
Day, Charles	Silversmith	34 St John's Sq.
*Francis, George	Optician	101 Quadrant Regent St.
*Gowland, James	Escapement-maker	32 Rahere street Goswell St.
Hall, William	Printer	34 Union St. Little Moorfields
*Harley, Isaac	Decorator and painter	16 Wingrove Place St John St. Rd
James, Robert	Smith	14 Crown Court Russell Street Drury Lane
*Johnson, John	Smith	7 Hill Street Southwark
Killar, James	Joiner	5 Bentick St. Soho
Lane, Charles	Printing-ink manufacturer	54 Leonard St. Shoreditch
Laskey, Samuel	Cabinet-maker	1 Francis St. Gray's Inn Rd
*Le Gros, P. J.	Clock-maker	6 Upper Crown St. Westminster
Mills, George	Stove-maker	15 High St. Marylebone
Mitchell, J.	Goldsmith	14 Castigny Place St Luke's
Mote, Henry	Teinter	1 Lower Mall Hammersmith
Pasquier, William	Carpenter	120 St John's St.
*Pringle, James	Carpenter	1 Little Portland St. Oxford St.
*Stratton, William	Optician	at Mr Cary's, Strand
Tapley, William	Silversmith	13 Weston Place Pancras Rd
Taylor, Stephen Matthew	Printer	10 White's Court Roll's Buildings
*Thomas, William	Tinman	7 Price St. Blackfriar's
Thorn, James William	Cabinet-maker	20 Brook St. Grosvenor Sq.
*Warner, James	Turner	9 Mason St. Somer's Town
Wood, John	Carver	50 Wellington St. Goswell St.

### 'Not of the working class'

Ash, S. E.	Bead-maker	Globe Rd Mile End
Brayne, William	Schoolmaster	6 Corporation Row Clerkenwell
*Burnett, Henry		10, High Holborn
Cain, Richard	Jeweller	31 Great Sutton St. Clerkenwell
Clarke, R.	Clerk	32 Southampton Buildings
Dempsey, John	Tailor	10 Bouverie St. Fleet St.
Eckstein, George	Iron-monger	High Holborn
Emmens, Thomas	Carpenter	Emmens's Buildings Pentonville
*Frend, William	Actuary	Bridge St. Blackfriar's
Johnson, James	Messenger to the commissioners of bankruptcy	32 Southampton Buildings
Jones, George	Clerk	Bartholomew terrace, City Rd
Lewer, Henry	Surveyor	3 Duke St. Westminster
*Preston, Samuel	Schoolmaster	3 Constitution Row Gray's Inn Lane Rd
Sanger, Thomas	Jeweller	Middle Row Place Holborn
Saul, William D.	Wine merchant	19 Aldersgate St.
*Tatum, John		Retreat Cottage 4 Park Place Camberwell
*Toplis, Charles	Surgeon	10 Carlisle St. Soho



## Fifth Committee – March 1826

### sources:

nominated: *LMR*, 3 (1826), pp. 298-99.

elected: *ibid.*, p. 312.

### ‘Working class’

*Abeling, William	Watch and clock-maker	7 Wynyatt St.
Bacon Ebenezer	Copper-plate-ruler	130 Chancery Lane
*Chant, John	Optician	2 Skinner St.
*Christie, Peter	Carver	22, Sprint St. Portman Sq.
Day, Charles	Silversmith	34 St John’s Sq.
*Hackett, John James	Carpenter	10 Gower Place Euston Sq.
Jackson, David	Weaver	Carnaby Market
*Nicholls, John	Printer	12 Margaret St. Spa Fields
Poole, Henry	Mason	16 Princes S. Westminster
*Roberts, Henry	Coach-maker	5 Castle St. Oxford St.
Simpson, T. J.	Cabinet-maker	1 Clifton St. Finsbury Sq.
*Thompson, Peter	Carpenter	23 Great Newport St.
*Tovey, Richard	Engraver	10 Felix Terrace Islington
*Webster, William	Engineer	5 Little Henry St. Waterloo Rd
*Whitaker, J. L.	Cabinet-maker	5 Thomas St. Grosvenor Sq.
*Wood, John	Carver	50 Wellington St. Goswell St.

### ‘Not of the working class’

Ash, S. E.	Bead-maker	17 George St. Trafalgar Place Walworth
Bellew Peter	Teacher	1 South St. Berkley Sq.
*Blake, J. F.		7 Albion Terrace New North Rd Islington
Clifton, Francis	Clerk	16 Lincoln’s Inn
Hardwick, H.	Tailor	137 Strand
Hemmings, John	Gentleman	51 Penton Street Somers Town
Johnstone, James	Messenger	32 Southampton Buildings
Kebbell, John	Surveyor	Darby Rd. Kingsland Rd.
*Lane, Charles	Printing ink manufacturer	54 Leonard St. Shoreditch
Murphy, Thomas	Merchant	9 Camden St. Camden Town
Philipe, G.P.	Solicitor	Middleton St. Wilmington Square
*Pritchard, Andrew	Mechanical-draftsman	18 Picket St. Strand
Strong, William	Hatter	78 St James’s St. Piccadilly
*Taylor, Richard	Printer	Shoe Lane

## Sixth Committee – September 1826

### sources:

nominated: *LMR*, 4 (1826), p. 303.

elected: *ibid.*, p. 311.

### ‘Working Class’

Aumonier, Henry	Jeweller	7 North St. Pentonville
*Bacon, Ebenezer	Copper-plate-ruler	130 Chancery Lane
*Biggs, George (replaced Hall)	Printer	22 King St. Soho
Botham, Richard	Cabinet-maker	5 Crown Court Fleet St.
*Carter, Benjamin	Clerk of works	76 Castle St. East Oxford St.
Chart, Albert	Cabinet-maker	6 Upper Charlton St. Fitzroy Sq.
*Duthie, Thomas	Book-binder	2 Bartlett’s Place Bartlett’s Buildings
Ewings, George	Carpenter	Granby Place Lambeth Marsh
*Ford, William	Warehouseman	Holiday Yard Ludgate Hill
*Hall, Thomas (resigned 7 April 1827)	Engineer	3 Cottage Place Westminster Rd.

Harold, Thomas	Carpenter	16 Gastigny St. City Rd
*Hetherington, Henry	Printer	Kingsgate St. Bloomsbury
*Hume, Ebenezer	Engineer	12 Lloyd's Row Spafields
Hunt, John	Parallel glass-grinder	Tothill St. Westminster
James, Thomas	Cabinet-maker	48 Red Lion St. Clerkenwell
Jarrett, W. C. J.	Bookseller	9 Chancery Court Chancery Lane
*Jones, William	Plumber, &c	8 Tysoe St. Spafields
Morris, John	Painter	99 Mount St. Grosvenor Sq.
Simpson, T. J.	Cabinet maker	1 Clifton St. Finsbury Sq.
*St. Leger, Barry	Book-binder	18 Gray's Inn lane
*Wilson, Alexander	Engraver	14 Yardly St. Spafields

**'Not of the working class'**

*Ash, S. E.	Bead-maker	17 George St. Trafalgar St. Walworth
Button, Nathaniel	Confectioner	77 Holborn Bridge
*Dotchen, John A.	Surveyor	37 Frederic Place Hampstead Rd
*Fanshaw, H. R.	Silk-embosser	11 Adde St.
*Nicholls, Richard	Stuff manufacturer	12 Maiden Lane Wood St.
*Smythe, Thomas	Machinist	309 Oxford St.
Tijou, William	Carver and gilder	17 Greek St. Soho

\*\*

Information on nominees ceased to include their class from March 1827 onwards. Because identifying the class of the members is the main point of interest here, I show only the men elected from now on. Occupations and addresses come from the second volume of the Members' Register (MRv2) when not given above. The *LMR*'s run ended in November 1826.

Inaccurate folio numbering in the first volume of the Quarterly Reports (QRv1) resulted in their being two runs of pages numbered between 353 and 436. The clerk numbered the folio following 452, 353 and it was not until folio 436, that the mistake was corrected and the next folio numbered 537.

**Seventh Committee – March 1827**

source: QRv1, ff. 187-88.

**'Working class'**

Adam, George	Joiner	7 Furnivals Inn court Holborn
Austin, John	Engraver	14 Bedford Bury
Barrett, James	Die-sinker	1 St. James's Walk Clerkenwell
Botham, Richard	Cabinet-maker	5 Crown Court Fleet St.
Ewings, George	Carpenter	Granby Place Lambeth Marsh
Garvey, Maurice	Modeller	32 Ogle St. Portland Place
Holdup, John	Silver-spoon-finisher	18 Kerby St. Hatton Garden
Holmes, Thomas	Shoe-maker	1 Cross St. Carnaby St.
Johnson, John	Smith	7 Hill St. Southwark
Poole, Henry	Mason	16 Princes Street Westminster
Thompson, Peter	Carpenter	23 Great Newport St.
Topple, George (elected as not working class in September 1828)	Draftsman	Chapel St. Bedford Row; 23 Queen St. Golden Sq.

**'Not of the working class'**

*Burnett, Henry	Gentleman	10 High Holborn
*Hemming, John	Gentleman	51 Penton St. Somers Town
*Toplis, Charles	Surgeon	10 Carlisle St. Soho

**Eighth Committee – September 1827**

source: QRv1, ff. 224-25.

**‘Working class’**

Christie, Peter	Carver	22, Sprint St. Portman Sq.
Eardley, George W.	Jeweller	46 High Holborn
Gowland, James	Escapement-maker	32 Rahere St. Goswell St.
Hackett, John James	Carpenter	10 Gower Place Euston Sq.
Hough, Samuel	Smith	9 Kerby St. Hatton Garden
Langston, John	Printer	3 Gloucester St. St Johns St. Rd
Lyne, George Henry	Engineer	42 John St. Blackfriars
Nichols, John	Printer	12 Margaret Street, Spa Fields
Piggott, Peter William	Drawing-instrument-maker	4 Penton St. Walworth
Wood, Henry Robert	Carver	58 Red Cross St. Cripplegate

**‘Not of the working class’**

Blake, James Frederick	Gentleman	7 Albion Terrace New North Rd
Holtzapffel, Charles	Machinist	24 Cockspur St.
Lane, Charles	Clerk	54 Leonard St. Shoreditch
Mason, A. J.	Wood-engraver	23 Spencer St.
Taylor, Richard	Printer	Shoe Lane

**Ninth Committee – March 1828**

source: QRv1, ff. 278-79.

**‘Working class’**

Bacon, Ebenezer	Machinist and engine turner	130 Chancery Lane
Carter, Benjamin resigned; replaced by D. E. Wheeler, watch-maker, 9 Grays Inn Passage	Clerk of works to Com of Sewers	67 Castle St. East
Collar, Charles	Cabinet-maker	20 Brook St. Grosvenor Sq., then 25 Great Pulteney St.
Conder, Joseph	Carpenter	3 Beer Lane Tower St.
Hetherington, Henry	Printer etc	20 Kingsgate St. Bloomsbury
Morton, William	Carpenter	illegible
St Leger, Barry	Book-binder	18 Grays Inn Lane
Stratton, William	Mathematical-instrument-maker	12 Boundary Row Blackfriars
Tovey, Richard	Engraver	10 Felix Place Islington
Ward, George	Machinist	67 Great Castle St. East Marylebone; 42 Toley St.; 30 Union St.

**‘Not of working class’**

Button, Nathaniel	confectioner	77 Holborn Bridge
Clarke, Robert	Clerk	32 Southampton Buildings
Merritt, H. S.	Surveyor	20 Cold Bath Sq.
Pritchard, Andrew	Mechanical-draftsman	18 Picket St.
Smythe, Thomas	Machinist	309 Oxford St.

**Tenth committee – September 1828**

source: QRv1, f. 314.

**‘Working class’**

Carswell, William	Glass-cutter	8c Monkwell St.
Ewings, George	Carpenter	Granby Place Lambeth Marsh
Farmer, William	Engineer	32 Great Sutton St.
Garvey, Maurice	Modeller	32 Ogle St. Portland Place
Holdup, John	Silver-spoon-finisher	18 Kerby St. Hatton Garden

Holmes, Thomas	Shoe-maker	1 Cross St. Carnaby St.
Johnson, John	Smith	7 Hill St. Southwark
Poole, Henry	Mason	16 Princes St. Westminster
Martin, Joseph	Carpenter	8 Drummond St. Somers Town
Reader, C. J.	Bookseller	24 Bell Yard Temple Bar

**‘Not of working class’**

Burnett, Henry	Gentleman	10 High Holborn
Eckstein, G. F.	Stove-grate-maker	13 High Holborn
Grover, J. L.	Clerk	Staples Inn Buildings; 48 Cumming St. Pentonville
Hemming, John	Gentleman	51 Penton St. Somers Town
Topple, George	Draftsman	Chapel St. Bedford Row; 23 Queen St. Golden Sq.

**Eleventh committee – March 1829**

source: QRv1, ff. 354-55.

**‘Working class’**

Ash, S. E. - previously listed as not working class	Bead-maker	George St. Trafalgar St. Walworth; Kirby St. Hatton Gdn 11 Victoria St. Pentonville
Bluett, Thomas	Musical-instrument-maker	Middle Row Holborn
Dakin, Thomas	Chemist	29 Abchurch Lane
Davis, David	Carpenter & joiner	4 Castle Court Borough
Gowland, James	Watch-maker	69 Rahere St. Rd.
Hough, Samuel	Smith	9 Kerby St. Hatton Garden
Kingsnorth, Thomas	Engineer	2 Castle St. Clerkenwell; 31 Smith St. Northampton Sq.
Piggott, Peter William	Drawing-instrument-maker	4 Penton St. Walworth
Simpson, Thomas J.	Cabinet-maker	1 Clifton St. Finsbury
Watson, E. F.	Carver and gilder	

**‘Not of working class’**

Blake, J. F.	Gentleman	7 Albion Terrace New North Rd.
Davis, John	unidentifiable	
Mason, A. J. retired; replaced by Samuel Hazle: hatter, Rassin Court Milk St.; 15 Wells St. Jewin St.	Wood-engraver	23 Spencer St.
McLeod, John R.	Optician	at Mr Cary’s Strand
Weatherly, Joseph	Silversmith	9 Poultry Cheapside

**Twelfth Committee – September 1829**

source: QRv1, f. 387.

**‘Working class’**

Conder, Joseph	Carpenter	3 Beer Lane Tower St.
Curtis, James	Pianoforte-maker	33 Henry St. Hampstead Rd.
Gregory, John	Artist	5 James St. Clerkenwell
Hetherington, Henry resigned 8 Feb 1830; replaced by William Arundell, clerk, 96 Strand	Printer etc	20 Kingsgate St. Bloomsbury
Linsell, John	Plumber	10 Princes Place Bedford Row
Marshall, E. S.	Gold-beater	5 Somers Town
Morton, William	Carpenter	illegible
Neeves, William	Philosophical-instrument-maker	16 Great St Andrews St.
Pollard, James	Chair-maker	64 Brill Row Somers Town
Rothery, Samuel	Chaser	71 Charlton St. Somers Town

Styles, Joseph Davis	Carpenter	5 Vine St. Westminster
Ward, George G.	Machinist	67 Great Castle St. East Marylebone; 42 Toley St.; 30 Union St.

**‘Not of working class’**

Lane, Charles	Clerk	54 Leonard St. Shoreditch
Reynolds, John	Mathematics teacher	2 Arlington Place St Johns St. Rd.
Whitehall, James	Licensed victualler	4 Albermarle St. Clerkenwell

**Thirteenth Committee – March 1830**

source: QRv1, f. 427.

+ indicates occupation and address are from MRv3.

**‘Working class’**

Day, William	Chaser	12 Calthorpe Place
Ewings, George	Carpenter	Granby Place Lambeth Marsh
Farmer, William	Engineer	32 Great Sutton St.
+Fletcher, R. G.	Book-binder	14 New St Sq.
Gray, Samuel	Cutler	21 Giltspur St.
McDuff, John	Turner	6 Bedford St. Bedford Row
Morris, John	Painter	99 Mount St. Grosvenor Sq.
Phillips, Charles	Engraver	115 Fetter Lane
Reader, C. J	Bookseller	24 Bell Yard Temple Bar
+Weedon, Thomas	Cutler	Hart St. Bloomsbury

**‘Not of working class’**

Clarke, Robert	Clerk	32 Southampton Buildings
Grover, J. L.	Clerk	Staples Inn Buildings; 48 Cumming St. Pentonville
+Phelps, R. A.	Stationer	40 Rathbone Place
Smythe, Thomas	Machinist	309 Oxford St.
Watkins, Francis	Optician	5 Charing Cross

**Fourteenth committee – September 1830**

source: QRv1, ff. 364-65. The page following f. 452 was numbered 353 and the pagination continues 100 out until page 436.

+ indicates occupation and address are from MRv3.

**‘Working class’**

Baddeley, William	Stationer	George Yard Lombard St.
+Bayne, Richard	Carpenter	26 Mount St. Grosvenor Sq.
Cull, Richard	Plumber	Rosomans St. Clerkenwell
Dakin, Thomas	Chemist	29 Abchurch Lane
Dismore, George	Jeweller	11 Clerkenwell Green
Herring, William	Printer	10 Angel St. St Martin Le Grand
Hough, Samuel	Smith	9 Kerby St. Hatton Garden
O’Connor, Jeremiah	Printer	5 Blackmoor St. Drury Lane; 11 Sheffield St. Lincolns Inn
Piggott, P. W.	Drawing-instrument-maker	4 Penton St. Walworth
Strong, Robert		6 Great Suffolk St. Borough

**'Not of working class'**

Blake, J. F.	Gentleman	7 Albion Terrace New North Rd
Butter, Henry	Schoolmaster	Rawstone St. Goswell Rd
Davis, John	Unidentifiable	
Roberts, John		1 South St. New Rd
+Newton, W. T.	Schoolmaster	41 Brewer St. Golden Sq.

**Fifteenth Committee – March 1831**

source: QRv1, ff. 402-403.

+ indicates occupation and address are from MRv3.

**'Working class'**

Anderson, Thomas	Mill-wright	6 Nelson Place Graven Lane Boro
+Douglas, Samuel	Machine-ruler	6 Great Knighttrider St
Gregory, John	Artist	5 James St. Clerkenwell
+Jenkins, Henry B.		52 Great Queen St Lincolns Inn
Jones, Peter	Painter	45 St Mary Axe
Marshall, E. S.	Gold-beater	5 Somers Town
Morton, William	Carpenter	illegible
Reynolds, Robert	Engraver	Breams Buildings
Strong, William	Hatter	78 St James's St.
Ward, G. G.	Machinist	67 Great Castle St. East Marylebone; 42 Toley St.; 30 Union St.

**'Not of working class'**

+Charles Lane	Accountant	54 Leonard St. Shoreditch
William Mannin	Clerk	153 Drury Lane
Pearsall, Thomas J.		Royal Institution Albermarle St.
Taylor, Richard	Printer	Shoe Lane
+Taylor, Samuel	Schoolmaster	23 Tysoe St

## Appendix E

### Occupations of the first LMI members

Ordering the information on the 576 first members recorded in appendix B according to occupation produces the following numbers of men in each occupational category. There were thirty-nine printers, thirty-eight carpenters, and so on. I have generalised some of the trades, for instance: 'Brass' includes brass-founders, brass-turners and brass-finishers; 'Leather' encompasses a leather-cutter and a leather-finisher; 'Gold' includes a gold-beater as well as goldsmiths. Twenty-five men were listed without occupation and have been excluded.

39	Printer	03	Gun-maker	01	Stove-maker
38	Carpenter	03	Apprentice	01	Hosier
29	Cabinet-maker	03	Die-sinker	01	Cordwainer
28	Clerk	03	Brasier	01	Plate-glass-worker
26	Gentleman	03	Stationer	01	Truss-maker
24	Engineer	03	Hatter	01	Surgical-instrument-maker
14	Jeweller	03	Cutler	01	Fringe-maker
13	Watch	03	Glass-cutter	01	Dry-salter
12	Brass	03	Colourman	01	Furrier
10	Carver	02	Plater	01	Victualler
10	Painter	02	Builder	01	Rug manufacturer
10	Surveyor	02	Whitesmith	01	MD
10	Book-binder	02	Chair-maker	01	Schoolmaster's son
10	Member's son	02	Pawnbroker	01	Thermometer-maker
09	Tailor	02	Cooper	01	Cotton-yarn manufacturer
09	Engraver	02	Lapidary	01	Veneer-cutter
09	Mathematical-instrument-maker	02	Dyer	01	Wine merchant
08	Turner	02	Woollen-draper	01	Veterinary surgeon
08	Silver	02	Musical-instrument-maker	01	Law-stationer
07	Smith	02	Paper-stainer	01	Hairdresser
07	Upholsterer	02	Coal merchant	01	Royal Engineer
07	Chemist	02	Iron wharf	01	Lock-smith
07	Coach	02	Leather	01	Engine-maker
06	Plumber	02	Solicitor	01	Teinter
06	Bookseller	02	Boot-maker	01	Copper-plate-ruler
06	Shoe-maker	01	Warehouseman	01	Clock-maker
04	Merchant	01	Machinist	01	Wheel-wright
05	Compositor	01	Tobacconist	01	Mill-wright
05	Joiner	01	Pin-maker	01	Vellum-binder
05	Accountant	01	Bead-maker	01	Silk-winder
05	Schoolmaster	01	Lamp-maker	01	Dentist
05	Tin	01	Mercer	01	Timber
05	Gold	01	Cheese-monger	01	Actuary
04	Iron	01	Model-maker	01	Ribbon-dresser
04	Baker	01	Soap-maker	01	Attorney
04	Teacher	01	Mechanist	01	Type-founder
04	Piano	01	Seedsman	01	Brush-maker
04	Mason	01	Metal-sash-maker	01	Artist
04	Weaver	01	Sail-maker	01	Fish-monger
03	Architect	01	Assayer	01	Optician and mechanical-draftsman
03	Chaser	01	Smelter	01	Salesman
03	Saw-maker	01	Auctioneer	01	Hat manufacturer
03	Bricklayer	01	Tallow-chandler		

## Appendix F

### Grouped occupations of the first LMI members

Whereas appendix E mirrors the occupational categories which the 576 first members used, appendix F imposes larger groupings to provide a broader perspective on the data. For instance it can be useful to think of precision-instrument-makers – a category they did not use but which combines watch-makers, mathematical-instrument-makers, etc. – or to think of the building trade as a whole. Part of the reason that gentlemen and clerks appear so numerous in comparison to other occupations may be that those categories catch a wider variety of men. Because creating broader categories is so arbitrary and can be done in so many different ways, I show how the various occupations were allocated.

#### **Builder, carpenter, bricklayer, mason, plumber etc: 72**

02	Builder
04	Mason
03	Bricklayer
44	Carpenters (inc 5 joiners, 1 wheel-wright)
10	Painter (1 listed as painter and glazier)
06	Plumbers
03	Glass-cutter

#### **Printer, bookseller, compositor: 50**

39	Printer
05	Compositor
06	Bookseller

#### **Cabinet-maker and upholsterer, veneer, chair-maker, carver and gilders: 49**

29	Cabinet-maker
07	Upholsterer
01	Veneer-cutter
02	Chair-maker
10	Carver - including carver and gilders

#### **Precision-instrument-makers: 40**

1	Clock-maker
1	Optician and mechanical-draftsman
1	Surgical-instrument-maker
1	Thermometer-maker
2	Musical-instrument-makers
3	Cutler
3	Gun-maker
3	Saw-maker
4	Piano
9	Mathematical-instrument-maker
12	Watch-maker

#### **Clerks (28), actuary (1), accountants (5): 34**

#### **Professionals: medical, teachers, architects, surveyors, military, auctioneers: 30**

01	Dentist
01	Attorney
01	Veterinary surgeon
01	MD
02	Solicitor
03	Architect
04	Teacher
05	Schoolmaster
10	Surveyor
01	Royal Engineer



01 Auctioneer

**Engineer: 28**

24 Engineers  
01 Engine-maker  
01 Machinist  
01 Millwright  
01 Mechanist

**Silversmith, goldsmith, jeweller: 28**

14 Jeweller  
04 Goldsmiths  
08 Silver (inc 1 silver-spoon-finisher, 7 silversmiths)  
02 Lapidary

**Clothes: 28**

01 Ribbon-dresser  
01 Silk-winder  
01 Teinter  
01 Bead-maker  
01 Hat manufacturer  
01 Fringe-maker  
01 Mercer  
01 Hosier  
01 Cotton-yarn manufacturer  
01 Furrier  
02 Woollen-draper  
03 Hatter  
04 Weaver  
09 Tailor

**Gentlemen: 26**

**Smiths and iron-workers: 15**

07 Smith  
07 Iron (3 iron-mongers, 1 iron-founder, 1 stove-maker, 1 smelter, 1 metal-sash-maker)  
01 Lock-smith

**Stationers, book-binders, vellum-binders: 15**

01 Vellum-binder  
01 Law-stationer  
03 Stationer  
10 Book-binder

**Brass: 15**

10 Brass-founder  
01 Brass-turner  
01 Brass-finisher  
03 Brasier

**Engraver, artist: 14**

09 Engraver  
03 Chaser  
01 Copper-plate-ruler  
01 Artist

**Chemical: 14**

01 Assayer  
02 Dyer  
02 Paper-stainer  
07 Chemist  
01 Dry-salter  
01 Soap-maker

**Students: 14**

03 Apprentice  
01 Schoolmaster's son  
10 Member's son

**Merchants, warehouseman: 11**

02 Coal merchant  
02 Iron wharf  
01 Warehouseman  
04 Merchant  
01 Timber-dealer  
01 Salesman

**Food and drink, tobacco: 10**

01 Fish-monger  
01 Seedsman  
01 Cheese-monger  
01 Victualler  
01 Wine merchant  
01 Tobacconist  
04 Baker

**Boots and shoes: 9**

06 Shoe-maker  
02 Boot-maker  
01 Cordwainer

**Miscellaneous makers: 10**

01 Brush-maker  
01 Sail-maker  
01 Pin-maker  
01 Lamp-maker  
01 Model-maker  
01 Watch-case-maker  
02 Cooper  
01 Hairdresser (wigs and perukes)  
01 Truss-maker

**Uncategorised: 39**

08 Turner: (not including brass-turner).  
07 Coach  
05 Tin (2 tin-men and 2 tin-plate-workers)  
01 Gold-beater  
03 Die-sinker  
03 Colourmen (including 2 oil and colourmen)  
02 Plater  
02 White smith  
02 Pawnbroker  
02 Leather (1 leather-cutter, 2 leather-finisher)  
01 Rug manufacturer  
01 Plate-glass-worker  
01 Tallow-chandler  
01 Type-founder

**Men without occupations: 25**

## Appendix G

### Operatives and non-operatives among the first LMI members

How the membership broke down into operatives/mechanics and non-operatives/others was key to arguments over the composition of mechanics' institutes. Robertson claimed that the majority of the people in the 11 November 1823 Crown and Anchor meeting to set up the LMI were mechanics. The following analysis of the 576 men with low membership numbers (likely to have been at the Crown and Anchor) offers some support for Robertson's contention. It cannot, however, determine whether the men were operatives, as Robertson claimed, as opposed to masters or retailers.

This appendix adapts the categories from appendix F to separate people who made things with their hands from those who did not. Of the 551 men listed with occupations, the following analysis shows that 429 men, or 78%, could have made things with their hands while 122, or 22%, probably did not. Twenty-five men were listed without occupations. There is a tendency to think that had these men been in trades they would have listed them, but we cannot know. Were we to add them to the non-operative/other category in an analysis of the entire 576 men, we would deduce that 429 or 74.5% could have made things with their hands, while 147 or 25.5% were unlikely to have done so.

(For more on distinctions between operatives and non-operatives, see ch. 4 and appendix K.)

#### **People who could have made things with their hands: 429 = 78%** (of people with occupations)

Builder, Carpenter, Bricklayer, Mason, Plumber etc: 72

Bookseller, Printer, Compositor: 50

Cabinet-maker and Upholsterer, Veneer, Chair-maker, Carvers and Gilders: 49

Precision-instrument-makers: 40

Engineer: 28

Goldsmith, Silversmith, Jeweller: 28

Clothes: 27 (minus one mercer)

Smiths and Iron-mongers: 15

Stationers, Book-binders, Vellum-binders: 15

Brass: 15

Engraver and Artist: 14

Chemical: 13 (minus 1 assayer)

Apprentices: 3

Bakers: 4

Boots and Shoes: 9

Miscellaneous makers: 10

Uncategorised: 37 (minus 2 pawnbrokers)

#### **People who could not have been mechanics: 122 = 22%** (of people with occupations)

Clerks, (28) Actuary (1), Accountants(5): 34

Professionals, Teachers, Architects, Surveyors, Military, Auctioneers: 30

Mercer: 1

Gentlemen: 26

Assayer: 1

Pawnbroker: 2

Students: 11 (minus 3 apprentices)

Merchants, Warehousemen: 11

Food and Drink, Tobacco: 6 (minus 4 bakers)

## Appendix H

### Quarterly membership numbers December 1824 – December 1829

The table below shows membership information for each quarter from December 1824 to December 1829. There are two total figures: ‘subs paid’ and ‘QR total’. The figure for ‘subs paid’ was calculated by counting subscriptions paid in each quarter as recorded in the Members’ Registers. The ‘QR total’ was taken from the management Quarterly Reports. Quarterly Reports were retrospective so December 1824 – March 1825 membership naturally appeared in March 1825. ‘Difference’ records the deviation between figures taken directly from the Members’ Registers’ and the Quarterly Reports’ figures. Members joining and resigning each quarter began to be reported in June 1825 referring to activities taking place in March 1825. These figures are contained QMv1, and in the published references given below. I have only given the QMv1 references when published reports are unavailable.

December 1824: Because this was the beginning of their accurate record keeping, the committee men assumed that 150 men would have continued to be members from having previously paid annual and half-yearly subscriptions. They estimated that the ‘actual number of members at the present time must be nearly, if not quite, 1100’.

Quarter	Dec. 1824	Mar. 1825	Jun. 1825	Sep. 1825	Dec. 1825	Mar. 1826	Jun. 1826	Sep. 1826	Dec. 1826	Mar. 1827	Jun. 1827
<b>Subs paid</b>	940	1213	1535	1839	1613	1743	1298	1312	1312	1219	1092
<b>QR total</b>	934	1185	1483	1887	1522	1772	1266	1347	1347	1245	1067
<b>Difference</b>	+6	+28	+52	-48	+ 91	-29	+ 32	-35	-35	-26	+ 25
<b>Joined</b>		439	525	677	401	574	253	421	382	224	192
<b>Resigned</b>		254	265	332	621	397	775	367	400	374	383
<b>Source</b>	<i>LMR</i> ,1 (1825) p. 301	<i>LMR</i> ,2 (1825) p. 92	<i>LMR</i> ,2 (1825) p. 330	<i>LMR</i> ,3 (1826) p. 125	<i>LMR</i> ,3 (1826) p. 314	<i>LMR</i> , 4 (1826) p. 106	<i>LMR</i> ,4 (1826) p. 314	QMv1 p. 181	QMv1 p. 200	<i>MM</i> , 7 (1827) p. 375	<i>MM</i> , 8 (1828) p. 160

Quarter	Sep. 1827	Dec. 1827	Mar. 1828	Jun. 1828	Sep. 1828	Dec. 1828	Mar. 1829	Jun. 1829	Sep. 1829	Dec. 1829
<b>Subs paid</b>	1262	1198	1177	990	1046	1034	912	805	884	952
<b>QR total</b>	1238	1246	1197	964	992	1032	911	894	876	958
<b>Difference</b>	+ 24	-48	-20	+ 26	+ 54	+ 2	+ 1	-89	+ 8	-6
<b>Joined</b>	389	309	279	142	257	258	152	146	215	258
<b>Resigned</b>	222	330	347	374	244	235	284	172	238	183
<b>Source</b>	QMv1 f. 257	QMv1 ff 289- 90	QMv1 f. 302	QMv1 f. 322	QMv1 f. 348	QMv1 f. 363	QMv1 f. 378	QMv1 ff. 395- 96	QMv1 f. 416	QMv1 f. 435

## Appendix I

### Membership numbers for the largest occupational categories, by quarter

These figures come from an analysis of the first two Members' Registers, covering December 1824 to December 1829. They show the occupations with the most adherents in each quarter. The figure for March 1824 (before the record keeping was standardised) is based on the men with membership numbers under 1002 in the first Members' Register. As appendices B and C explain, these men were likely to have been the earliest members.

March 1824 First 1000 NOTIONAL	September 1824	December 1824
39 Printer	Membership register started in Dec 1824	071 Clerk
38 Carpenter		065 Gentleman
29 Cabinet-maker		065 Printer
28 Clerk		052 Carpenter
26 Gentleman		035 Cabinet-maker
25 No occupation		029 Jeweller
24 Engineer		026 Engineer
14 Jeweller		018 Watch-maker
12 Watch-maker		017 No occupation
12 Brass		016 Painter
10 Carver		015 Tailor
10 Painter		014 Mathematical- instrument-maker
10 Surveyor		014 Engraver
10 Book-binder		013 Upholsterer
10 Member's son		013 Book-binder
		013 Smith
		012 Carver
		012 Compositor
		011 Brass-founder
		010 Plumber
		010 Bookseller
		010 Chemist
		010 Builder

March 1825		June 1825		September 1825		December 1825	
102	Clerk	117	Clerk	143	Clerk	125	Clerk
079	Gentleman	106	Gentleman	127	Carpenter	116	Carpenter
074	Carpenter	098	Carpenter	119	Gentleman	106	Gentleman
070	Printer	087	Printer	092	Printer	074	Printer
041	Cabinet-maker	056	Cabinet-maker	055	Cabinet-maker	055	No occupation
029	Jeweller	041	No occupation	041	Tailor	046	Cabinet-maker
028	Engineer	032	Watch-maker	041	No occupation	037	Member's son
027	No Occupation	032	Jeweller	039	Watch-maker	035	Engineer
025	Watch-maker	030	Engineer	034	Member's son	033	Painter
022	Member's son	028	Engraver	033	Painter	032	Tailor
019	Engraver	026	Member's son	033	Engineer	031	Watch-maker
018	Brass-founder	025	Tailor	032	Engraver	024	Engraver
018	Smith	021	Book-binder	027	Jeweller	022	Jeweller
017	Book-binder	021	Merchant	024	Upholsterer	021	Smith
017	Tailor	021	Carver	024	Carver	021	Book-binder
017	Carver	020	Painter	024	Smith	019	Plumber
016	Iron-monger	020	Bookseller	023	Book-binder	019	Apprentice
015	Mathematical-instrument-maker	019	Brass-founder	023	Builder	018	Mathematical-instrument-maker
		018	Smith	022	Book-seller		
		017	Upholsterer	020	Stationer		
015	Book-seller	017	Builder	020	Brass-founder	018	Upholsterer
015	Upholsterer	017	Apprentice	020	Mathematical-instrument-maker	018	Carver
015	Painter	016	Silversmith			018	Coach-maker
014	Goldsmith	016	Iron-monger			017	Silversmith
014	Warehouseman	016	Boot-maker	019	Silversmith	016	Stationer
013	Apprentice	015	Chemist	018	Chaser	016	Builder
012	Silver-smith	015	Compositor	018	Chemist	015	Brass-founder
012	Plumber	015	Mathematical-instrument-maker	018	Coach-maker	014	Surveyor
011	Chemist			017	Plumber	013	Shoe-maker
011	Schoolmaster			016	Apprentice	012	Schoolmaster
010	Surveyor	014	Stationer	015	Iron-monger	012	Hatter
010	Stationer	013	Shoe-maker	015	Artist	012	Compositor
010	Hosier	013	Gold-smith	015	Gold-smith	012	Accountant
		013	Surveyor	014	Tin-plate-worker	012	Goldsmith
		013	Warehouseman	013	Boot-maker	012	Warehouseman
		012	Plumber	013	Surveyor	011	Bookseller
		010	Coach-maker	013	Compositor	011	Chemist
				013	Accountant	010	Linen-draper
				013	Shoe-maker	010	Bricklayer
				012	Warehouseman	010	Tin-plate-worker
				011	Schoolmaster	010	Boot-maker
				011	Hosier	010	Chaser
				011	Hatter		
				010	Architect		
				010	Linen-draper		
				010	Machinist		
				010	Glass-cutter		

<b>March 1826</b>		<b>June 1826</b>		<b>September 1826</b>		<b>December 1826</b>	
133	Carpenter	092	Clerk	095	Clerk	100	Clerk
132	Clerk	087	Carpenter	085	Carpenter	097	Carpenter
095	Gentleman	074	Printer	073	Gentleman	075	No occupation
091	Printer	069	No occupation	065	Printer	072	Gentleman
072	No occupation	068	Gentleman	061	No occupation	057	Printer
053	Cabinet-maker	045	Cabinet-maker	053	Cabinet-maker	054	Cabinet-maker
048	Tailor	038	Member's son	041	Tailor	038	Engineer
048	Member's son	036	Engraver	038	Member's son	037	Tailor
036	Watch-maker	034	Tailor	032	Engraver	025	Book-binder
033	Engraver	032	Engineer	031	Engineer	025	Jeweller
032	Engineer	022	Watch-maker	028	Jeweller	022	Stationer
029	Carver	020	Jeweller	022	Painter	020	Watch-maker
029	Painter	018	Book-binder	020	Watch-maker	020	Painter
028	Stationer	018	Carver	020	Chemist	019	Engraver
024	Apprentice	017	Stationer	019	Apprentice	018	Warehouseman
024	Jeweller	017	Painter	017	Plumber	018	Plumber
022	Book-binder	017	Apprentice	017	Book-binder	017	Carver
021	Silversmith	016	Warehouseman	017	Stationer	016	Mathematical-instrument-maker
019	Smith	015	Upholsterer	016	Carver		
019	Upholsterer	014	Chemist	014	Coach-maker	016	Piano-maker
019	Coach-maker	014	Mathematical-instrument-maker	013	Builder	015	Upholsterer
017	Mathematical-instrument-maker	013	Smith	012	Smith	015	Coach-maker
017	Surveyor	013	Silversmith	011	Iron-monger	014	Builder
017	Tin-plate-worker	013	Plumber	011	Surveyor	014	Silversmith
017	Builder	013	Plumber	011	Silversmith	012	Iron-monger
016	Brass-founder	013	Musical-instrument-maker	011	Piano-maker	012	Chemist
015	Plumber	012	Coach-maker	011	Upholsterer	012	Smith
014	Warehouseman	012	Iron-monger	010	Warehouseman	011	Joiner
013	Iron-monger	012	Iron-monger	010	Bookseller	011	Architect
013	Chemist	010	Surveyor	010	Mathematical-instrument-maker	011	Boot-maker
012	Hatter	010	Mason	010	Turner	011	Chaser
012	Mason	010	Turner	010	Schoolmaster	011	Surveyor
012	Musical-instrument maker	010	Piano-maker	010	Turner	010	Brass-founder
011	Plasterer					010	Turner
011	Boot-maker					010	Schoolmaster
011	Bricklayer					010	Musical-instrument-maker
011	Joiner					010	Tin-plate-worker
011	Shoe-maker						
010	Chaser						
010	Goldsmith						

<b>March 1827</b>		<b>June 1827</b>		<b>September 1827</b>		<b>December 1827</b>	
098	No occupation	089	No occupation	125	No occupation	130	No occupation
088	Clerk	084	Clerk	094	Gentleman	099	Gentleman
080	Gentleman	079	Gentleman	094	Clerk	083	Clerk
076	Carpenter	065	Carpenter	077	Carpenter	072	Carpenter
053	Cabinet-maker	050	Cabinet-maker	046	Printer	047	Cabinet-maker
048	Printer	041	Printer	046	Cabinet-maker	036	Printer
037	Tailor	032	Tailor	032	Tailor	028	Tailor
026	Engineer	024	Engineer	028	Carver	026	Carver
023	Engraver	020	Engraver	025	Engraver	025	Engraver
020	Stationer	018	Jeweller	023	Stationer	023	Stationer
018	Jeweller	018	Stationer	022	Jeweller	022	Engineer
018	Book-binder	017	Carver	020	Watch-maker	020	Watch-maker
018	Carver	016	Watch-maker	018	Engineer	020	Jeweller
017	Mathematical-instrument-maker	015	Silversmith	018	Silversmith	019	Painter
017	Watch-maker	014	Book-binder	018	Painter	015	Warehouseman
016	Silversmith	014	Mathematical-instrument-maker	016	Piano-maker	014	Mathematical-instrument-maker
016	Chemist	013	Warehouseman	015	Warehouseman	014	Silversmith
015	Warehouseman	013	Smith	014	Smith	012	Smith
013	Coach-maker	013	Chemist	014	Plumber	012	Piano-maker
013	Plumber	012	Plumber	013	Mathematical-instrument-maker	011	Chaser
013	Painter	012	Painter	012	Optician	011	Draper
012	Smith	011	Musical-instrument-maker	012	Draper	011	Book-binder
011	Piano-maker	011	Joiner	011	Joiner	010	Builder
011	Musical-instrument-maker	011	Coach-maker	011	Book-binder	010	Plumber
011	Joiner	011	Upholsterer	011	Builder	010	Chemist
010	Brass-founder	010	Piano-maker	011	Architect		
010	Architect	010	Baker	010	Musical-instrument-maker		
010	Iron-monger	010	Chaser	010	Baker		
010	Chaser			010	Chemist		
010	Upholsterer						
010	Accountant						

<b>March 1828</b>		<b>June 1828</b>		<b>September 1828</b>		<b>December 1828</b>	
127	No occupation	101	No occupation	126	No occupation	135	No occupation
098	Clerk	089	Clerk	089	Clerk	083	Clerk
080	Gentleman	060	Carpenter	080	Carpenter	083	Carpenter
077	Carpenter	057	Gentleman	057	Gentleman	058	Gentleman
052	Cabinet-maker	047	Cabinet-maker	049	Cabinet-maker	049	Cabinet-maker
036	Printer	035	Printer	038	Printer	037	Printer
031	Tailor	023	Tailor	024	Carver	025	Engraver
025	Jeweller	023	Carver	023	Engraver	023	Watch-maker
025	Engraver	022	Engraver	021	Tailor	023	Carver
025	Carver	020	Watch-maker	021	Engineer	022	Tailor
023	Engineer	020	Engineer	020	Watch-maker	020	Engineer
023	Stationer	018	Jeweller	016	Stationer	015	Painter
022	Watch-maker	018	Stationer	016	Jeweller	014	Jeweller
019	Painter	014	Chemist	015	Chemist	013	Stationer
013	Silversmith	013	Silversmith	013	Joiner	013	Plumber
013	Mathematical-instrument-maker	012	Joiner	013	Mathematical-instrument-maker	013	Chemist
012	Chemist	011	Mathematical-instrument-maker	013	Plumber	012	Upholsterer
011	Book-binder	011	Painter	012	Silversmith	012	Silversmith
011	Plumber	011	Plumber	012	Smith	010	Piano-maker
010	Joiner	011	Upholsterer	012	Painter	010	Chaser
010	Warehouseman	010	Piano-maker	012	Painter	010	Architect
010	Tin-plate-worker	010	Architect	010	Piano-maker	010	Joiner
010	Millwright			010	Chaser		

<b>March 1829</b>		<b>June 1829</b>		<b>September 1829</b>		<b>December 1829</b>	
114	No occupation	110	No occupation	126	No occupation	161	No occupation
072	Carpenter	077	Clerk	087	Clerks	092	Clerk
070	Clerk	055	Carpenter	063	Carpenter	064	Carpenter
055	Gentleman	050	Gentleman	050	Gentleman	046	Printer
041	Cabinet-maker	038	Printer	036	Printer	043	Cabinet-maker
038	Printer	037	Cabinet-maker	033	Cabinet-maker	041	Gentleman
023	Tailor	021	Engineer	026	Engraver	022	Engraver
023	Carver	021	Carver	024	Carver	022	Carver
022	Engraver	021	Engraver	022	Engineer	020	Engineer
021	Engineer	016	Stationer	015	Stationer	016	Stationer
019	Watch-maker	013	Tailor	015	Painter	013	Painter
015	Stationer	012	Painter	012	Jeweller	012	Jeweller
012	Plumber	011	Upholsterer	011	Watch-maker	011	Joiner
010	Jeweller	010	Silversmith	010	Upholsterer	011	Watch-maker
010	Painter	010	Watch-maker	010	Tailor	010	Tailor
010	Upholsterer			010	Silversmith	010	Silversmith
				010	Chaser	010	Chaser



## Appendix J

### LMI March 1826 membership composition compared with David Barnett's analysis of London manufacturing firms in 1826-7

This appendix provides the data used to generate figure 4.3 (chapter 4) which compares the percentage of LMI members employed in various trades during the March to June 1826 quarter with David Barnett's percentages of manufacturing firms based on his analysis of Pigot and Co.'s *London and provincial new commercial directory for 1826-27*.<sup>13</sup> The categories and percentages of London firms are Barnett's. For instance, in the first category below, his data showed that firms involved in timber made up 16% of the total number of London manufacturers. The quantities of people under each heading are derived from the LMI Members' Registers. Their total is reported at the end of each section to derive the LMI percentages.

Of the 1743 LMI members in this quarter, I have found 1080 members who can be matched to Barnett's categories. 663 members were excluded either because they were not manufacturers or because their occupations did not fit Barnett's definitions and their inclusion would have resulted in not comparing like with like. As it is the comparisons are rough and ready. The occupations of these 663 members are listed at the end.

#### **Timber** **16% of total number of London firms (Barnett)**

##### **Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to timber:**

133	Carpenter (including 3 carpenter and joiner, 1 carpenter and builder)
017	Builder
011	Joiner
004	Brush-maker
009	Turner (Barnett puts turners with carpenters)
001	Die-turner
002	Timber-dealer
001	Cork-cutter
001	Tooth-brush manufacturer
001	Coffin-maker
008	Cooper
001	Venetian-blind-maker

**LMI total: 189 men, representing 10.8% of LMI members and 17.4% of LMI manufacturers**

#### **Furniture** **11% of total number of London firms (Barnett)**

##### **Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to furniture:**

053	Cabinet-maker
029	Carver
019	Upholsterer
005	Chair-maker
001	Japanner
001	Upholder
001	Clock-case-maker
001	Featherbed-maker
006	Gilder
001	Bedstead-maker

**LMI total: 117 men, representing 6.7% of LMI members and 10.8% of LMI manufacturers**

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<sup>13</sup> Barnett, *London*, p. 39.

**Paper and printing 8.9% of total number of London firms (Barnett)**

**Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to paper and printing:**

091 Printer  
033 Engraver  
022 Book-binder  
009 Bookseller  
009 Compositor  
001 Paper-maker  
001 Manufacturer of cardboard ornaments  
004 Vellum-binder  
002 Card-maker

**LMI total: 172 men, representing 9.8% of LMI members and 15.8% of LMI manufacturers**

**Metal goods 8.5% of total number of London firms (Barnett)**

**Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to metal goods:**

001 Hardwareman  
017 Tin-plate-worker  
016 Brass-founder  
019 Smith  
010 Goldsmith  
013 Iron-monger  
004 Brazier  
003 Brass-finisher  
003 Gold-refiner  
003 Iron-founder  
002 Pin-maker  
002 Pewterer  
001 Metal-sash-maker  
001 Cock-founder  
001 Brass-turner  
001 Wire-drawer  
001 Tin-foil manufacturer  
001 Plater  
001 Silver-polisher  
001 Lamp-maker  
001 Hearth key manufacturer  
002 Water-gilder  
005 Cutler  
003 Stove-grate-maker

**LMI total: 112 men, representing 6.4% of LMI members and 10.3% of LMI manufacturers**

**Textiles 8.4% of total number of London firms (Barnett)**

**Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to textiles:**

004 Weaver  
002 Frame-work knitter  
002 Silk-weaver  
001 Linen manufacturer  
001 Muslin manufacturer  
001 Printed baize manufacturer  
001 Cotton manufacturer  
001 Flannel manufacturer  
001 Silk-embosser  
001 Teinter  
001 Spinner  
005 Carpet manufacturer  
004 Draper  
008 Linen-draper  
001 Woollen-draper  
002 Rope-maker  
001 Clothier  
003 Lace-man  
002 Hair manufacturer  
002 Trimming manufacturer  
001 Ribbon-dresser  
002 Hot-presser

002 Pattern-drawer  
001 Hairdresser  
001 Scowerer  
003 Dyer

**LMI total: 54 men, representing 3% of LMI membership and 4.8% of LMI manufacturers**

**Clothing 7.8% of total London firms  
including household and other made up textiles (Barnett)**

**Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to clothing:**

048 Tailor  
012 Hatter  
003 Hosier  
004 Haberdasher  
001 Sash-maker  
001 Glove manufacturer  
011 Boot-maker  
011 Shoe-maker  
002 Cordwainer  
001 Umbrella-maker  
002 Furrier  
003 Sail-maker

**LMI total: 99 men, representing 5.7% of LMI members and 9.2% of LMI manufacturers**

**Leather 6.8% of total London firms (Barnett)**

**Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to leather:**

005 Currier  
002 Saddler  
002 Tanner  
001 Leather-cutter  
001 Leather-dresser  
001 Jewel-case-maker  
001 Dressing-case-maker  
002 Trunk-maker

**LMI total: 15 men, representing .9% of LMI members and 1.5% of LMI manufacturers**

**Watch-making 4.3 of total London firms (Barnett)**

**Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to watchmaking**

036 Watch-maker  
003 Watch-case-maker  
002 Clock-maker

**LMI total: 41 men, representing 2.4% of LMI members and 3.9% of LMI manufacturers**

**Food, drink, tobacco 4.3 % of total London firms (Barnett)**

**Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to food, drink, tobacco**

006 Baker  
005 Confectioner  
001 Vinegar-maker  
002 Butcher  
001 Distiller  
004 Tobacconist  
002 Cheese-monger  
001 Brewer

**LMI total: 22 men, representing 1.2% of LMI members and 1.9% of LMI manufacturers**

**Coach-building 3.9% of total London firms (Barnett)**

**Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to coach-building**

019 Coach-maker  
003 Coach-painter  
001 Harness-maker  
001 Carriage-lamp-maker  
001 Wheel-wright  
002 Herald painter (Barnett puts here)  
001 Bit-maker

**LMI total: 28 men, representing 1.6% of LMI members and 2.6% of LMI manufacturers**

**Engineering** **2.7% of total London firms (Barnett)**

**Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to engineering**

032 Engineer  
004 Machinist  
004 Mechanist  
002 Millwright

**LMI total: 42 men, representing 2.4% of LMI members and 3.9% of LMI manufacturers**

**Chemicals** **2.7% of total London firms (Barnett)**

**Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to chemicals:**

013 Chemist  
004 Druggist  
002 Colourman  
002 Perfumer  
001 Colour-maker  
001 Soap-maker  
003 Tallow chandler  
003 Dry-salter  
001 Watercolour manufacturer

**LMI total: 30 men, representing 1.7% of LMI members and 2.7% of LMI manufacturers**

**Precision-instruments** **1.8 % of total number of firms (Barnett)**

**Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to precision instruments**

001 Thermometer-maker  
001 Cooper-plate ruler  
002 Surgical-instrument-maker  
017 Mathematical-instrument-maker  
005 Philosophical-instrument-maker  
009 Optician  
001 Penograph manufacturer  
001 Parallel-glass-worker  
002 Truss-maker

**LMI total: 39 men, representing 2.2% of LMI members and 3.5% of LMI manufacturers**

**Non-metallic products** **2.5% of total number of firms**

**Glass, Glass-ware, Ceramics and Non-metallic Mineral Products (Barnett)**

**Quantities of LMI members, with their specific occupations, allocated to non metallic products**

006 Glass-cutter  
002 China-painter  
001 Glass-painter  
001 Glass-engraver  
001 Plate-glass manufacturer  
001 Lapidary  
001 Statuary  
001 China-man  
001 Bead-maker  
001 Dyer and Glazier

**LMI Total: 16 men, representing .9% of LMI members and 1.5% of LMI manufacturers**

**Other:** **7.7% of total number of firms (Barnett)**

Some of the trades which Barnett included in 'other' were particularly well represented at the LMI. These included:

**LMI Jewellery:**

024 Jeweller  
021 Silversmith  
010 Chaser  
003 Enameller  
001 Die-sinker

**LMI Musical-instrument-makers:**

012 Musical-instrument-maker  
008 Pianoforte-maker  
003 Harp-maker

002 Violin-bow-maker

**LMI Others:**

005 Gun-maker

001 Comb-maker

**LMI total: 89 members, representing 5.2% of LMI members and 8.4% of LMI manufacturers**

**LMI members in March - June 1826 quarter not included above**

663 LMI members are not included in the above analysis – either because their occupations did not fit into Barnett’s categories or because they were not involved in manufacturing. I list the quantities of men with these occupations below.

**Trades which did not match to Barnett’s categories, amounting to 239 men:**

072	No occupation	011	Bricklayer	002	Oil and colourman
048	Member’s son	007	Draftsman	001	Portrait painter
029	Painter	006	Artist	001	Bell-hanger
024	Apprentice	005	Ornamental painter	001	Packer
015	Plumber	004	Paper hanger	001	Mechanic
011	Plasterer			001	Clicker

**Not manufacturers, amounting to 424 men or 24% of LMI members:**

132	Clerk	003	Attorney	001	Gardener
095	Gentleman	003	Grocer	001	Royal Navy
028	Stationer	002	House agent	001	Secretary
017	Surveyor	002	Hydrographer	001	Coffee house keeper
014	Warehouseman	002	Appraiser	001	Spirit-dealer
009	Schoolmaster	002	L.L.D.	001	Picture-dealer
009	Wine merchant	002	Lighterman	001	Sugar-broker
008	Accountant	002	M. D.	001	Cellar-man
008	Teacher	002	Stockbroker	001	Tavern keeper
008	Merchant	002	Milkman	001	Butler
007	Architect	002	Messenger	001	Tea-dealer
007	Solicitor	002	Corn-dealer	001	Dentist
006	Surgeon	001	Green Court	001	Botanist
005	Coal merchant	001	Leather-seller	001	Veterinary surgeon
003	Pawnbroker	001	Musician	001	Licensed victualler
003	Print-seller	001	News vendor	001	Royal Engineer
003	Fish-monger	001	Geographer	001	Barrister
003	Silk-mercier	001	Iron wharf	001	Assestan (?)
003	Broker	001	Diary-man	001	Actuary
003	Mercer	001	Professor		

## Appendix K

### Operatives and non-operatives June – September 1826 quarter

(compared with December 1825 – March 1825,  
and December 1829 – March 1830, quarters)

In their September 1826 Quarterly Report, the LMI management claimed that the current proportion of operatives to non-operatives was 'rather more than 3 to 1'. This statement provides an excellent opportunity to assess the meanings of these terms by an analysis of the actual membership as recorded in the manuscript Members' Registers. The following tables allocate members to the two categories. There were 1298 members in total for the quarter. I have deducted the 107 members who listed no occupation because it is unclear into which category they should go. Working with a total figure of 1191, and putting every occupation which could possibly have included operatives in the operative category, I have found the proportion to be 2.5 operatives to one non-operative. The figures show that at the most there could have been 852 operatives or 72% of the membership (with occupations). 'Rather more than 3 to 1' appears to have been an exaggeration.

Because the question of the changing composition of the LMI membership is so important to the historiography, I used the same criteria to analyse the December 1824 – March 1825 and December 1829 – March 1830 quarters to see if there were a significant change in the proportions of these categories. I found that for 1824/1825 the proportion of operatives to non-operatives was about 2.6 to 1 or 72% to 28% (the same in fact as the proportion over a year later in the summer of 1826). For the 1829/1830 period, the operatives made up a slightly smaller proportion: 2.12 to 1 or 68% of the membership. These snapshots, unrefined as they no doubt are, nevertheless provide the only evidence, based on the actual LMI membership, which we have. They indicate that there was little immediate or significant change in the composition of the membership.

For the table below, which shows the number of men in each occupation, I have simplified the occupational categories. For instance, in the category 'engineer', I have included men who defined themselves as engineer and smith, engine-maker, engine-turner, and civil engineer. Watch-makers had different specialities: there were watch-escapement-makers and watch-spring-maker. Within the category of coach maker, I have included a coach-wheelwright, a coach-smith, a coach-body-builder, and a coach-joiner. 'Stove-maker' includes two stove-grate-makers. 'Glass-cutter' includes a 'glass-man' and 'Tin-plate-worker' includes 'tin men'. The Members' Registers provide a wealth of detail about occupational specialities.

852 Operatives (June – September 1826 quarter) by number of men in each occupation:

087	Carpenter	005	Gun-maker	002	Philosophical-instrument-maker	001	Silk-embosser
074	Printer	004	Carpet manufacturer	002	Sail-maker	001	Comb-maker
045	Cabinet-maker	004	Druggist	002	Mechanist	001	Silver-polisher
036	Engraver	004	Tobacconist	002	Pattern-drawer	001	Clicker
034	Tailor	004	Plasterer	002	Ornamental painter	001	Statuary
032	Engineer	004	Draftsman	002	Truss-maker	001	Sugar refiner
022	Watch-maker	004	Modeller	002	Oil and colour-man	001	China-man
020	Jeweller	004	Surgical-instrument-maker	002	Violin-bow-maker	001	Tallow chandler
018	Book-binder	003	Chair-maker	001	Leather-dresser	001	Teinter
018	Carver	003	Dyer	001	Leather-cutter	001	Thermometer-maker
017	Painter	003	Machinist	001	Hardwareman	001	Brush-maker
017	Apprentice	003	Paper-hanger	001	Fringe-weaver	001	Brewer
015	Upholsterer	003	Japanner	001	Glass-stainer	001	Tooth-brush maker
014	Mathematical-instrument-maker	003	Weaver	001	Framework-knitter	001	Brass-finisher
014	Chemist	003	Stove-maker	001	Hosier	001	Truss manufacturer
013	Smith	003	Trunk-maker	001	Hot-presser	001	Brass-turner
013	Silversmith	003	Carrier	001	Glass-engraver	001	Umbrella-maker
013	Plumber	003	Gilder	001	Farrier	001	Undertaker
013	Musical-instrument-maker	003	Cutler	001	Glass-painter	001	Upholder
012	Coach-maker	003	Gold-refiner	001	Dressing-case-maker	001	Bow-maker
012	Iron-monger	003	Coach-painter	001	Die-turner	001	Book-maker
010	Mason	003	Vellum-binder	001	Paper-maker	001	Venetian-blind-maker
010	Turner	003	Haberdasher	001	Paper-stainer	001	Vinegar-maker
010	Pianoforte-maker	002	Glove manufacturer	001	Parallel-glass-worker	001	Iron-plate-worker
009	Goldsmith	002	Cheese-monger	001	Jewel-case-maker	001	Bead-maker
008	Boot-maker	002	Herald painter	001	Die-sinker	001	Watch-case-maker
008	Brass-founder	002	Lace manufacturer	001	Pen-cutter	001	Water-gilder
008	Tin-plate-worker	002	Brazier	001	Penograph-maker	001	Lapidary
007	Bricklayer	002	Furrier	001	Metal-sash-maker	001	Lamp-maker
007	Builder	002	Dry-salter	001	Cork-cutter	001	Hair manufacturer
006	Joiner	002	Enameller	001	Ribbon-dresser	001	Linen manufacturer
006	Chaser	002	Harp-maker	001	Saddler	001	Cardboard-ornaments manufacturer
006	Optician	002	Clock-maker	001	Sash-maker	001	Oilman
006	Glass-cutter	002	Gold-lace-man	001	Copper-plate-ruler	001	Plate-glass manufacturer
005	Compositor	002	Cordwainer	001	Scowerer	001	Colourman
005	Shoe-maker	002	Wire-worker	001	Sculptor	001	Tin-foil manufacturer
005	Hatter	002	Millwright	001	Copper-plate-maker	001	Trimming manufacturer
005	Cooper	002	Ivory-turner	001	Pewterer	001	Lamp manufacturer

**339 Non-operatives (June – September 1826 quarter) by number of men in each category:**

092	Clerk	004	Surgeon	001	House agent	001	Actuary
068	Gentleman	004	Confectioner	001	Musician	001	Sugar-broker
017	Stationer	003	Pawnbroker	001	Geographer	001	Cellar-man
016	Warehouseman	003	Bookseller	001	Mercer	001	Appraiser
010	Surveyor	002	Grocer	001	Distiller	001	Butler
009	Architect	002	Broker	001	Metal-dealer	001	Tavern keeper
009	Teacher	002	Coal merchant	001	Dentist	001	Butcher
008	Merchant	002	Print-seller	001	Picture-dealer	001	Tea-dealer
007	Schoolmaster	002	Messenger	001	Dealer in coins	001	Timber-dealer
007	Solicitor	002	Milkman	001	Fish-monger	001	Dairy-man
006	Artist	002	Silk-merc	001	Iron wharf	001	Licensed
005	Accountant	001	L. L. D.	001	Professor	001	victualler
005	Baker	001	Green court	001	Barrister	001	Veterinary
005	Wine merchant	001	Leather-seller	001	Secretary	001	Surgeon
005	Linen draper	001	Lighterman	001	Westminster Gas	001	Coffee house keeper
						001	Muslin manufacturer

**107 Men with no occupation recorded (June – September 1826 quarter):**

- 069 No occupation
- 038 Member's son



## Appendix L

### Brief biographies

#### Lecturers in the period February 1824 – September 1826

All those known to have lectured between February 1824 and September 1826 are identified below. The topics of their lectures are indicated in parentheses after their names.

**Matthew Allen 1783–1845 (phrenology):**

The son of a Sandemanian Dissenter, Allen had been imprisoned for debt (1813) and for selling soda water without paying stamp duty (1816) before becoming the apothecary at a lunatic asylum in York (1819– 1823). Exploiting a newly fashionable science, Allen became the first British itinerant phrenology lecturer in 1816. He was a corresponding member of the Edinburgh (1821) and London Phrenological Society (1824). In 1821, he bought a medical degree from Marischal College, Aberdeen. In 1825, Allen opened a lunatic asylum in Epping Forest where he treated the poet John Clare. Alfred Tennyson invested heavily and lost his money in one of Allen's schemes. When Allen died in 1845 (with life insurance taken out by Edward Lushington), Tennyson was able to recover some of his losses. Allen's LMI phrenology lectures ran weekly from 2 – 16 February 1825.

**George Birkbeck 1776–1841 (hydrostatics, steam engines, acoustics, winds, translation of M. Dupin's address to French mechanics, galvanism, mechanics, telescopes and microscopes, inventions):**

Physician, educationalist and philanthropist. A Quaker by birth, Birkbeck gained his medical degree at Edinburgh University. In December 1799, he took the post of professor of natural philosophy and chemistry at the Andersonian Institution in Glasgow where he established a free course for mechanics. He moved to London in 1806 and became physician to the General Dispensary, Aldersgate Street, where he treated out-patients and undertook home visits. In 1806, Birkbeck was a founder member of the London Institution where he lectured regularly and was on the management committee from 1822 until his death. On the first committee of the Infant School Society (f. 1824), Birkbeck was removed in 1828 when the Society was taken over by Evangelicals who deplored any endorsement of radical and scientific education. He was one of the original projectors of London University (1827). He worked for a reform of the patent laws (1827), opposed the libel laws, and campaigned against the newspaper taxes in the 1830s. Birkbeck chaired the first public meeting to establish the LMI (11 November 1823) and became president in December 1823. Only a small amount of his £3,700 capital loan was repaid during his lifetime. He remained president until his death in 1841. The principal LMI lecturer, Birkbeck covered a wide range of topics: hydrostatics (15 April 1824), the steam engine (18 August and 4 September 1824), acoustics (14 January 1825), theory of the winds (29 January 1825), Dupin's address (23 March 1825), galvanism (30 March – 15 April 1825), mechanics (29 July and 5 August 1825), telescopes and microscopes (16 November 1825), inventions (23 November 1825, continued 25 August – 7 October 1826), power looms (9 June 1826). It was at the LMI that Birkbeck performed the first public human dissection, in May 1827.

**John Thomas Cooper 1790–1854 (chemistry):**

Chemical manufacturer. At one time the sole manufacturer of iodine in England. In 1823 Cooper received two Society of Arts medals: for an improved Hydrometer for Saline Solutions, and for an apparatus for the analysis of animal and vegetable substances. Cooper lectured at the Aldersgate Street Medical School and the Russell Institution. He also delivered lectures at his private laboratory. He was a Unitarian and published *Misrepresentation corrected and calumny refuted; reply to false charges against Unitarians* in 1840. Cooper gave three courses on chemistry at the LMI during this period. The first lecture course (6 October 1824 – 13 January 1825) was followed by the only public (oral) exams to have taken place at the LMI (26 January and 23 February 1825). The second course ran from 30 September 1825 – 20 January 1826. Overlapping and starting in November 1825, another Cooper LMI course offered sixteen lectures to the public (including women) on Mondays at 2pm, repeated at 8pm.

**J. Dangerfield (stenography):**

Dangerfield had developed his own system of shorthand writing and was the author of a treatise on stenography which had been published in the early 1820s. He had previously delivered the LMI lecture (22 June 1825) at the Royal Institution (1 March 1825). In 1826, the lecture was published in pamphlet form.

**John Achen Dotchen (arithmetic and geometry):**

Described as a surveyor in the LMI records, and active on the committee organised to examine the theatre's leaking roof, Dotchen went on to become a steward of the Society of Schoolmasters (1850). This may indicate that he was teaching in other venues besides the LMI. He gave two lectures on arithmetic and geometry at the LMI in June and July 1825 (when he was serving on the committee). An early member (number 238), Dotchen was elected in the not-of-the-working-class category in September 1824 and September 1826.

**William Frend 1757–1841 (geography):**

Unitarian radical and actuary at the Rock Life Assurance Company during these years. Frend had been expelled from his position at Cambridge University in 1794 for campaigning against the Thirty-Nine Articles. A close friend of Francis Place's, he had been a member of the London Corresponding Society. His *Plan of universal education* (1832) suggested that a national school system be funded by taxing the Church of England. Categorised as 'not of the working class', Frend was elected to the first management committee in December 1823 and served the full 15 months. (Some members of the first committee resigned after nine months in order to start the rotational system which ensured continuity by mixing new and experienced members.) In January 1824, Frend proposed a plan to start classes before premises were secured, by holding them in members' homes. Although the plan was approved, it does not seem to have been put into action. Frend was elected again in September 1825 with the largest number of votes in either the 'working-class' or 'not-of-the-working-class' category. Along with Birkbeck and LMI vice-president John Martineau, Frend was involved in founding the London Friendly Institution of Mechanics, Artisans, and Others in May 1825. Frend gave five lectures in geography at the LMI from 8 February – 15 March 1826.

**John W. Gowing (pneumatics, hydrostatics, electromagnetism):**

One of the first to join the LMI. A schoolmaster, he gave four lectures on pneumatics, followed by one on hydrostatics and one on electromagnetism between 21 December 1825 and 4 February 1826.

**Thomas Hodgskin 1787–1869 (political economy):**

A political economist and journalist, Hodgskin developed an ultra-radical critique of governments and legislation. His pamphlet on naval discipline (1813) brought him to the attention of Francis Place and Jeremy Bentham. Bentham provided a questionnaire to help Hodgskin research German institutions and social circumstances for what became *Travels in North Germany* (1820) in which Hodgskin expounded his anti-government ideas. Working with J. C. Robertson on the *Mechanics' Magazine*, Hodgskin is often credited with originating the idea for the LMI with Robertson. He was an early member and an honorary secretary in November 1823. In 1825, Hodgskin published *Labour defended against the claims of capital*, identifying the capitalist, rather than the landowner, as the principal exploiter. Although purportedly written by 'a labourer', the pamphlet was known to have been written by Hodgskin (the LMI Minutes record the book's having been donated by its author). Although Hodgskin's initial offer to deliver a course of lectures on political economy at the LMI was turned down, largely on the advice of Francis Place, Hodgskin maintained connections with the Institution and became a good friend of Birkbeck's. When Hodgskin did deliver four lectures (13 September – 4 October 1826) they were entitled 'on the productive power of human labour'. He published a heavily edited version of the lectures in *Popular political economy* (1827) in which he added material which LMI authorities had insisted be excluded from the lectures – for instance that government laws were designed solely to take from one class and give to another, or that labour was productive only in so far as it supported the labourer (any labour that added to the capitalist's profit was therefore deemed unproductive). Problems between Hodgskin and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge came to a head when the SDUK published the *Rights of industry* which Hodgskin considered a direct refutation of *Labour defended*. His

self-defence, which included publishing a second edition of *Labour defended* and the new *Natural and artificial right of property contrasted* (1832), drew support from radical working-class leaders such as James Watson and Henry Hetherington.

**Joseph Jopling (his ‘septenary system of generating lines’):**

A member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Jopling invented an instrument for drawing curves and ellipses based on what he called the ‘septenary system’. The *LJAS* described it as ‘extremely useful’ to mechanical draftsmen and architects, and likely to open up new fields of speculation for mathematicians. Jopling gave one lecture on his device on 20 May 1825. Over the next few years, he continued inventing in this area. The *MM* published several letters about the advantages of his system compared to others in 1827 and in 1829 Jopling addressed the Society of Civil Engineers on his latest apparatus.

**Charles Lane 1800–1870 (classification of knowledge):**

Listed in the LMI Registers and committee nominations variously as gentleman, printing ink manufacturer, clerk and accountant, Charles Lane was an early member. A Pestolozzian and friend of James Pierrepont Greaves of the Infant School Society, with whom he founded the Alcott House community at Ham Common in 1838, Charles Lane introduced mutual instruction classes at the LMI. Regularly elected to the committee from 1826 to 1831 in the ‘not-of-the-working-class’ category (although once nominated as ‘working class’), he worked with Henry Hetherington to establish a mutual instruction class in composition. Both he and Hetherington were Christian freethinkers and members of the Radical Reform Association. In 1842, Lane left for America with A. Bronson Alcott (a fellow-vegetarian) and founded the Fruitlands community near Harvard in Massachusetts. Lane put up the money to buy the 90 acres and Ralph Waldo Emerson acted as trustee. After the community failed, Lane lived in a Shaker community for a year and a half. He returned to England in 1846 and to Alcott House which was now a thriving communitarian establishment. In 1849, when the community lost its way, Alcott House was sold to John Minter Morgan, the Owenite with whom Lane had organised the LMI’s controversial 1830 Sunday lectures. Lane’s own lecture on the classification of knowledge was delivered on 1 February 1826 and was based on his pamphlet, *A classification of sciences and arts; or, map of human knowledge* (1825).

**John Lewthwaite (electricity, blowpipes):**

Lewthwaite was an active lecturer. His electricity lectures (29 October – 24 December 1824) began four months after John Tatum’s had ended. His one lecture on blowpipes was delivered at the LMI on 15 June 1825. Living in Rotherhithe, he was the main instigator of the Rotherhithe Mechanics’ Institution (f. 1825). He also lectured at the East London Institution, the Southwark Mechanics’ Institution (August 1826) and the City of London Literary and Scientific Institution (1825–6). He experimented in various areas: for instance on the conducting power of alcohol, ether and acids (the results published in the *Annals of Philosophy* in May 1821) and on producing more effective harpoons for killing whales by charging them with prussic acid. These proved ineffective when used in the South Seas in 1834.

**John Millington 1779–1868 (mechanics):**

One of the few Anglicans associated with the LMI, Millington attended Oxford University until his father’s financial misfortunes forced him to leave. He then studied law and was admitted to the bar (1803) where he specialised in patent law for two years before studying engineering. In 1815 he started lecturing on natural philosophy at the Royal Institution; he became professor of mechanics there in 1817. In a fee sheet published in 1828, Millington advertised himself as ‘Civil Engineer and Surveyor of Manufactories and Machinery, Professor of Mechanics in the Royal Institution of Great Britain’, and gave prices for a wide range of activities involving all aspects of acquiring a patent, and settling disputes to do with construction, land surveying and mapping. Millington was the first editor of the Library of Useful Knowledge (f. 1827). The first professor of engineering at the new London University, he left after only a year following a dispute over his salary. Millington gave evidence to the 1829 Select Committee on revising the patent laws before moving to Mexico that year as chief engineer of the Anglo-Mexican Mining Association. After three years, he went to America, where he taught at William and Mary College (Virginia) and at the University of Mississippi. One of the four LMI vice-presidents from December 1823 to 1829, Millington gave the LMI’s inaugural course, eleven lectures on

the elementary principles of mechanics (beginning on 20 February 1824). Although Millington agreed to give a second course in 1825 in the new theatre, he kept postponing it and in the end Charles Toplis gave the course. In December 1827, Millington wrote the technical report on the failure of the LMI theatre roof construction.

**William Newton 1786–1861 (astronomy):**

Mechanical draftsman whose skills led to his appointment as draftsman in several patent offices and to his eventually becoming a patent agent. A member of the City Philosophical Society, Newton joined the Society of Arts when John Tatum's society ceased in 1817. In 1820, Newton became editor of the *London Journal of Arts and Sciences*. As part of his editorial duties, he visited manufacturing centres across Britain and lectured on some of the processes with specially prepared working models. Newton was actively involved in the early efforts to amend the patent laws. His four September 1824 lectures at the LMI were devoted to another of his interests, astronomy. In 1836 he published *A familiar introduction to the science of astronomy*.

**George Ogg (geology, chemistry, heat, mineralogy):**

A salt refiner in Plymouth, Ogg used his knowledge of chemistry to raise the refinery's profits from £4,000 to £12,000 by 1816. He was also a member of the Plymouth Institution where he delivered a lecture on curing and preventing dry rot in ships of war in 1817. He gave four lecture series at the LMI between February 1824 and September 1826. Two, not surprisingly given Ogg's concerns with rock salt, were on geology and focussed on the practical applications rather than theoretical generalisations: three lectures from February 18 to 4 March 1825 and six more from 31 May to 22 July 1826. Ogg also delivered two lectures on chemical attraction (6 and 13 May 1825) and seven lectures on mineralogy (19 July to 9 September 1826). Ogg impressed Brougham and Birkbeck so much that they recommended him to the many mechanics' institutions which requested lecturers from London. Ogg's first appearance in this capacity was as the inaugural lecturer at the Reading Mechanics' Institution on 13 December 1825. Ogg joined the LMI in March 1825 with an annual subscription. Like all the lecturers, he became an honorary member, in his case in the Spring of 1826, soon after his membership expired. Ogg published *An elementary treatise on chemistry* in 1829.

**Charles Frederick Partington fl. 1820–1835 (optics, pneumatics, hydrostatics and the steam engine):**

Assistant librarian at the London Institution during this time, Partington was a popular writer and lecturer. His *Century of inventions of the Marquis of Worcester* was extracted in the LMR in April 1825 and later that year he published the first volume of *The Mechanics' Gallery of Science and Art*, aimed at operatives and manufacturers. In 1825, he also launched the weekly *Scientific Gazette; Or Library of Mechanical Philosophy, Chemistry, and Discovery* which he edited from the London Institution. He lectured widely and had a large collection of working models with which to illustrate his talks. His four LMI lectures on optics ran from 21 January to 11 February 1825, and he gave seven lectures on pneumatics, hydrostatics and the steam engine from 12 August to 3 September 1825. He helped Birkbeck launch the Spitalfields Mechanics' Institution by delivering three lectures to prospective members in March 1825. In 1828, Partington joined William Newton as an editor of *London Journal of Arts and Sciences*.

**Richard Phillips 1778-1851 (chemistry):**

A Quaker chemist who had belonged to John Tatum's City Philosophical Society, Phillips supported himself by analytical chemical work, lecturing and giving expert testimony at trials. He was appointed lecturer in chemistry at the London Hospital, and gave courses of lectures at the London Institution. He was professor of chemistry at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and from 1821 to 1826 edited the *Annals of Philosophy*. In 1827, when the *Annals* merged with the *Philosophical Magazine*, edited by Richard Taylor, Phillips remained as an editor. Phillips was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1822. His ten-lecture LMI series started on 21 April 1824. He refused to allow these lectures to be published.

**John Reynolds (mnemonics):**

Mathematical school teacher. An early LMI member, Reynolds was elected to the September 1824 and September 1829 committees in the 'not-of-the-working-class' category. Although an active teacher at the LMI, running classes in French and geography, he only gave one lecture,

on mnemonics (16 March 1825).

**John Tatum c.1772–1858** (electricity, optics, aerostation):

‘A mechanic, a manufacturer of silver table spoons and forks, and quite unlettered ... with a ludicrous accent’ – so said Thomas Pettigrew, *Biographical memoirs of the most celebrated physicians*, vol. 4 (London: Whittaker and Co., 1839), p. 10, who had been an early member of the City Philosophical Society founded by Tatum in his house in 1808. In 1824 Tatum sold his scientific apparatus to the LMI for 250 guineas. The *LMR* criticised Tatum’s lectures on electricity (29 October to 24 December 1824) for being, in parts, too theoretical. When John Lewthwaite gave more lectures on electricity a few months later, the two men fell out over their explanations and priority claims. Tatum had published an article on his experiments with electromagnetism in the *Philosophical Magazine and Journal* in 1823. In September 1825, Tatum was elected a ‘not-of-the-working-class’ LMI committee man (he gave his occupation as ‘gentleman’). He began a series of 12 lectures in January 1826. These broke down into two on aerostation (ballooning) in January/February 1826, two on optics and eight more on electricity (February – March 1826).

**Charles Toplis (mechanics):**

A surgeon, Toplis was first elected to the LMI committee in September 1825. He became a vice-president in March 1828 and was thereafter actively involved in most decisions. He retired in 1839. Francis Place’s diary reveals that Toplis visited him several times in Spring 1826 to discuss means of raising money to repay Birkbeck’s loan. Toplis stepped in to give lectures on mechanics when Millington was unable to fulfill his commitment. Toplis’s lectures (19 May – 11 August 1826) formed the basis of Charles Lane’s first mutual instruction classes. In 1835 Toplis gave evidence, including details of LMI activities, to the Select Committee on arts and manufactures. Toplis invented an early machine gun which he dubbed the ‘pacificator’. Robert Owen, to whom Toplis sent the specifications, agreed that the gun was so lethal that war would henceforth be ‘impossible’. Toplis’s and the LMI’s interest in showcasing inventions led in part to the founding of the Museum of National Manufactures and of the Mechanical Arts in Leicester Square of which Toplis was the first director (1833). He took on the role of agent to some of the inventors whose works he exhibited. In 1836, Toplis was managing director of the Office for British and Foreign Patents.

**John Wallis (astronomy):**

Wallis was a popular lecturer on astronomy in the 1820s and 1830s. He gave two lectures series at the LMI during this period: 27 May – 24 June 1825 and 5 April – 12 May 1826. The 1826 lectures were given twice each week, on Wednesdays and Fridays. This was partly because of Wallis’s extensive apparatus which enabled him to produce spectacular visual effects. The apparatus meant not only that fewer members could attend, but also that it was impractical to dismantle it for another lecturer to fill the Friday slot. Equally important, the second lecture capitalised on Wallis’s reputation and served as a fund raiser. Members were allowed to buy tickets to bring friends (including women): the venture raised £30. Wallis’s lectures were popular, but by 1828 they were generating complaints of repetition.

**Mr. Wheeler (botany):**

Probably James Lowe Wheeler (d. 1870), part of the Wheeler apothecary dynasty, founded by Thomas Wheeler (1754-1847), an original member of the Court of Examiners at the Society of Apothecaries in 1815, and by 1823 Master of the Society. James Lowe, like his father a fellow of the Linnean Society, succeeded Thomas as botanical demonstrator at the Society’s Chelsea Botanical Garden in 1821, and he too would later become Master of the Society of Apothecaries. He also lectured on materia medica at St Bartholomew’s Hospital and the private medical schools and published a catalogue of the Chelsea Garden’s plants in 1830. But notice that he was one of six brothers, all of whom entered the profession: Charles West Wheeler succeeded Thomas at St. Bartholomew’s as apothecary, and became Master of the Society in turn, while William Lowe Wheeler was apothecary at the Hospital for the Small Pox in St Pancras. Mr. Wheeler gave four lectures on botany from 11 March to 16 April 1825.

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